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A CHRONOLOGICAL
ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
ROMAN HISTORY,
FROM THE
Foundation of the City
TO THE
EXTINCTION of the REPUBLIC.

Written in FRENCH
By M. P. MACQUER,
Member of the ROYAL ACADEMY of SCIENCES.

Translated, and improved with Notes, geographical and critical,
illustrating the ANTIQUITIES of ROME,

By Mr. THOMAS NUGENT.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento. Virg. Æn.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

УДОСТОВЕРЕНИЕ

ТРАНСЛЯТОР

Foundation of the City

RECEIVED

EXTENSION of the REPUBLIC



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THE
TRANSLATOR'S
PREFACE.

HISTORY has been justly considered * by an ancient writer as a gift of divine Providence, which rescues the actions of heroes from oblivion, and consigns them to immortality. But of all histories, that of the Roman republic offers to us the most numerous list of celebrated names; and consequently is capable of affording the greatest variety of instruction and entertainment. This appears the more extraordinary, when we reflect on the mean original of that famous city, composed at first of fugitives and vagabonds, whose character was so contemptible, that their very neighbours declined being allied with them by marriage. And yet this people not only surmounted the many difficulties which threatened their constitution in its infancy; but made such improvements in virtue and military discipline, that they gradually subdued their neighbours, and

* Agathias in Hist.

THE PREFACE.

rose, at length, to be lords of the best part of the inhabited world. Hence no other history contains so spacious a field of interesting events, being interwoven with the affairs of all other nations; so that what the witty historian * observes on this subject, is strictly true, *that whoever reads the transactions of the Romans, does not learn the history of one nation only, but that of all mankind.*

The public has been favoured with several abridgments of the history of this mighty republic; but without entering into the merits of the several performances of this kind, we may venture to affirm, that they are all greatly inferior to the following work, in regard to exactness of chronology, and beauty of order and method. This, indeed, is neither a mere history, nor mere chronology; but a judicious mixture of both. History furnishes us with a copious and distinct account of past transactions; but does not ascertain the succession of time. Chronology, on the contrary, being employed about the exactness of dates, contents itself with the bare naming of events, without entering into details; and as it does not give us a regular thread and connexion, it can afford but a very dry and inadequate knowledge of past transactions. But here, on the one hand, the principal events of the Roman history are treated in a more copious manner than in a work of chronology; and, on the other, the dates are preserved as near as possible, while the facts are taken, and enlarged upon, from the best historians. This is the plan of the president Henault's excellent abridgment of the history of France, a work that has been received with the universal applause of the republic of letters. The utility of this method is so strik-

* Ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius populi, sed generis humani facta discant. *Florus in Prol.*

THE PREFACE.

ing, that M. de Voltaire says*, we are indebted to M. Henault for the shortest and best history of France; and perhaps for the only manner in which history ought hereafter to be written. For the multiplicity of facts and details, hath swelled the number and magnitude of volumes to such a degree, that we must soon be reduced to consult them only as dictionaries, and be content with occasional extracts from those laborious compilers.

How near the following work comes up to the perfection of the abovementioned model, is left to the public to determine. This must be said in its behalf, that it is the first undertaking of the kind that has appeared in English; and, without vanity, I may affirm, that it has been considerably improved in the translation. Having observed, that side notes are of great assistance to the memory, I have been particularly exact in supplying this defect of the original, so as to point out in the margin, the heads of the most remarkable events contained in each paragraph. Care hath also been taken to fill up such omissions in the body of the history, as appeared to be considerable; for instance, the story of Tarpeia; the purchasing of the Sibylline books by Tarquin; the adventure of the famous Clelia, &c. which are passages of too much importance, to be passed over in silence, even in a general sketch of the Roman history.

The notes added to this work, are of two sorts, geographical and critical. The former are extracted chiefly from Brietius, Cluverius, and Cellarius. In these I have inserted several passages of the ancient poets and historians, that have any relation to the places or countries mentioned by our author. The latter are intended to illustrate the antiquities of Rome, for

* *Siccle de Louis XIV.* in the catalogue of writers.

THE PREFACE.

the conveniency of beginners, and to prevent the trouble of consulting a multiplicity of books on the same subject. For these I am indebted to Manutius, Sigonius, Godwin, Cantelius, Grævius, Heineccius, but above all to Rosinus, and Basil Kennet. With such improvements, I flatter myself, we may apply to the present work, what a writer of the first eminence and authority * has said of M. Henault's performance, *that it may be considered as the quintessence of every thing remarkable and worthy of notice in this history.*

P. S. The great value, and high encomiums of the celebrated history of France by the president Henault, mentioned in this preface, have induced us to undertake a translation of that excellent work, which we are now preparing for the press, and intend to publish with all convenient speed.

* The present King of Prussia, in the Preliminary Discourse to the Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg.



ADVER-

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I DO not think it necessary to explain the motives, which induced me to undertake this work. The grandeur of ancient Rome is not yet intirely eclipsed; but is still visible amidst her ruins. Rome, in her flourishing state, was the capital of the world; in her decline, she gave birth to empires, that were formed out of her ashes. Would it not, therefore, be a shame to be unacquainted with this history; or to dispute the utility of a book calculated to promote this branch of knowledge?

Far better is it, therefore, to shew what I have done in endeavouring to follow the plan of the president M. Henault, in his chronological abridgment of the history of France; a work that has been since imitated by several other writers.

To render a short compendium almost as interesting and instructive as a large body of history; to accommodate the result of several years study to the lowest capacity, without the least affectation, or shew of art; to avoid details, yet to omit nothing material; to draw similar characters, yet to give their peculiar features; to exhaust the subject, yet appear to skim over the surface; such was the task undertaken by the president M. Henault; a task in which he has succeeded with universal applause.

This kind of writing, for which we are indebted to that celebrated writer, required a plan analogous to the
diver-

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diversity and extent of the materials. The new method is possessed of this advantage in a high degree, being a complete landskip, where, at a single glance, you may distinguish an infinite variety of objects.

With this same view, I have divided my history into centuries, at the end of which I have subjoined some remarks; and at the beginning I have exhibited tables with different columns, containing a series of the chief magistrates of Rome, and of cotemporary princes, together with the names of eminent and learned men, and a short account of their writings.



ERRATA.

- Page 59. l. 3. from the bottom, for *ix* r. *iv*.
- 69. l. 39. before *than* insert *rather*.
- 166. l. 5. before *conquerors*, dele *to*.
- 176. l. 7. for *in* r. *with*.
- 184. l. 11. from the bottom, for *terre* r. *torre*.
- 210. l. 4. from the bottom, for *Africa* r. *Attica*.
- 294. l. 17. from the bottom, for *would* r. *could*.
- 328. l. 26. for *delivers* r. *delivered*.
- 393. l. 23. for *Gebenna* r. *Cebenna*.
- 409. l. 2. for *Catulus* r. *Catullus*.
- 415. l. 15. from the bottom, for *Savi* r. *Savio*.
- 430. l. 22. for *kill* r. *killed*.
- 444. l. 14. after *was* insert *the*, and after *only* insert *way*.



THE

THE
ROMAN ANNALS:
OR, A
Chronological Abridgment
OF THE
HISTORY OF ROME.



THE FIRST CENTURY.

THE Romans trace their original up to Æneas: for their historians tell us, that after the destruction of Troy, Æneas fled into Italy (a), where he married Lavinia, daughter of Latinus king of the Aborigines (b), after whose name (Latinus) these people were called Latins, and that there he founded the city of Lavinium (c). Ascanius, son of Æneas, built on the mountain Albanus a new city, which took from thence the name of Alba Longa (d): and it is from the kings of Alba that Romulus and Remus are said to be descended.

Year 1. of Rome. Before Christ 753.

Foundation of Rome by Romulus and Remus. These princes were twins, and sons of a vestal named Rhea Sylvia, who was daughter of

(a) The name of Italia, or Italy, some derive from Italus king of the Siculi, others from the old Greek word *Ἰταλός*, signifying *an ox*, this country abounding with oxen of extraordinary size and beauty.

(b) Some historians are of opinion, that the *Aborigines* had that name given them, because they had been in Italy from the beginning, and did not derive their origin from any other nation; others, changing the name into *Aberrigines*, hold that they were a wandering people, such being the import of that word. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says they came from Arcadia, and that they were stiled *Aborigines*, either because they lived on mountains, and then it is a Greek derivation, *ἀβὸς γένος*; or because they gave origin to the Latins; thus Pliny calls the Tyrians *Aborigines Gadium*, because that city was founded by them.

(c) It is said to have stood on a hill, now called *Monte di Levano*.

(d) It was called Alba from a white sow, which Æneas had found in the place where it stood; and *Longa*, because it extended the whole length of a lake near which it was built; probably the lake of *Castel Gandolfo*.

B

Numitor,

ROMAN ANNALS.

Romulus
first king.

Civil go-
vernment.

Numitor, king of Alba and Latium. To hide her shame, she gave out that her children were the issue of a secret intercourse between her and the god Mars. This tale gained credit afterwards with the Romans, who were pleased with the opportunity of ennobling the birth of their founders. A quarrel arising betwixt Romulus and Remus, each of whom pretended to the supreme and sole command of the colony, Romulus kills his brother; and thus the whole power devolves into his hands: he gives his name to the infant city; and being ambitious to pass for the offspring of Mars, he consecrates it to that deity. He is elected king and head of the religion; but is obliged to temper his authority by the institution of a senate (e), composed of a hundred persons most distinguished by their birth and merit, to whom he gave the name of *patres*, or *fatbers*. Their descendants had the title of *patricians*; which was the original of the first nobility among the Romans; the rest of the inhabitants were called *plebs*, or *plebeians*. To the former he granted the honour of sacerdotal functions, the care of sacrifices, and of religious rites and ceremonies, the administration of justice, and all civil and military dignities, from which the plebeians were absolutely excluded. But at the same time he left some share of authority to the people: whatever related to war and peace, to the creation of magistrates, and even to the election of the sovereign, was submitted to their decision: yet the approbation of the senate was still necessary in all these matters.

"Such, says the abbé de Vertot, was the fundamental constitution of this state, neither purely monarchical, nor republican. The king, the senate, and the people, were in some measure, dependent on each other. And from this mutual dependance resulted an equilibrium, which moderated the power of the prince, at the same time that it secured the authority of the senate and the liberty of the people."

By the list which Romulus took of the citizens of Rome, there were only three thousand able to serve on foot, and about three hundred on horseback; these he divided into three tribes, and at the head of each he placed an officer, by the name of *tribune* (f). Each tribe voted at the meetings in the *Campus Martius* (g) or in the forum (h). They

(e) They were called *senatores a senectute*, from their age and gravity.

(f) So called, either because he presided over the tribe, or was chosen by its suffrages.

(g) The *Campus Martius* was a large field near Rome, on the banks of the river Tiber, where the youth practised all manner of feats of activity, and learnt the use of arms; here the citizens assembled also for the chusing of burgeses and magistrates. It was called Martius, because it had been consecrated by the old Romans to the god Mars.

(h) The Roman forums were public buildings of an oblong figure, surrounded with arched porticos. There were two sorts, *venalia*, and *civilia*; the former were nothing more than market places; the latter were for ornament, and for the courts of justice. Of these there were five very considerable; but that which bore the name of forum by way of eminence, on account of its antiquity, and its most general use in public transactions, was the *forum Romanum*, built by Romulus.

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gam

Eminent and learned men.

In this column I include some foreigners, especially Greeks, because, in regard to laws, philosophy, rhetoric, poetry, and all the polite arts, the Romans were no more than disciples or imitators of the Greeks.

Archilochus, a Greek poet, native of the isle of Paros, flourished in the fifteenth olympiad.

He is the inventor of Iambic verse, a weapon he made use of, if we may believe Horace, to vent his hatred,

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.

Archilochus was also a musician; and Plutarch attributes to him the setting of iambic verses to music.

Cynæthus, a Lacedæmonian. He flourished in the fifth olympiad.

He wrote the Telegoniad in verse, that is, the history of Telegonus, son of Ulysses and Circe.

Eumelus, of Corinth,

This poet, who lived in the ninth olympiad, was considered as the author of several performances, which have been since contested with him. The poem, of which there is the least doubt, is the hymn upon the voyage to Delos.

Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome.

The resemblance betwixt the principles of this prince, and those of Pythagoras, occasioned the mistake of such as looked upon him as this philosopher's disciple. Pythagoras flourished above a century later.

Servius Tullius, the sixth king of the Romans.

This prince is said to have left memoirs, on which the Roman commonwealth was formed.

*Chorebus victor
at the olympic
games - at 27. olymp.*

Contemporary princes.

Kings of Israel.

Upon the division of the tribes of Israel, after the death of Solomon, a schism was formed, and the kingdom was split in two, one of which continued in the posterity of David, and was called the kingdom of Judah, the other was that of Israel, usurped by Jeroboam.

Kings of Judah.

Jotham having ascended the throne towards the year 754 before Christ, died towards the year

Ahas,	739
Hezekiah,	724
Manasseh,	696

Kings of Israel.

Pekeh, who ascended the throne towards the year 755 before Christ, was killed by Hoseah towards

735

Hoseah reigned till towards the year 718. Then the kingdom of Israel; of which Samaria was the capital, was subverted by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria; this prince carried the ten tribes into captivity, that had followed the schism of Jeroboam.

Kings of Egypt.

Boecchoris, after a reign of 44 years, died towards the year

742	
Sabbacon,	730
Succhos,	718
Tharaca,	698
Sabbacon,	692
Sethon,	687

Anarchy.

Kings of Assyria.

Tiglath-Pileser, after a reign of 29 years, died towards the year

729	
Shalmaneser,	714
Sennacherib,	710
Esharhaddon	668

Sabshuchinus.

Kings of Macedonia.

Thurimas, after a reign of 38 years, according to some authors, died towards the year

729

Perdiccas I.

Argeus.

Sparta was governed in this period by kings, whose chronology and names are very uncertain.

Athen, at the time of the foundation of Rome, began to be governed by decennial archons, and towards the year 684 by annual ones.

ROMAN ANNALS:

were afterwards subdivided into ten *curiæ*, or companies of a hundred men, each of which was commanded by a *centurio*, and had a *curio* to perform the sacrifices. The lands were distributed into thirty equal parts, one to every *curia*, and about two acres to each individual. Care was taken, however, to make a necessary reserve for the expence of religious worship, as also for the king's revenue, and the exigencies of the state. It is generally believed, that the foundations of Rome were laid the 21st of April; on which day were afterwards celebrated the *Palilia* (i), or feast of Pales, goddesses of shepherds, in remembrance that Romulus was brought up by shepherds, and that most of his first companions led a pastoral life.

2.

Asylum.

Romulus opens an asylum at Rome to every body that would come and take shelter there, of what state and condition so ever: he puts them under the protection of the *asylan* god (k), a new kind of deity, to whom he erected a temple. This drew a multitude of vagabonds to Rome, such as fugitive slaves, persons plunged in debt, and criminals that fled from the pursuit of justice. Thus, says M. de Vertot, from a nest of robbers issued forth the conquerors of the world.

3.

Romulus, by the advice of the senate, sends ambassadors to the Sabines (l) and other neighbouring nations, demanding their daughters in marriage for the Romans: but the proposal is rejected with scorn.

4.

Rape of the Sabine virgins.

Rape of the Sabine virgins. Romulus, affronted at the refusal given to his ambassadors, thought proper to dissemble for some time; and appointed public games at Rome in honour of equestrian Neptune, who was called also *Confus*, or the god of *Counsel* (l). The people of the neighbouring cities were invited to this feast, and came accord-

(i) Some pretend that the ancient name was *Parilia*, and that this goddess was called *Pares*, from the Latin word *parere*, to bring forth, because prayers were then made for the fruitfulness of the sheep and other cattle. Ovid mentions a very tedious course of superstitious ceremonies, which the shepherds went through on that occasion. *Ovid. Fast. lib. 4.*

(k) Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us, that in his time the place where the asylum had stood, was consecrated to Jupiter; whence some have conjectured the *asylan* god to have been Jupiter, worshipped by Romulus under that title.

(l) The Sabines were an ancient people of Italy, situated between *Hetruria* and *Latium*, and said to be of *Umbrian* original. Their country was bounded on the north by *Umbria* and *Picenum*, on the south by *Latium*, on the west by part of *Umbria* and *Hetruria*, and on the east by the territories of the *Picentes*, *Vestini*, and *Marfi*. Their capital city was *Cures*, situated in the territory now called *Correze*, upon a little river of the same name, which empties itself into the *Tiber* above *La Farsa*. Part of the country of the Sabines makes a province of the ecclesiastic state, and is called *Terra Sabina*.

(l) He had an altar in the circus, quite different from all the other deities, because it was always veiled, to signify that counsels should be kept secret.

ingly:

, a,
Aug^o Co
M.

ingly: among these were the inhabitants of *Cænina* (m), *Crustumium* (n) and *Antemna* (o): but especially the Sabines, as the nearest to Rome, flocked thither in greatest numbers, with their wives and children. They were all received with the strongest demonstrations of friendship; but, while their attention was most taken up with the show, the Romans, upon a signal given by Romulus, rushed in with their drawn swords among the strangers, and carried off all the young women they found to their liking, to the number of about seven hundred. It is observed, that out of this whole number, there was only one married woman. The *Consualia*, or games in honour of the god Consus, were perpetuated at Rome, in commemoration of this first public spectacle exhibited by Romulus; and it is said, that to preserve the memory of the rape of the Sabine virgins, the custom was introduced of lifting the bride by main strength over the bridegroom's threshold.

This act of violence, which should naturally have been the ruin of Rome, proved the foundation of its grandeur. The *Cæninenses*, the *Antemnatenses*, and *Crustumini*, full of the strongest resentment, took the field successively; but experienced the first efforts of the Roman valour, and were defeated. Acron, general of the *Cæninenses*, was slain by Romulus, who returned to Rome, loaded with the spoils of his enemy, *opima spolia*, a name he gave them to distinguish their superior excellence. We do not find, in the whole series of the Roman history, more than two generals, since Romulus, that had the honour of carrying such spoils to Rome. Those of this prince were deposited in a temple which he erected on the hill *Saturnius*, called afterwards the capitol, and which he consecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*, so denominated from the Latin word *feretrum* (p), a trophy. This public entry of Romulus may be considered as the origin of the Roman triumphs, which, with some other military honours, was one of the principal sources of the grandeur of that nation. *Cænina*,

(m) *Cænina* was situate on the borders of Latium, and in the country of the Sabines. It was built on a mountain, as appears from Propertius, lib. 4. el. 11. *Cænina ductor ab arce*: it is also joined by Ovid, lib. 2. *Fast.* with the town of *Cures*, *Te Tatiis, parvique Cures, Cæninæque sensit*. Holstenius takes it to be either St. Angelo, or Monticelli.

(n) This town by Pliny and Livy is called *Crustumium* in the neuter gender; but Virgil makes it *Crustumerii*, a masculine in the plural, *Ardea Crustumérique*, *Æn.* l. 7. In Silius we find it *Crustumium*, from whence *Crustuminus* the adjective: it was either subject to the Sabines, or in their neighbourhood. Some geographers are of opinion that it stood on the same spot, as the present *Marcigliano Vecchio*.

(o) A town belonging to the Sabines, situated on this side of the *Anio*, from whence, according to Varro, it derives its name, *Antemnae, quod ante omnem, qui insuit in Tiberim*. It is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* l. 7. in the plural, *Ardea, Crustumérique, & turrigera Antemna*; but Silius Italicus, lib. 8. uses it in the singular, *Antemnaque prisco—Crustumio prior*. Some place it on the Tiber, between the *Tiburtine* and *Nomantine* ways.

(p) Or, according to others, from the Latin word *ferire*, to *smite*; because he had slain the king with his own hand. Some derive it from the word *ferre*, to *carry*; because Romulus himself had carried thither the armour of the vanquished king.

B 3

Crustu-

a, more than two generals — viz —
Aulus Cornelius Cossus in the year 318. —
Marcus Claudius Marcellus — 542.

First Roman colonies,

Crustumerium, and *Antemnæ* became Roman colonies: a good many of the inhabitants of those three cities were transplanted to Rome, and replaced by the same number of Romans. The like conduct was ever after observed by these people, which contributed not a little to the greatness of their empire.

5. 6. 7. 8.

War with the Sabines.

The Sabines had taken time to make their military preparations against the Romans; and the latter, on the other hand, had not been backward in applying for succours. Romulus having received supplies from the Albans and the Etruscans, mustered his forces, and found them not much inferior to those of the Sabines. The two armies engaged several times, with equal intrepidity, and alternate advantage (g); but nothing proved decisive (r). In short, it looked as if the war was to end only with the destruction of one of the two nations, when the Sabine women, under equal concern for their fathers and their husbands, went out of Rome (s), and throwing themselves in the midst of the combatants, obliged them, by their tears and lamentations, to put a stop to their fury. A truce, and soon after a treaty, was concluded, by which it was stipulated, that the Romans and the Sabines should unite henceforward, so as to constitute but one nation, under the government of their kings Romulus and Tatius, who should enjoy equal authority: it was also agreed, that Rome should preserve the name of its founder; that the citizens should be called *Quirites* (t), a name, till then, particular to the Sabines; out of which nation a hundred new senators were created.

The Romans and Sabines become one people.

(g) During this war, happened the affair of *Tarpeia*, daughter of *Tarpeius*, governor of the citadel, which Romulus built on the top of the hill *Saturnius*, called afterwards the capitol. Tatius encamped at the foot of this hill, where he found the Romans too well fortified to be attacked; when *Tarpeia* being greatly taken with the bracelets and rings of the Sabines, called to them from above, and promised to betray the place, provided they would but give her what they wore on their left arms. The Sabines agreed to her request; and by the taking of this citadel they were enabled to continue the war with greater security. We are told, that they crushed *Tarpeia* to death with their bucklers, which they threw upon her, thinking this a sufficient discharge of their promise. From her the hill *Saturnius* took the name of *Tarpeius*, till the building of the capitol; and even then the steepest part of it, whence criminals were thrown down headlong, continued to be called the *Tarpeian rock*.

(r) In one of these engagements, we are told, that while the Romans were flying before the enemy, Romulus made a vow to Jupiter, in order to obtain his assistance; upon which his troops made a stand, and drove back the Sabines. In consequence hereof, he erected a temple to Jupiter, whom, in memory of this happy event, he called *Stator*.

(s) This is according to Livy and Plutarch; other historians tell us, that the reconciliation was effected by a deputation of the Sabine women, proposed by *Herfilia*, wife of *Hosfilius*, who was grandfather to *Tullus Hosfilius*.

(t) The Sabines took this name from *Cures*, their capitol. The principal deity worshipped in this city, was Juno *Quiris* or *Curis*, who was represented with a spear or lance in her hand, from whence she received the above denomination; *Quiris*, in the Sabine language, signifying a spear.

FIRST CENTURY.

7

It is said, that at this time was instituted the body of Roman knights, as a middle rank between the patricians and plebeians. The government maintained for each man a horse, from whence they had the name of *equites*, knights; they were to fight either on foot or on horseback, according as occasion required; and they were distinguished by a gold ring. Other historians make them of an earlier date, pretending they were created, to the number of three hundred, by Romulus for his body guards, independently of the twelve guards called lictors, whose business it was to walk before him in public. After the extinction of the regal dignity, these lictors officiated in the same manner before the supreme magistrates, carrying an ax, stuck in a bundle of rods, as a symbol of the sovereign power (u).

9. 10. 11. 12. 13.

The two kings lived together at Rome five years in perfect harmony; during this time their attention was taken up intirely in enlarging and improving the city, and instituting new games. Among others they founded the festival called *Matronalia* (x), in memory of the peace concluded by the mediation of the women.

The Camerini (y) were the only people that attempted to disturb the tranquillity which Rome then enjoyed: they made incursions twice, and ravaged the Roman empire; the senate summoned them to appear and account for their depredations; but they despised the authority of this new court, and were punished for it with the loss of their town, which was taken by storm, and reduced to a colony.

14.

The death of Tatius. This event is differently related by historians; all that can be inferred, with any certainty, from their accounts, is that Tatius was murdered at Lavinium, whither he went with Romulus, to offer a sacrifice in expiation for some outrages committed by the Sabines against the Lavinians. As Romulus did not like that any body should share his power, he was suspected of having favoured this murder; at least, it is allowed that he did not appear to be so much affected with it as the laws of decency might, perhaps, require. He took care that no other prince should succeed Tatius; and, once more, he remained sole master of Rome.

(u) They are said to have been so called, *à ligandis reis*: the ax was for capital, the rods for smaller crimes.

(x) This festival was celebrated on the first of March. Ovid gives other reasons for this institution, viz. to obtain of Mars the blessing of bearing good children, a blessing which he first bestowed on Rhea Sylvia. During this festival, the Roman women that were married, served their slaves at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did from their wives in the time of the Saturnalia. This feast was the subject of Horace's ode,

Martiis caelebs quid agam calendis, &c.

(y) The Camerini were the inhabitants of *Cameria*, or *Camerium*, a small city of Latium, in the neighbourhood of Rome; its situation is not known exactly, but is supposed to have been bordering on the country of the Sabines.

15. 16.

The Camerini defeated.

A cruel plague makes great havock at Rome, and in the neighbouring territory; the cattle and the fruits of the earth are tainted with the infectious air; a great number of the inhabitants perish by famine and sickness. The Camerini take up arms, thinking this a favourable opportunity to shake off the yoke. They are defeated by Romulus, who returns triumphant to Rome, followed by a magnificent chair of brass, which he consecrated to the gods in the temple of Vulcan. This second triumph is marked by the capitoline marbles in the 16th year of Rome, and the first of August.

17.

This victory created him new enemies, who began to grow jealous of the progress of the Romans. The Fidenates (x) declared the first, and were beaten; their town was taken without any difficulty, and made a Roman colony. The inhabitants of Veii (r), the richest and most potent city in Hetruria, reclaimed *Fidena*, as a city of Etruscan original; but after the loss of several battles, they were obliged to sue for peace. To obtain which, they yielded up to the Romans a district called *Septem Pagi* (s), with some salt-pits near the sea side. Romulus granted them a truce of a hundred years, and enjoyed the honour of a third triumph.

18. 19. 20. 21. &c.

Greatly elated with such a number of victories, Romulus wanted to reign despotically over a people, whom the love of liberty alone had united under his command. Some authors pretend it was then he instituted a body guard of three hundred young horsemen, to whom he gave the name of *celeræ*, to shew with what celerity and dispatch they ought to execute his orders. He affected to distinguish himself by a purple robe which he constantly wore, and by neglecting to consult the senate. If he went to their assembly, it seemed to be rather to give orders, than to receive advice. But what most of all provoked the fathers, was his restoring, of his own authority, the hostages whom the Veientes had sent to Rome, and who were kept there as a

(x) *Fidena* was a city of Latium, situate on the banks of the Tiber, not far from where the Anio empties itself into this river, about forty stadia from Rome. Dionysius calls it πόλις μεγάλη τῇ τῷ πολυάνθεκτος. Livy uses it in the plural, *bis consulibus Fidenæ obsessæ*; and Virgil in the singular, *Æn. 6. Hi tibi Nomentum & Gabios, urbemque Fidenam*. There are some remains of it to be seen near the Tiber, two miles above the conflux of the Anio.

(r) *Veii*, a city of Tuscany, situated on a craggy rock, about one hundred furlongs from Rome. Dionysius Halicarnassensis compares it to Athens for extent and riches. The inhabitants are called Veientes and Veientani. Cluverius places it in the neighbourhood of the present *Scrofanò*. There are no vestiges of it to be seen. But Heldenius has been at a great deal of pains to prove against Cluverius, that it was situate on a steep hill, opposite to the Farnesian island.

(s) These were seven small towns situate on the Tiber; and the salt-pits were near the mouth of that river.

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FIRST CENTURY.

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security for the performance of their engagement : this last step they could not bear.

37.

Death of Romulus. Historians fix it to the 7th of July of this year : they say, that Romulus having appointed a review of his troops that day, at a place called the *Palus Caprea*, or *Goat's Marsh* (t), on a sudden arose a violent storm which dispersed the army. Romulus was left alone with the senators who attended him thither; and, from that time, he appeared no more. The senators were justly suspected of having embraced this opportunity to get rid of a prince, who was become odious to them; but they artfully imputed this disaster to the gods. They gave out, that in the midst of the tempest they had seen the king, surrounded by a flame, and suddenly snatched up into heaven. Julius Proculus, one of the senators, further made oath, that this prince had appeared to him, and assured him that the gods had admitted him into their order. From that time he was reckoned one of the Roman deities, by the name of *Quirinus* (u). Death of Romulus.

38. 39.

Rome continued above a year without a king. As Romulus had left no children, the throne, of course, was become vacant; but the Romans and Sabines were alike ambitious of having a king of their own nation. To avoid anarchy and confusion, it was agreed, that during this interval, which was called an *interregnum*, the senators should take the government into their own hands; that each of them should rule, in his turn, the space of five days, under the name of *interrex*, and enjoy all the honours of sovereignty. The people were soon tired of this kind of government, which gave them a multitude of masters, instead of one. Interregnum.

The senators, apprehensive of an insurrection, left the election of a king to the people, on condition that it was confirmed by the senate; and the people, pleased with this condescension, remitted the choice to the fathers. To obviate all farther dispute, the Roman and Sabine senators drew lots, to determine who should have the right of election, and they, to whom the lot proved favourable, were to chuse a king of a different nation; it fell to the Romans to chuse, and Numa Pompilius was elected.

40.

This man was in high reputation for his virtue and probity, and lived near the city of Cures, the capital of the Sabines. He had long led a solitary life, and was wholly taken up with the study of the laws Numa Pompilius ad king.

(t) A place in the neighbourhood of Rome. His death gave rise, according to Plutarch, to the *vivus nuptialis*, the *nones of the goats*, or *populifugium*, that is, the flight of the people, a festival celebrated by the Romans, on the nones of July.

(u) Because he was the founder of the Romans, who, as we have already mentioned, had taken the name of Quirites from the Sabines. His temple stood on the hill, which from hence was denominated *Quirinalis*, and is now known by the name of *Monte Cavallo*.

and

and the worship of the gods. His marriage with Tatia, the daughter of Tatius, who shared the sovereignty with Romulus, could not engage him to exchange his retreat for the honours which he might have naturally expected at Rome. And now to make him accept of the crown, his relations and countrymen were obliged to join their intreaties to those of the Roman ambassadors. Upon his arrival at Rome, Spurius Vettius, the *interrex* for the day, made the people elect him anew, and the senate confirmed the choice.

41. 42. 43. 44. &c.

Numa's
laws, civil
and reli-
gious.

Numa had not the military abilities of his predecessor; but he shewed himself a great king merely by his civil virtues. The Romans, naturally fierce and untractable, wanted a check to moderate their warlike ardour; this Numa effected by inspiring them with a love of the laws, and reverence for the gods. A notion had been spread, that he lived in familiarity with the nymph Egeria. Of this persuasion he took advantage, to make the people believe that he did nothing without the advice of that nymph.

To give a stability to contracts, he erected an altar to *Bona Fides*, or *Good Faith*, in whose name those oaths, which they called *ex fide*, were to be taken. To render the boundaries of lands sacred and inviolate, he instituted a festival called *Terminalia*, in honour of the God *Terminus*, who presided there. Lastly, to shew how cautiously war ought to be entered upon, he consecrated a temple to *Janus*, a deity, whose double face seemed to be the symbol of prudence, which looks two ways, and considers what is past, and what to follow. This temple was to be open in time of war, and shut in time of peace; which it was during all Numa's reign. He contrived also another check to the military ardour of the Romans, by establishing heralds, called *feciales* (*v*), whose office it was to proclaim war; but not till they had demanded satisfaction, and used all their endeavours to bring about a reconciliation. The member of that body, charged with this deputation or embassy, was called *pater patratus* (*x*). It is said, that another office of the *feciales* was to accommodate disputes betwixt individuals, and to prevent their going to law; an office worthy, indeed, of those ministers of peace, and which seems to have properly belonged to their province, since war is no more than a suit between states, and differs from those between private persons, only as it is attended with greater mischief.

(*v*) Varro derives the word *feciales* from *fides*, because they had the care of the public faith. Others, on the same account, derive it à *federe faciendo*. Their original is said to have been more ancient than Numa; for Dionys. Halicarn. finds them among the *Aboigines*.

(*x*) Because he must have been one, who had a father and a son both alive, which implies a more perfect sort of a father, and as such they might think him to be the properest judge in matters of this importance. The learned have not determined, whether the *pater patratus* was a constant officer, or only a temporary minister, and elected upon a particular occasion.

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But the master-piece of Numa's policy, was the distribution of the citizens of Rome into distinct bodies of tradesmen. Hitherto this city had been rent into two factions, in consequence of the distinction which still subsisted between the Romans and the Sabines, who had even their separate quarters. By this new regulation every man was naturally induced to lay aside all national prejudice, and to think only of pursuing the interest of that body or society into which he had entered. This is a fact which seems to contradict what Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that Romulus would not allow freemen to follow any other profession than war and agriculture; unless we are willing to suppose that Numa, whose views were quite different from those of Romulus, suffered his subjects to practise what had been forbidden by his predecessor. The better to keep them constantly attentive to the culture of their lands, he divided them into *pagi*, or villages, and appointed inspectors or superintendents over them: he often visited their improvements himself, and gave preferments to those whom he found laborious and industrious.

He distributes the citizens into distinct bodies of tradesmen.

Among the regulations which this prince made in regard to religion, we may observe,

1°. The college of the *pontifices* (y); the master or superintendent of Pontifices, whom was called *pontifex maximus*. Numa thinking it was not right policy to separate the priesthood from the empire, invested himself first with this dignity. The privileges annexed to it were very considerable, as the *high priest* was legislator and supreme judge in all matters appertaining to religion.

2°. The college of the *flamines*, so called from the flame-coloured *Flaminæa* tufts on their caps (z) (*flameum*). These priests were confined to the worship of some particular gods. It is thought that Jupiter's priest, *flamen Dialis*, and the priest belonging to Mars, *flamen Martialis*, were instituted by Romulus, and that Numa only added a third, in honour of Romulus, who, as we have already mentioned, was deified by the name of Quirinus.

3°. The college of *vestals*, or virgins, consecrated to the worship of the goddess Vesta, and who had the care of several sacred things, especially the preservation of a fire which the Romans looked upon as sacred, imagining that the security of their state depended on the per-

(y) A word of uncertain derivation, some taking it from *pons* and *facere*, because they first built the *Sublician* bridge at Rome, and were intrusted with the care of repairing of it; and others from *posse* and *facere*, where *facere* signifies the same as *efficere* and *sacrificare*. The first, though ridiculed by Plutarch, is the most received opinion.

(z) Plutarch makes it a corruption of *pilamines*, from *pilus*, a sort of cap peculiar to the order. Others will have it a contraction of *flamines*, from *flum*, and tell us, that finding their caps too heavy, they bound a parcel of thread about their heads. The three instituted at first were *flamen Dialis*, *Martialis*, and *Quirinalis*. Their wives were called *flaminicæ*, and shared with their husbands the care of the sacrifices. See Gell. Noct. Att. l. 10. c. 15.

petuity of this fire (a). To these vestals the greatest honours were paid, so long as they preserved their virginity, and kept the sacred fire continually burning. The lictors carried the fasces before them, as before the king; they enjoyed the singular privilege of saving the life of a malefactor leading to execution, who might happen to fall in their way, provided they made oath that their meeting was merely accidental. On the other hand, the severest punishments were inflicted upon them, whenever they transgressed. If a vestal suffered the sacred fire to be extinguished, she was whipt with rods, the punishment of slaves; but if she broke her vow of virginity, she was buried alive, in a place allotted for that particular use (b). The worship of Vesta was introduced into Italy by the Trojans; but Romulus neglected it during his reign, fearing, as it is said, lest the slips which the vestals might happen to commit, should revive the memory of what befell his mother, Rhea Sylvia.

Salii.

4°. The college of the *salii*, or salian priests: these were twelve young Romans (c), whose office it was to take care of a brazen target, which Numa pretended to have been sent from heaven, as a safeguard to the Romans, so long as they preserved this precious deposit. He caused eleven other targets to be made exactly of the same dimensions and form, to the end that if any one ever attempted to steal it away, they should be confounded, not knowing how to distinguish the true from the counterfeit. These targets, to which, from their crooked figure, they gave the name of *ancilia* (d), were generally hung up in the temple of Mars; but in the solemn procession, which they performed every year in the month of March, the salians carried them on the left arm, and striking them with a sword, they danced and sang

(a) We meet with the sacred fire long before, and even in the time of Æneas, who is said to have brought it, together with the order of vestal virgins, from Troy. Ascanius, and his successors held this order in great esteem; for we find that Rhea Sylvia, the king's grand-daughter, was a vestal. If the fire happened to go out, it was thought impiety to light it at any common flame; but they made use of the rays of the sun. Every year, on the first of March, whether it had gone out or not, they lighted it anew. They had also the care of the famous Palladium, brought from Troy by Æneas. They were admitted between the years of six and ten, and were not said to be elected, but *capte*, taken, the *pontifex maximus* taking her that he liked, as it were by force, from her parents.

(b) And thence called *Campus Sceleratus*, as we are informed by Festus.

(c) Tullus Hostilius afterwards increased the college with twelve more salii; for distinction's sake, the twelve first were generally called *salii Palatini*, from the *mons Palatinus*, whence their procession began; and the other *salii Collini*, or *Agonenses*, from the *mons Quirinalis*, sometimes called *mons Agonalis*, where they had a chapel. Their entertainments on their solemn feasts were extremely expensive; hence Horace useth *dapes saliares*, for delicate meats, l. 1. od. 37.

(d) They were called *ancilia* from ἀγκύλη, which signifies a crooked javelin; or from the *cubitus* (ἀγκών), that part of the arm between the wrist and the elbow, upon which they carried the *ancilia*.

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verses composed for this festival (e): and it is from this dancing and leaping, that they took the name of *falii*.

5°. Last of all, the college of *augurs* (f), whose office it was to Augurs. foretell future events by the flying or chirping of birds, from the manner in which the sacred chicken would eat, and from the observations they made in the heavens. This ceremony was used almost on all public occasions: and Romulus and Remus observed it, when they were called to the regal dignity. It was likewise usual to consult the will of the gods, by inspecting the entrails of victims; and the ministers appointed for these rites, were called *aruspices* (g).

To settle the order of sacrifices, it was necessary to regulate that of Numa re- forms the calendar. the days and months of the year. Romulus reckoned only ten months, and the year began in March; but as this number neither agreed with the solar nor lunar course, Numa added two months, January and February, to the beginning of the year. It was he likewise that instituted the days called *Fasti* & *Nefasti*, on the former it was lawful for the judges to try causes, and for the people to hold their meetings, neither of which was permitted on the latter.

82.

Death of Numa. All historians agree, that this good king died la- Death of Numa. mented, not only by his subjects, but by the neighbouring nations, who flocked from all parts to celebrate his obsequies; a kind of triumph which he really merited, since he contributed more to the happiness, than Romulus to the greatness, of the Romans. He was interred, contrary to the custom of that nation, which was to burn the bodies of the deceased: and he ordered all the books he wrote on philosophy and religion, to be buried with him. These books were afterwards found, in the year 573 of Rome, upon digging at the foot of the *Janiculum* (h); and, what will perhaps appear surprizing, they were

(e) These were called the *carmen saliare*, the original form of which was composed by Numa.

(f) Some derive the name of *augurs* *ab avium gestu*, from the motion of birds; others *ab avium garritu*, from their chirping. Their number at first was three, Servius Tullus added a fourth; five more were added in the year of the city 454, and Sylla made the number up fifteen. The *augurs*, who drew their observations from birds, were called *auspices* *ab avis & specio*; he that was to make his observation from chickens kept up for this purpose in a coop or pen, had the name of *pullarius*; if, upon throwing crumbs or corn to those chickens, they fed greedily, it was reckoned a happy omen; but quite the reverse if they flew away, or scattered the food with their wings, or took no notice of it.

(g) *Ab aris inspicendis*, from looking upon the altars. The institution of soothsaying was borrowed from the Tuscans, and these received it, pursuant to ancient tradition, from a boy whom, in a strange manner, they ploughed up out of the ground, and who revealed to them the several mysteries of this art. See Cic. de Div. l. 2.

(h) One of the hills of Rome; this, with two others of inferior note, was added, in later times, to the seven principal hills, which were *mons Palatinus*, *Tarpeius*, *Quirinalis*, *Caelius*, *Esquilinus*, *Viminalis*, and *Aventinus*. The *Janiculum* was so called, either

were publicly burnt by an order of the senate, for containing several things prejudicial to religion. Aurelius Victor positively assures us, that Numa's motives for establishing the Roman religion, as mentioned in those books, were found very trivial. It has been the opinion of several writers, that this prince acknowledged the existence of one only true God, whom he mentioned in his books; that he prohibited the representing of the deity under any corporal form; and that, in consequence of this prohibition, the Romans for upwards of a hundred and fifty years had no statues in their temples.

83. 84.

Interregnum,

The interregnum upon the death of Numa did not last long: during this period, the same form of government was established, as had obtained under the first interregnum. Here it is proper to observe, that this very form, and even the title of *interrex*, were preserved, under the republic, in the intervals between the election of magistrates.

Tullus Hostilius 3d king.

The Romans chose, for their third king, Tullus Hostilius, the grandson of Hostus, a man of wealth and power, who settled at Rome about four years after its foundation, and who was killed in a second engagement with the Sabines, after having merited, by his valour, that a pillar should be erected to his memory on the field of battle (g). The new king finding his own estate sufficient to maintain the regal dignity, generously distributed among his poorer subjects those lands, which were the demesnes of the crown.

85. 86.

His war with the Albans.

Tullus inherited all the courage of his grandfather, and only wanted an opportunity to display it. This soon offered, in consequence of some depredations committed by the subjects of Alba on the Roman territory. War is declared, and both armies take the field; but, instead of coming to an engagement, they agree that three champions shall be chosen out of each camp, to decide which of the two nations is to have the superiority. This step they were induced to take from a very urgent motive: they had received certain advice that some of the neighbouring nations (h) had taken post upon the mountains, to be ready to attack the contending armies, when weakened by a battle, and so to make an easy conquest of both Romans and Albans.

The combat of the Horatii and Curiatii.

The combat of the three *Horatii* against the three *Curiatii*, their cousin Germans, and friends. There are few but have heard of the stratagem by which one of the *Horatii*, who was left single against the three *Curiatii*, after they had killed his two brothers, decided the

either from an old town of the same name, said to have been built by Janus; or because Janus lived and was buried here; or because it was a sort of a gate (Janus) to the Romans, from whence they issued out upon the Tuscans.

(g) He was the first that entered the breach at the taking of Fidenæ, upon which account Romulus rewarded him with a mural crown. This was the recompence conferred by generals on the person, who first scaled the walls of a besieged city.

(h) The Veientes and Fidenates.

cause

cause in favour of the Romans. As the three Alban brothers had received several wounds, which impaired their strength, and made them singly an unequal match for Horatius, he artfully retreated, as if he fled; then having separated them by this artifice, he turned short, and obtained an easy victory over them all successively. We meet in the Greek history (i) with an adventure much of this same kind, which has given reason to suspect, that either the Greeks or the Romans were ambitious to embellish their history with an exploit that belonged to a different nation. If the Romans only borrowed it from the Greeks, still it proves how far they carried the enthusiastic notion of glory. Horatius, upon his return to Rome, kills his sister for reproaching him with the murder of one of the Curiatii, to whom she had been betrothed. Hereupon he is condemned to death by the two commissioners, whom Tullus had appointed to try him (*duumviri*) and from their sentence he appeals to the senate. His punishment is changed, and he is condemned to *pass under the yoke*; but, at the same time, a trophy was erected to him in the forum, where the spoils of the three Curiatii were suspended. The yoke was a gate made of two spears, with a third laid cross them at the top, under which those who had surrendered themselves prisoners of war, were made to pass, bare headed, in token of subjection.

87. 88.

Metius Suffetius (k), with pain, beheld his country subdued by the defeat of the three Curiatii; he therefore imagined he should be able to recover her liberty, by joining with the Fidenates, who had attempted, during the last war, to shake off the Roman yoke. Privately encouraged by this commander, they take the field, and advance to the neighbourhood of Rome, in conjunction with the Veientes their allies. Suffetius had promised to desert the Romans, and go over to the Fidenates and Veientes, in the midst of the engagement. He had not courage to keep his word, but proved a traitor alike to his masters and to his allies, by remaining a quiet spectator of the battle, which ended intirely to the advantage of the Romans. Never was victory more complete. At the close of the battle, Suffetius, to cover his treachery, fell upon the remains of the dispersed Fidenates and Veientes. Tullus pretended to give into the snare, though he had received intelligence of every thing from the prisoners. The next day he assembled the troops,

Treachery
of Metius
Suffetius.

The Fide-
nates and
Veientes
routed.

(i) This was in a long war between two cities, Tegea and Pheneæ, when they came to an agreement, to refer the decision of the controversy, by combat, to three brothers on each side, the sons of Reximachus for Tegea; and for Pheneæ, the sons of Damostratus. Two of the sons of Reximachus were slain; but Critolaus, the third, under pretence of running away, divided his enemies, and killed them all, one by one. Upon his return, his sister Demodice was not so well pleased; for she had been betrothed to Demodicus, one of the brothers that was slain. Critolaus, incensed at this behaviour, killed his sister; and being afterwards indicted for the fact, he was acquitted by his mother. *Plut. Parallels between the Romans and Greeks*; but this treatise is looked upon as spurious.

(k) By some he is called Suffetius.

under

under pretence of haranguing them: Suffetius, and his accomplices, were arrested, by the king's orders, in the middle of the camp; the accomplices were put to the sword, and Suffetius was torn in four quarters.

Destruction
of Alba.

Destruction of Alba. The inhabitants of this city had not as yet heard of what passed, when they were surprized by a Roman army under the command of young Horatius. He had orders to demolish the city; and not one public or private edifice, except the temples, was spared. The Albans are transplanted to Rome; some of their principal families are incorporated with the patricians, and the knights; the rest are distributed among the curiæ.

89. 90. 91.

The Fidenates revolt again.

92. 93.

War with
the Sabines.

War with the Sabines (*b*), which procures the honour of a second triumph to Tullus Hostilius: his first was after the defeat of the Fidenates and Veientes. We have already taken notice, that the Sabines united with the Romans in the reign of king Tatius; but part of this nation still continued independent; and it is these we mean in this place.

94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Tullus summons the Latin towns, which had been dependent on Alba, to submit to Rome. Their refusal is followed by a war, which lasted several years, but was not pushed on with vigour; the Romans, not chusing to destroy a people, whom they considered as their subjects. During this whole war, we find only the town of Medulia (*c*), which, for having attempted to shake off its subjection to the Romans, to whom it submitted in Romulus's time, was rendered incapable of another revolt.

(*b*) It was occasioned by the insults, which the Sabines had offered to some Roman citizens, at the temple of the goddess Feronia, which stood at the foot of mount Soracte, upon the banks of the Tiber. The goddess Feronia presided over forests and gardens, and is supposed, by some, to be the same with Flora or Proserpine. Her temple was frequented by the neighbouring nations, and a fair was annually kept near it. The battle, which ended this war, was fought in the neighbourhood of Eretum, a town about thirteen miles from Rome (now monte Eretundo), when Tullus, having made a vow to institute, on the same day, a festival in honour of Saturn and Ops, gained a complete victory. This festival was kept in the month of December, under the name of *Saturnalia* and *Opalia*: servants had, at this time, a right of being served by their masters, of wearing their cloaths, and reprimanding them for their faults.

(*c*) A small town of Latium, belonging to the Sabines; but the situation of it is not easy to ascertain. Livy commends the fortifications of this place.

PARTICULAR REMARKS.

THE origin of empires is generally embellished, or rather disguised with fables. I thought it my duty to take no notice of those which are told of Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome: *There were kings at Rome, there were consuls, there were decemvirs*, says a celebrated writer: *The people of Rome destroyed Carthage, Cæsar vanquished Pompey; all this is true: but when they tell you, that Castor and Pollux fought for this people; that a vestal, with her girdle, set a vessel on float, which before was aground; that a gulf was closed as soon as Curtius jumped into it; do not believe a word of it.* They who tell us that Romulus and Remus were condemned to be thrown into the Tiber, at the instigation of Amulius, who had usurped the throne of Alba from their grandfather Numitor; that the person entrusted with this inhuman office, was satisfied with exposing them in a wooden trough on the river Tiber, with an inscription declaring the circumstances of their birth; that this wooden trough was fortunately left safe on the strand; that a she-wolf, hearing their cries, came up and suckled them; that at length Faustulus, the chief of the king's shepherds, received them into his cottage, and afterwards took care to have them educated as princes; they, I say, who tell us such wonders, do not deserve more credit. Away with such idle fables: let us leave them to those shallow understandings, who have no relish for history, but when dressed in the disguise of romance; and who look upon the marvellous as the only sublime.

The Roman history has charms enough of its own, without having recourse to foreign embellishments. We are amazed at the low beginnings of that people, when compared to the high pitch of grandeur, which they afterwards acquired. We are eager to discover the causes of this surprizing progress; we are inclined to attribute it to the very genius of the founder of Rome, and of the primitive Romans, as well as to the circumstances under which this empire was founded; and, upon inquiry, we shall find ourselves not at all mistaken.

At the time when Romulus and Remus laid the foundation of Rome, Italy abounded with a great number of petty states, many of which consisted only of a single fortified town, and a few neighbouring fields. To form a settlement of this kind, might have been the utmost ambition of two young princes, that had no other force or support than a few herdsmen and adventurers, who followed their fortune. Their aim might have been to build a town, and not to found an empire. But Romulus carried his views a great deal farther. After he had acquired the sole command over his little colony, by killing his brother, he set his mind upon increasing his power, and extending the limits of his dominions.

C

A little

A little country town, surrounded with a ditch and a wall of no manner of strength, and filled with mean, irregular huts, was, in appearance, a contemptible object; but Romulus's ambition made him view this little town in a nobler light, and consider these thatched houses, as the foundation of a lasting city. He was in hopes that Rome, by a constant exertion of her strength, might not only be considerably improved, but gradually subdue all her neighbours, and become mistress of Italy. Even the feeble condition of this city seemed to him, in some measure, to presage the grandeur and power which she was one day to acquire. Fortune delights in befriending those, who expect nothing but from her hands, and from their own endeavours. Besides, we are apt to have no distrust of the impotent; we despise, we neglect them; not considering that they are continually upon the watch, ready to take advantage of our security, of our indolence, or our mistakes, in order to raise themselves upon our ruins. No doubt but Romulus often made these reflexions, and thereon he founded part of his hopes. Every thing shews him to have been a profound politician. Who can but admire his notion of opening an asylum in his little town; an artifice which had luckily the effect, not only of increasing the power of Rome, but also of diminishing that of his neighbours? Who can help being surprized at the means he used to procure women for his subjects, that wanted the commerce of the sex, not only to soften and polish their manners, but likewise for the purpose of propagation? When the neighbouring nations refused to marry their daughters to the Romans, Romulus might have undertaken to oblige them to it by force of arms; but he would have run the risk, either of miscarrying intirely, in case of any unprosperous stroke of fortune; or of seeing an affair procrastinated, that admitted of no delay; and perhaps his kingdom would have ended with the original inhabitants of Rome. The union which this prince devised between the two principal bodies in the state, by establishing the right of patronage; and his prudence in making friends and Roman citizens of all his vanquished enemies, are sufficient to give us an high idea of his profound and extensive policy. But what chiefly characterizes the genius of this founder of the most celebrated empire in the universe, is his forbidding the Romans to follow any other occupation than that of arms and agriculture: the liberal arts were left to slaves; a plain proof that he did not think so much of contributing to the happiness, as to the power and grandeur of the Romans.

The first inhabitants of Rome were a very proper people to promote the views of their founder. A multitude of young adventurers, free booters, fugitive slaves, insolvent debtors, and criminals, who escaped from punishment, and fled to him for refuge, were not so desirous of repose, as of new adventures: they looked upon Romulus not as their king, but as their chief and general; they considered Rome not as a town where they were to live in subjection to a monarch, and to laws,

but

but as a camp, where they might have a conveniency for making excursions into the neighbouring country, and exercising their usual depredations. Romulus must have been pleased to see the bold and martial spirit of his people. War was the only way for him to procure riches, and dominions. Far from checking this martial spirit, it was his interest to excite and encourage it. There would have been an end of Rome, had he been satisfied with keeping its first inhabitants in a state of inaction. Either they would have quickly dispersed, each to return to his original manner of life; or, for want of an opportunity of exercising their activity on external objects, they would have destroyed themselves at home, by arming to their mutual destruction. Neither was it less dangerous, to assume too absolute an authority over them. Romulus should not have forgot, that the reason of their submitting to his command, was their aversion from dependance and subordination: either he forgot, or did not sufficiently attend to this circumstance, which was the cause of his untimely apotheosis.

Of all the successors of Romulus, Numa is the only one who did not busy himself in military pursuits. He was more capable of governing, than of founding a state. His whole ambition was to reign peaceably over a people, whose manners he wanted to soften by the great number of religious ceremonies which he instituted, and which were very readily embraced by the Romans. The familiarity which this prince pretended to have with the nymph Egeria, gave a great sanction to his institutions, and flattered the Romans, who were ever a superstitious people, from the same cause that made them fond of military glory. Their pride and their vanity induced them easily to believe, that the gods watched, in a particular manner, over the safety of their empire; and that they were destined to command other nations. Such a persuasion would have been alone sufficient to make them perform great feats; and no doubt but Numa's successors took particular care to confirm them in this notion, so proper to raise their martial ardour. This we see by the conduct of Tarquin the Proud, who persuaded them that a human head, which was found at Rome upon digging the foundations of a temple, foreshowed that this city was designed by heaven to be one day the head and mistress of Italy.

What might not have been expected from a people full of such notions of future grandeur; a people who, of course, were strangers to any other than military glory; and who, moreover, were indebted to a chain of circumstances for the increase of their empire? Had Rome been surrounded by powerful states, she would have continued in her original impotence and obscurity. What probability was there, that she would ever have laid the foundations of her own greatness on their ruins? What probability, that she could have formed so wild a design? No plan can be deemed reasonable, if there is not a certain proportion between the cause, and the effect; now there is no doubt, but

in the supposition we are here making, there would be an intire disproportion. But we observed before, that at the time of the foundation of Rome, Italy was only an assemblage of petty states; a body formed of an infinite number of parts, ill connected, and ill put together. In those days they had no idea, at least in Italy, of that equilibrium of power, which has since been the object and study of governments. The policy of those remote times did not reach so far. Nations looked on with indifference, while their neighbours were overrun by other powers; not reflecting, that to be neuter or inactive on those occasions, was lending arms against themselves, and suffering an enemy to acquire such strength, as must overpower them in the end. True it is, that we see a few instances of petty alliances against the Romans, formed by the people of Italy; but, either they were all quickly dissolved; or they were ill concerted, and worse supported; or, in short, their endeavours proved fruitless. Italy should have formed more powerful associations; the whole country, indeed, should have armed against Rome, or must have expected to be one day obliged to submit to her laws.



SECOND CENTURY.

Year of Rome 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. &c.

Before Christ 653. 652. &c.

THE Sabines revolt: this war is terminated by a complete victory, The Sabines which Tullus obtains over that nation near the forest known by *overthrown*. the name of *the Malefactors* (a).

109.

Historians relate, that this year it rained stones on the hill of Alba, and that a voice from heaven had been heard there, commanding the Albans to resume their ancient religious ceremonies. In the Roman history we meet with frequent instances of the like prodigies; though, certainly, they were nothing more than natural events, which, by priest-craft and superstition, were declared to be of a miraculous kind. Tullus ordains expiatory sacrifices for nine days (b). And, from that time, it became customary to employ nine days in making their peace with heaven, as often as they were terrified with the like prodigies. Roman superstition.

110. 111. 112.

The plague is felt at Rome. Tullus is attacked with a lingering disorder, which throws him into the most shameful superstition.

113.

Death of this prince, who perishes with his whole family. Some historians pretend, that upon his attempting to perform a magical sacrifice, and not observing the proper ceremonies, the god, to whom he was sacrificing, expressed his indignation by destroying him, with his wife and children, by lightning. Others, with greater probability, suspect that he was killed by Ancus Martius, Numa's grandson, who succeeded him in the throne. In the opinion of the latter, the palace was set on fire by Ancus, who expected to be chosen king, in case this prince died without issue; which accordingly happened. Death of Tullus.

114. 115. 116.

Ancus, though an usurper, seemed to have some virtues, and particularly he affected to tread in the footsteps of Numa, his grandfather by the mother's side (c). The first years of his reign were Ancus Marcius 4th king.

(a) It had probably served as a retreat to robbers.

(b) These were the *novendiales feriae*.

(c) His mother's name was Pompilia, his father's Marcius, son of that Marcius, at whose persuasion Numa accepted of the kingdom. The Romans, generally speaking, had three names, the *prænomen*, answering to our Christian names, but not imposed till the assuming the manly gown; the *nomen*, shewing the family from which they sprung; and the *cognomen*, to distinguish families, and express some particular occurrence. For instance, Marcus Tullius Cicero. But this is to be understood only of the *ingenui*, or free born; for, as to the slaves, they had no other name than what they borrowed from the *prænomen* of their masters, as *Lucipor*, i. e. *Lucii puer*, or the slave of Lucius. We are told, that Marcius took the name of Ancus from *ἄγκυρα*, because he had a crooked arm.

spent in restoring the old religious ceremonies, and in promoting agriculture.

117.

War with
the Latins.

The breaking out of the war with the Latins. These people had violated the treaty concluded with Tullus, imagining they had to deal with such a pacific prince as Numa; but a dear-bought experience convinced them of their error. *Politorium* (d), a Latin city, was no sooner attacked than taken, and the inhabitants were transplanted to Rome.

118.

The Latins repeopled *Politorium*; Ancus takes this city a second time, sets fire to it, and demolishes the walls.

119. 120. 121.

All his enterprizes are crowned with success. *Medulia* and *Ficana*, which had been taken by the Latins, are reduced for ever under the obedience of Rome. After several engagements, in which the Roman army had always the advantage, the Latins were no longer able to keep the field: Ancus took a great number of them prisoners, and transplanted them to Rome.

122. 123. 124. 125. &c.

He enlarges
the city of
Rome.

Such a multitude of new inhabitants obliged the king to enlarge the city of Rome, by carrying the walls round the Aventine hill. This city, which originally stood only upon mount Palatine, had already increased its circumference with three hills more, namely *mons Tarpeius*, called at first *Saturnius*, and afterwards the Capitol, where the Sabines were settled; *mons Quirinalis*, where Numa first erected a temple to Romulus, by the name of Quirinus; *mons Caelius*, which had been given to the Albans for their quarter; and now it took in *mons Aventinus*, which was assigned to the Latins. It is thought, that about this same time the Romans inclosed also the hill *Janiculum*, which stood on the other side of the Tiber, on a spot belonging to the Tuscans; but, at that time, it continued separate from the city, and served as a sort of citadel.

The walls of Rome are surrounded with a ditch, called *Fossa Quiritium*, because all the people were employed in this important fortification (e).

(d) The exact situation of *Politorium*, and *Ficana*, is obscure and uncertain; all we know is, that they were Latin cities, and not far from the mouth of the Tiber.

(e) He likewise built the bridge *Sublicius* over the Tiber, where it washes the foot of mount Aventine. The above word is derived from the piles on which it stood; that being the signification of *publica*. It was the first bridge built over the Tiber, or perhaps in Italy; neither iron nor copper were made use of in building it; but it was afterwards made of stone by the prætor *Æmilius Lepidus*, and was broke down by an inundation of the Tiber, under pope Adrian I.

Eminent and learned men.

Alceus, a native of Mitylene, in the isle of Lesbos, flourished in the 44th olympiad.

He excelled in lyric poetry; and it is from him that alcaic verse took its name.

Arion, a native of Methymne, in the isle of Lesbos.

This poet, the inventor of dithyrambic verse, was also an excellent musician, if we may judge from what we are told of the powerful effects of his lyre. He lived towards the thirty eighth olympiad.

Cleobulus of Linda, one of the seven sages, died towards the fifty fifth olympiad.

He travelled into Egypt, to learn philosophy of that nation.

Draco lived in the thirty ninth olympiad.

This celebrated legislator of the Athenians, enacted such severe laws, that they were said to have been written in blood.

Periander of Corinth, the tyrant of his country, and one of the seven sages.

There are few crimes with which this man has not been charged. Yet Greece has placed him among her sages, because he was a very great politician. He was born in the twenty ninth olympiad, and died in the forty eighth.

Pittacus of Mytilene, one of the seven sages, died the third year of the fifty second olympiad.

His countrymen conferred the supreme power upon him, which he accepted only for a limited time. He left them some laws penned in verse: and thus were most things written, that tended to the instruction of mankind.

Sappho, a celebrated lady of Lesbos, lived at the same time as Alceus.

The few fragments left of her writings, afford us reason to judge more favourably of her wit, than of her morals. The verse called Sapphic took its name from her.

Cotemporary princes.

Kings of Judah.

Manasseh,	641
Ammon,	640
Josiah,	600

Jehohahaz. This prince, after a reign of three months, is carried prisoner into Egypt by Pharaoh Necho.

Eliakim or Jehoiakim. In his reign the Jews are sent captives to Babylon, by Nebuchadnezzar the Great. This captivity lasted seventy years: Jehoiakim is dethroned in 599

Jeconiah, after a reign of three months, is transported to Babylon.

Zedekiah or Mattaniah reigns till 587
Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem, and destroys the temple; and appoints Gedaliah governor of Judæa.

Kings of Egypt.

Anarchy.

Pfammithichus having ascended the throne towards the year 670 before J. C. died towards

Nechus,	600
Pfammuthis,	594
Apries,	575
Partamis,	569
Amasis.	

Kings of Assyria.

Saolduchinus. This is the Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in *Judith*. 648

Chyniladan or Sarac, 626

Nabopolassar, the Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in *Tobiab*, 605

Nebuchadnezzar the Great, 565

Evilmerodach, 562

Nabonadius or Belshazar.

Kings of the Medes.

Dejoces, the first king of Media, died towards the year 657

Phraortes, the *Arpaxad* mentioned in *Judith*, 625

Cyaxares, the *Abasuerus* mentioned in *Tobiab*, 595

Astyages, the *Abasuerus* mentioned in *Esther*, and *Darius the Mede* in *Daniel*, reigns by himself till 560

130. 131.

First instance of taking a town by sap.

The Fidenates revolt a third time. Ancus makes himself master of their city by a stratagem, which is thought to be his own invention; at least, this is the first time of its being mentioned in the Roman history. He dug a subterraneous way from his camp to the city; after which he commanded an escalade, in order to draw the enemy upon the walls; while his sappers made a passage, and got into the city, where they opened the gates to the besiegers.

132. 133. 134.

Congiararia.

To this very time we may refer the foundation of the port and city of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber. By this step, Ancus opened a communication with the sea, and paved the way for new conquests. He likewise caused many salt-pits to be dug on the sea shore, and made a gratuitous distribution of the first product thereof among his subjects. These largesses, which were called *congiaria*, from the word *congius*, a measure in use in ancient Rome, became customary in process of time; and the same name was continued to all distributions, of corn, oil, &c. among the people.

135. 136. 137. 138.

War with the Veientes, the Volsci, and the Sabines.
Death of Ancus.

The peace which Ancus had rendered so profitable to his subjects, was followed by a bloody war. The Veientes, the Volsci (*f*), and the Sabines successively felt the weight of the Roman arms. Ancus enters Rome in triumph.

Tarquinius Priscus 5th king.

He dies, and leaves the tuition of his children to Tarquin, who was chosen his successor. Tarquin was of Greek extraction, but born at *Tarquinius* (*g*), a town of Hetruria, from whence he took the name of Tarquin. His ambition, supported by immense riches, induced him to come to Rome, where fortune raised him to the regal dignity, for which he was extremely well qualified. So greatly did he distinguish himself in the reign of Ancus Marcius, that he was thought worthy of being appointed his successor. It is observed, that Tarquin was the first who introduced into Rome the custom of canvassing publicly for offices. In order to strengthen his party, and to reward such as had served him on this occasion, he created a hundred new senators, whom he chose out of plebeian families, and who were therefore called senators of the second order (*b*), *patres minorum gentium*, to distinguish

(*f*) The Volsci were a people of Latium, whose capital was Anxur, now Terracina; their country reached from *Antium* to the river *Liris*.

(*g*) It stood at a little distance from the sea, upon the Marta, which, at present, retains its ancient name. Its ruins are still extant, at a small village about a mile north of Corneto, and still called *Tarquinius*.

(*b*) They were also called *patres conscripti*, to signify their being added to the former members; though, in process of time, this appellation was given to the whole body. This addition raised the number of senators to three hundred; Sylla made them above four hundred; and Julius Cæsar nine hundred; but a reformation was effected by Augustus, and the old constitution revived. The right of naming

Eminent and learned men.

Solon, one of the seven sages, was born at Athens in the thirty third olympiad, and died in the fifty fifth.

This sage abolished Draco's laws, and substituted others of a milder nature in their stead; he made no laws against parricide, because he did not think that mankind could be guilty of such a crime. He wrote orations, elegies, and iambic verses.

Thales, one of the seven sages, a native of Miletus, a city of Ionia.

This Thales was a philosopher, poet, and astronomer, and founder of the Ionic sect; he wrote several treatises in verse, and foretold that famous eclipse of the sun, which frightened the armies of Cyaxares king of Media, and Alyattes king of Lydia, to such a degree, that they were obliged, all of a sudden, to give over fighting. In those days, one would think that they ought not to have been surprized so much at eclipses, as to see a man who could predict them. Thales died very old, towards the fifty eighth olympiad,

Cotemporary princes.

Kings of Macedonia.

Argeus,	640
Philip I.	602
Æropas,	576
Alietas.	

The Lacedæmonians are governed by kings, whose age and names are uncertain.

The Athenians are governed by annual archons.

The kingdom of Corinth becomes a republic towards

582

The kingdom of Tyre is destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar the Great towards the year

572

guish them from those of ancient creation, who were stiled senators of the first order; though their authority was intirely equal. The senators were, for many ages, fixed to this number of three hundred.

140.

War with
the Latins,

The war is renewed with the Latins. The town of *Apiolæ* (*i*) is taken and plundered. Tarquin did not transplant the conquered to Rome, as his predecessors had done, in order to make Roman citizens of them; but he sold them for slaves. Finding that the several nations in the neighbourhood of Rome were disposed to revolt, he determined to intimidate them by an example of severity.

141.

Crustumium and *Nomentum* (*k*) dare not persist in their revolt; but open their gates to the conqueror of *Apiolæ*, and, surrendering at discretion, are obliged to receive Roman colonies.

142.

Collatia (*l*) is subdued by Arunx Tarquin, the king's nephew, who, upon this occasion, takes the name of Collatinus, which he transmitted to his posterity.

143.

The town of *Corniculum* (*m*) is taken and reduced to ashes.

144. 145.

The Latins
defeated.

Tarquin obtains a complete victory over an army of the Latins; several cities, alarmed at the rapidity of his conquests, submit to the Romans.

naming the senators, which at first belonged to the kings, and afterwards to the consuls, with the approbation of the people, was engrossed, at last, by the censors; and he who stood first in their list, was dignified with the title of *princeps senatus*. No person was capable of the senatorial dignity, that had not an estate of eight hundred sester tia, and had borne some magistracy: the age required, according to Dion Cassius, was five and twenty.

(*i*) A town of the Latins, of uncertain situation; Pliny mentions, that Tarquin the Proud began to build the capitol, with the pillage of this place. Lib. 3. c. 5.

(*k*) A town of the Sabines in Italy, not far from the Tiber, and built by the Albans, as we find hinted by Virgil, *Æn.* l. 6. *Hi tibi Nomentum, & Gabios, urbemque Fidenam*, puta, hi Albani, condent. It is now called *Lamentana Vecchia*. Strabo commends the Laban waters in this neighbourhood, τὰ Λάβανα ὕδατα ἐν τῇ Νομιστῶν, which, at present, are not known to have any salubrious quality. The road from hence to Rome, is often mentioned in historians by the name of *Via Nomentana*. The *Allia*, famous for the defeat of the Romans by the Gauls, was also in this neighbourhood; Holstenius takes it to be a rivulet, which runs into the Tiber between the farms of St. Columba and St. John, a little beyond Marcigliano, and about eleven miles from Rome.

(*l*) A town of the Sabines, on the borders of Latium, of which there are no vestiges remaining. Holstenius places it beyond the conflux of the Osa and the Anio; but Cellarius thinks it was not above five miles from Rome. From Virgil it appears to have been situated upon a hill, *Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces*, *Æn.* l. 6.

(*m*) A town of the Sabines, bordering on Latium, situate between the Tiber and the Anio; it was rebuilt after this misfortune, for Florus takes notice of it under the republic, lib. 1. c. 11.

146.

SECOND CENTURY.

27

146.

General assembly of the Latins. These people, sensible at length of the necessity of uniting, and of the mistake they had committed in not taking this resolution at the beginning of the war, sent ambassadors to the Sabines and the Hetrurians, and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with those nations. So long as Alba stood, there the Latins held their national assemblies; but this city having been destroyed, as we have above mentioned, they met at *Ferentinum* (*k*), a town situated at the foot of the mountain Albanus (*l*).

147.

The Latins, being assured of these powerful succours, lay waste the Roman territories: Tarquin marches against them with a force equal to theirs: both armies meet; some slight skirmishes ensue, which bring on a general engagement, and the Romans remain masters of the field of battle.

148.

The Hetrurians fly to the assistance of their allies, and meet with the like fate.

149.

This second victory strikes a terror into all Latium. The Latins have recourse to the mercy of the conqueror, the only refuge left. Tarquin offering to lay siege to those towns which had refused his alliance, they all immediately opened their gates. He grants a peace to them, on condition that they make satisfaction for the damages done to Rome, and that the Latins shall serve the Romans with their troops, whenever they are commanded to march.

150. 151. 152. 153. 154.

Tarquin triumphs over the Latins. The spoils he had taken in the conquered cities, he employs in building a circus between the Aventine and Palatine hills. This was a place designed for exhibiting the shows of chariot races, as well as of boxing. These were called the *great games*; and it is thought, that from thence came the name of *Circus Maximus*, which was given to this particular building. It was repaired, embellished, and enlarged at different times, and contained a hundred and fifty thousand men in their proper seats (*m*).

155.

(*k*) A small town of the *Hernici* in the *via Latina*; its ruins still bear the name of *Ferentino*.

(*l*) Distant twelve miles east from Rome; it is now called *Monte Cavo*.

(*m*) The name *circus* some derive from *circulus*, part of it being built in that shape; and others, from the seven rounds which the chariots were obliged to make about the posts at each end. At the entrance of the *circus* stood the *carceres*, or lifts, whence they started; and, just by them, one of the *metae* or marks, the other standing at the further end. The length of it was four stadia or furlongs, the breadth the like number of acres. It was so enlarged, in Pliny's time, as to contain 260,000 spectators. The *great games* were so called, because they were celebrated in honour of the great

War with
the Hetru-
rians.
Lucumonies.

155.

War with the Hetrurians, undertaken in consequence of a resolution of the twelve lucumonies; they take possession of *Fidenæ*, and ravage the Roman territory a whole year. The twelve lucumonies (*m*) were so many cantons, of which the whole Etruscan nation was composed; each of those cantons was subject to a chief, who bore the name of *lucumo* (*n*).

156.

Tarquin was not able to oppose the enemy till the beginning of this year: willing to proceed with caution, he applied to all his allies for succours, and was not disappointed in his expectations, though it cost him some time and trouble.

157. 158. 159. 160.

The Hetru-
rians sue for
peace.

The Sabines join the Hetrurians. Collatinus was defeated before *Fidenæ*; but the king had his revenge, on the other hand, by ravaging the neighbourhood of *Veii* and *Cære*, and carrying off a considerable booty. Then he falls upon *Fidenæ*, makes himself master of the town, and destroys it. The Sabines and Hetrurians are defeated more than once, after a most obstinate resistance. The Hetrurians sue for peace, and submit to the sovereignty of Rome: for which the senate decree Tarquin a triumph. Rome had never beheld so magnificent a spectacle. Tarquin appeared in a gilt chariot, with a crown on his head, a sceptre in his hand, besides other ornaments, which had been sent to him by the Hetrurians, as a mark of their acknowledging him for their sovereign (*o*). This prince had the modesty not to make use of

great gods, viz. Neptune, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and especially the *dii penates* of Rome. We must not confound them with the *ludi megalenses*, which were in honour of Cybele, who was stiled *megalethea*, or the great goddess. Besides the chariot races, the circensian plays included five other sports, borrowed from the Grecian games, and called the *pentatblum* or *quinguetium*, viz. running, wrestling, leaping, throwing, and boxing. The throwing was performed with a *discus*, or quoit of stone, brass, or iron. The boxing is worth notice on account of the *caestus*, which was a kind of leathern guard for the hand, commonly filled with lead or iron, to give force to the blow. This Circus Maximus stood in the *Myrtian valley*, so denominated from a temple built in that place to Venus, who was surnamed *Myrtea*.

(*m*) Their names were *Volfinii*, *Clusium*, *Cortona*, *Perusia*, *Arretium*, *Falerii*, *Tarquini*, *Volaterra*, *Rufellæ*, *Vetulonium*, *Cære*, and *Veii*.

(*n*) In the Etruscan language, the word *lucumo* is supposed to have denoted a warrior or captain: over the whole a king presided, who seems to have been elected by the twelve.

(*o*) The other ornaments were a throne of ivory, a tunic embroidered with gold, and adorned with figures of palm branches, and a purple robe enriched with flowers of various colours. The abovementioned tunic is what the Romans distinguished by the name of *tunica palmata*, which was properly a vest worn under the robe, or *toga picta*, by those who triumphed. The Romans wore also the *tunica laticlavica* and *angusticlavica*; the former was adorned with purple flowers, stuck like heads of nails, and belonged only to persons of the first rank; the latter had purple flowers, smaller than the others, and

was

SECOND CENTURY.

29

of them, till the senate and people expressed their consent by law: however, he was so pleased with this pageantry, that he never after appeared in public without it. Several, even ancient writers, mention this triumph of Tarquin, as the first that was seen at Rome; this, perhaps, is because it bore no resemblance to those that had been exhibited before that time, and it served as a pattern to those that followed; and, indeed, it may be said that Tarquin was the first who made the Romans forget their primitive simplicity.

161. 162. 163. 164. 165. &c.

This is further corroborated, by the sumptuous works which he undertook at Rome, during the interval of his rest from war. He beautified, built the walls of Rome in a magnificent manner, surrounded the forum with galleries, and adorned it with temples, as well as with halls for the administration of justice, and for public schools. Pliny, who lived eight hundred years after Tarquin, speaks with admiration of the beauty of the *cloacæ* or common sewers, which he built at Rome, to purify the city from its filth, and to carry off the waters descending from the hills within the walls. *Cloacæ.*

168.

Of the three nations that had entered into a confederacy against Rome, the Sabines were the only people whom Tarquin had not yet subdued: he attacks them; but victory does not declare, as yet, in his favour. Finding that the enemy's resistance was owing to their superiority of horse, he increases his cavalry to eight thousand men. *His war with the Sabines.*

169. 170.

After several bloody defeats, the Sabines submit, and Tarquin obtains another triumph. *The Sabines submit.*

171.

He causes a spot to be consecrated on the Tarpeian hill, in order to erect a temple, in consequence of a vow which he made during this war. It is incredible, how greatly this sort of public vows of the Roman generals, raised the courage of their troops. Hence they never failed to have recourse to this expedient in the most perillous conjunctures. Romulus, finding himself hard pressed by the Sabines, made a vow to build a temple to *Jupiter Stator*; and it had such an effect, as to make his troops rally, after they had given way through fear. Tullus Hostilius, on a like occasion, made a vow to increase the number of *falii*, and to dedicate a temple to *paleness* and *fear*; and he had the same success. Thus the Romans were equally superstitious and *Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.*

was worn by persons of the equestrian order. The *clavi*, according to the most general opinions, were studs or purls something like heads of nails, of purple or gold, worked into the tunic. The *toga* was a long mantle hanging in great folds down to the ground, which they put upon their right shoulders, throwing one lappet of it over the left. It was called *pietra*, from the rich embroidery, with figures in Phrygian work; and *purpurea*, because the ground-work was purple.

brave;

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brave; nothing could withstand them, when they imagined they heard the voice of religion and glory.

172. 173.

Tarquin is accused before the people, by the sons of Ancus Martius, of having secretly murdered Accius Nævius (p), a celebrated augur, and who, on that account, was held in great veneration by the Romans. The slander is discovered; and Tarquin forgives his accusers.

The punishment of Pinaria the vestal, who was convicted of having broken her vow of virginity. It is thought that, on this occasion, a law was passed, which condemned the person, that dishonoured a vestal, to be whipped to death. Tarquin adds two vestals to the four, instituted by Numa; and they were ever after fixed to the number six.

174.

Death of
Tarquinius
Priscus.

Death of Tarquin the Elder. This prince is assassinated by two miscreants, whom the sons of Ancus had hired for that intent. Queen Tanaquil, apprehending the intrigues of those princes, who aspired to the throne, conceals the death of her husband for a few days, and makes the public believe, that the wounds he had received were not mortal. Servius Tullius, his son-in-law, charged with the administration of justice during the king's pretended illness, summons the sons of Ancus to appear before his tribunal; they save themselves by flight; their estates are confiscated, and their memory is stigmatized.

175.

Servius
Tullius 6th
king.

Servius Tullius succeeds his father-in-law. This was the time for making a fortune at Rome; when men of merit had reason to entertain the most sanguine expectations; as we are fully convinced, by the history of this prince. He was born a slave; his mother, Ocrisia, was one of the captives whom Tarquin the Elder brought with him from *Corniculum*, after the taking of that city. Her beauty destined her for the king's palace, where she was brought to-bed of this son; and she gave him the surname of Servius, as a mark of the servile state in which he came into the world. He soon distinguished himself by his great qualities, notwithstanding the obscurity with which fortune had disguised his birth: by a gradation of employments, he attained to the rank of a senator; and having married his sovereign's daughter, he afterwards succeeded him in the throne.

176. 177. 178.

Servius was not elected in form: he seized the crown, as guardian to the two young princes, Lucius and Arunx, grandsons of the elder

(p) Nævius gained his reputation by cutting a whetstone in two, with a razor, in the king's presence. Tarquin, who had expressed a contempt for augury, was seized with admiration, and erected a statue of brass to his memory in the comitium. The razor and flint were buried under an altar, at which witnesses were afterwards sworn in civil causes.

Tarquin.

SECOND CENTURY.

31

Tarquin. The senate took umbrage at this proceeding; but he despised their murmurings. He secured the suffrages of the plebeians, by an artful speech, in which he represented to them, that hitherto they had been only victims to the ambition of the patricians; and that, as he had heretofore experienced the stings of outrageous fortune, it behoved him, more than any other person, to protect the weak, and to assist the unfortunate. He promised to pay the debts of those, who being in a state of insolvency, were in danger of seeing themselves sold as slaves to satisfy the demands of their creditors; and, moreover, he engaged to furnish some portion of lands to such as had not partaken of the agrarian distributions. He was as good as his word; for he paid all the poor debtors bills with his own money.

179. 180. 181.

In regard to the lands, the war, which soon followed, with the revolted *Hetrurians*, enabled him to fulfil this part of his engagement. Tullius took the field, came up with them, and gained a complete victory; the *Veientes*, who had been the instruments of this revolt, were severely punished, by the confiscation of their estates, which Servius distributed in the manner he had promised.

182.

The capitoline marbles mention Servius's first triumph this year; it was decreed him for having defeated the *Veientes*.

183. 184.

Servius takes advantage of this circumstance in his favour, to get himself elected by the people, at a meeting of the *curiæ*.

185. 186.

The senate refuse to ratify the election. Servius triumphs a second time over the *Hetrurians*.

187. 188. 189. 190.

He incloses the hills *Esquilinus* and *Viminalis* within the limits of the city. Then it was that Rome began to bear the name of *Septicollis* (the city built on seven hills). He enlarges the city.

He added a fourth tribe to the three originally instituted by Romulus. It is proper here to observe, that from this first division into three, was derived the name of tribe, and hence came that of *tribunes*, which, at first, was applied only to military officers, but was afterwards given to several sorts of magistrates, who had great authority in the republic. Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates, that, on this occasion, Servius made a very useful regulation, which was, that upon the birth of every child, a piece of money should be paid into the temple of *Juno Lucina*; another, upon every death, into the temple of the goddess *Libitina*; and another into the temple of Youth, as soon as the youths put on the *toga virilis*, or the manly gown; that is, when they came

Divides the
Romans
into tribes,

came

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came to man's estate (*q*). By these different pieces of money, which were preserved, they could tell, every year, the number of citizens, and especially such as were able to bear arms.

191. 192. 193. 194.

The country people were likewise divided into fifteen classes or tribes, which, joined to the original four, made nineteen; but this number was afterwards increased. Before Servius's time there were but few villages in the territory subject to Rome. The people lived in houses detached from one another, and erected buildings on that spot of ground, which each person had undertaken to cultivate. By this division, Servius formed a strong hold to each tribe, where they had their peculiar temple, their tutelary god, and their magistrates. These served also as places of refuge, where the peasants might secure their effects and their persons, in case of any sudden alarm. It was ordained likewise, that the whole tribe should repair to the village on certain festivals (*r*); and that they should, all of them, pay into the hands of the priest, a different piece of money, according to their age and sex. They were afterwards counted; and thus the levies were made for the army, and taxes laid on the country inhabitants.

195. 196.

Servius marries his two daughters to the grandsons of Tarquin the Elder.

197. 198. 199. 200.

He triumphs a third time over the revolted Heturians, after a war which lasted several years.

There is room to think, that Servius did not make the regulation, which is looked upon as his master-piece of policy, till he had intirely subdued Heturia.

He institutes
the census.

As no public resolution had been hitherto taken, in regard either to war or peace, but by a plurality of votes at the assemblies of the people, which were called by *curiæ*, because they were to consist only of the inhabitants of Rome, divided into thirty *curiæ*; thence it followed, that the plebeians, who were the major part, generally carried their point in all debates against the senate and patricians. Servius undertook to remedy this disorder, and to transfer the whole authority to the noble and wealthy. With this view, he made a general list of the citizens of Rome, that is, a list containing an account of their age, effects, profession, the name of their tribe and *curia*, with the num-

(*q*) That is, when they came to the age of seventeen, and then they left off the *prætexta*, which was a white robe, reaching down to the ancles, bordered with purple, and worn by persons of distinction, as well as by young people. Besides the *prætexta*, children wore about their necks, or at their breasts, an ornament called *bullæ*, which was made in the shape of a heart, and hollow within; after their 17th year, it used to be hung up to the household gods. The rich had it made of gold, the poor of leather.

(*r*) These strong holds he called *pagi*, and the festival *paganalia*.

ber of their children and slaves; this account they delivered in by themselves upon oath, and was called *census*; and the magistrates, who presided, on this occasion, after the kings and a few consuls, had the title of *censors*. According to the enquiry then taken, it appeared that there were upwards of fourscore thousand citizens in Rome, able to bear arms. Servius afterwards divided the citizens into six classes, and each class into a certain number of centuries. The first class consisted of senators, patricians, and knights, who fought on horseback, and were the wealthiest citizens: the second was composed of those who were next to the preceding in fortune and estate; in like manner, the third; and so on.

The first class, which was the least numerous, he divided into ninety eight centuries; the second into twenty two; the third into twenty; the fourth into twenty two; the fifth into thirty; the sixth and last, the most numerous, had only one century; consequently there were a hundred and ninety three in all.

After this regulation, Servius ordained, that all public offices, which were heretofore conferred indiscriminately upon every citizen, should now be borne by the first hundred and ninety two centuries: the last was declared free from all civil and military contributions, and they who composed it, were, for this very reason, called *exempti*; they had likewise the name of *proletarii* (1), to signify that they were designed purely to stock the commonwealth with subjects. He ordained further, that the people should henceforward be assembled by centuries, when matters of any consequence were to come upon the carpet; that the assemblies should be held without the town, in the *Campus Martius*; that the suffrages should be collected by centuries, and not by heads, as before; and that the ninety eight centuries of the first class should vote first. The assemblies by *curiæ* were no longer to be held, except for the election of the flamines and subaltern magistrates; as also, for form's sake, when the military command (*imperium*) was to be conferred on such as had been already raised to magistratical offices by the votes of the centuries.

These new institutions were generally approved; and, indeed, each party found their account in them. When there was occasion to raise taxes, or to levy troops, each century was obliged to pay a certain sum, or to furnish a certain number of soldiers, whom it maintained at its own expence: as the first class alone had ninety eight centuries, of course it bore the greatest part of the burden; the four classes following had a less share; and the last felt no weight at all; so that the lower sort of people were extremely easy. But, on the other hand, the rich were made ample amends; and the poor had less weight and influence, than before. As the centuries of the first class had a right to vote first, they alone could form a majority; or, at the most, the affair was carried to the second class: but they seldom went so far as the third.

(1) From *proles*, children.

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Servius caused a solemn sacrifice to be offered up in the *Campus Martius*, to purify all the troops that had been assembled by classes and by centuries, pursuant to the new division. This ceremony was to be renewed every five years, at each enumeration or census, and was called *lustrum* (*s*), that is, *expiation* or *purification*, and from thence came the Roman custom of computing time by *lustrums*, each consisting of five years.

PARTICULAR REMARKS.

NOTWITHSTANDING that the Romans had been two hundred years under a regal government, they still continued to preserve that spirit of independence, which had been their first introduction to grandeur; a spirit transfused from father to son, and communicated to the several nations with which Rome became afterwards united. Human characters are generally determined by education and habit.

The spirit of depredation, which peopled Rome with the greatest part of her original inhabitants, must, in the nature of things, receive a change; it became the spirit of conquest. Robbers, who found a state, who form themselves into a society, under the direction of laws (for all societies must have some laws) and who, of consequence, are capable of conducting their enterprizes, not only with regularity and order, but even with a kind of dignity; such men are no longer robbers, but conquerors. True it is, that this distinction will not stand the test of reason, which sees only a nominal difference between them; except in the case of conquests made by just reprisals, or to assert a legitimate right.

The Romans, so early as the times of their kings, would fain be independent at home, and sovereigns abroad. Romulus, though extremely fond of power, was obliged to let their *comitia* (*u*) enjoy the right of appointing magistrates, of making war or peace, and of confirming, or repealing laws. His successors either durst not, or could not abridge those rights, by which their subjects were possessed of almost every privilege that constitutes the supreme authority. But po-

(*s*) Varro derives *lustrum* a *luendo*, from paying; because, on that day, every one paid his quota of the tax laid on his century. The sacrifice, on this occasion, consisted of a sow, a sheep, and a bull; and from thence was called *suevotaurilia*.

(*u*) The *comitia* were an assembly of the people for choosing officers, or making by-laws. They were of three sorts, *curiata*, *centuriata*, and *tributa*, according to the three grand divisions of the people, into *curiæ*, *centuries*, and *tribes*: the *comitia*, *calata*, from *addas* or *cale*, to call, signifies all the *comitia* in general. The power of calling these assemblies, belonged first to the kings only, and after their expulsion, to most of the chief magistrates: none but those who lived in the city, had right to vote there. The place, in which they assembled, was the *comitium*, a part of the *forum Romanum*, where stood the *rostrum*, a sort of pulpit, adorned with the beaks of ships taken, in a sea-fight, from the inhabitants of Antium. The word *comitium* is said to be derived from the obsolete verb *cumire*, to meet.

licy has sure resources, the more so as they escape the vulgar eye. The kings, without alarming a people so jealous of their independence, found two methods to strengthen, and to extend the regal power.

The first of these, was the establishing of the nobility, or patricians; the author of which, as the reader may have observed, was Romulus. Nothing could be more useful to a nation, than a senate, designed to temper the authority of the prince; but Romulus, by investing the senators and their descendants with the exclusive right to civil, military, and sacerdotal dignities, produced so great an inequality between that order and the commons, that it was impossible but they must have a diversity of views, sentiments, and interests, which proved favourable to the royal authority. The king might have hopes of gaining an absolute ascendant over those two orders, by making a proper use of the divisions, which their mutual emulation must needs create between them. Romulus took care to reserve to himself the right of nominating senators; and the Romans never had the least thought of contesting a prerogative, in appearance so small, with a prince who had granted so many privileges to his subjects. Yet the kings derived an immense advantage from thence, for there were always a number of staunch courtiers, in proportion as there were candidates for that honourable distinction.

The institution of the famous classes, subdivided into centuries, was the second method contrived by the policy of the Roman kings, to extend their power. This was owing to one of the best princes that sat upon the throne of Rome, to Servius Tullius; a prince so much the more capable of commanding, as he had long been used to obey. Besides the infinite advantages that might follow from so noble a regulation, either in regard to war, or to the administration of the revenue, as we shall have occasion to observe hereafter more at large, there were two very singular uses relative to the present form of government. The one was to deprive the plebeians of any share in the administration, and to convey the whole power secretly to the senate and the patricians. Since Rome must be governed by one or other of these two orders, better by far it should be by the nobles, whose education rendered them fitter for the employment, and whose fortunes produced a greater connection between them and the state. The other advantage was still more considerable. As the prince had it in his option to convene, either the comitia by centuries, which left all the authority to the patricians; or, on the contrary, to summon the comitia by tribes and by *curiæ*, which restored it again to the plebeians: it is natural to imagine, that he had it in his power to give what impressions he pleased to those two bodies; because the patricians dreaded nothing so much, as to see the plebeians possessed of the administration; and the latter, on their part, had the same apprehension of the patricians. That such an institution should have been made by so moderate a prince, who, in some measure, was the founder of the republic, formed, as we shall see, on his plan, and on his memoirs;

has been the surprize of many. To do justice to Servius, there is reason to believe, that being convinced there is no medium between a pure monarchy and a government intirely republican, he thought it incumbent upon him to prefer the former, for the benefit of his people. Before he was their soveraign, he had been their fellow-subject; and of course he had an opportunity to study their inclinations, and to sound their necessities. He chose not what was most agreeable, but most useful to them; fully resolved, however, to consult experience as he proceeded, and to sacrifice his crown, should it be necessary, to the public good.

Yet the very best institutions require some time to produce their effect. Towards the close of this century, the commons of Rome still enjoyed the different privileges, which Romulus had been obliged to resign to them.

But it was not enough for this haughty, this enterprizing nation, not to obey, they looked upon themselves as designed by Providence to command. The whole discipline and policy of the state had a reference to this single object. We do not find, that the Romans had any inclination to make use of the permission granted them by Numa to cultivate the arts: if they did not intirely neglect, they continued, at least, to despise them, and left the exercise thereof to foreigners, or even to slaves. They themselves, in those early times, followed only two professions; agriculture, through necessity; and war, through inclination. "They lived, says the abbé de Vertot, on their grain, which they gathered, sword in hand, in the enemy's territories. The Romans, from the senator down to the meanest plebeian, were all husbandmen, and every husbandman was a soldier. Sometimes they took great captains from the plough, to command their armies. People of the first rank in the republic, accustomed their children to the same hardships; they brought them up in a laborious way of life, in order to render them more robust, and more able to endure the toils of war." The reader may see, in the second chapter of Montesquieu's *Considerations on the Romans*, what relates to the manner of training up their soldiers; and in the sequel of this history, we shall have occasion to observe how far they carried the military discipline, and the art of war. Here I shall only take notice, with the above celebrated author, that not only the soldiers were obliged to perform their exercises in their camp; but, moreover, there was a place at Rome (the Campus Martius) where the citizens used themselves to every manly exercise, that could improve their strength and agility; that whenever they thought the state in danger, or wanted to repair a signal defeat, they began with reitoring the military discipline; in fine, that they were ever ready to adopt such useful customs, as they happened to observe among their enemies: so that, as Josephus says, *war was to them a study; peace a continual exercise* (x).

(x) *De Bello Judaico*, lib. 2.

Notwithstanding so much care and pains, the Romans had made but very little progress in extending their dominions: they met with a long and obstinate resistance on the part of their neighbours; a resistance, however, which ought to be considered as one of the principal causes of the exorbitant pitch of power to which they afterwards arrived. The long, and almost uninterrupted wars, in which they were for two hundred years engaged against all their neighbours, and in which they fought such a number of desperate battles, must needs have improved that military disposition, which constituted the essential part of their character, and have qualified them for the most arduous undertakings. "Rome ever exerting her offensive force, says the author of the Considerations, and ever meeting with opposition, made her neighbours feel her power, before she could extend it; and though confined to a narrow compass, *she was exercising herself in virtues, that were to prove one day fatal to so many nations.*" The same author accounts for the slow progress of the Romans. "The people of Italy, he says, had no knowledge of machines proper for sieges; besides, as the soldiers had no pay, they could not be kept long together before a place; hence few of their wars were decisive. They fought for the sake of plunder; after which, the conqueror and the conquered retired to their respective homes. This is what caused the resistance of the people of Italy, and at the same time, the obstinacy of the Romans in subduing them; this is what gave so many victories to the latter, which did not corrupt their morals, but left them in full possession of their poverty."

This poverty seems to have been in itself ignominious, since it was the consequence of a barbarous contempt for the arts and sciences, which are capable of occupying individuals with amusement to themselves, and benefit to society: but the Roman pride made it a virtue. Perhaps it was so really in respect to them; for it was become necessary to a state, that pretended to raise itself only by violence, and that had no other wealth than the spoils of its neighbours. If this love of poverty had ceased to be in esteem among the Romans, they would quickly have applied themselves to the useful professions, and to the culture of the polite arts, which cannot be improved to a certain degree, without some knowledge of natural philosophy and the mathematics, from whence they are all derived. The Romans, growing learned and industrious, would have grown effeminate, that is, their manners would have been softened: they would have lost that ferocity, which made them view the property of strangers, as the only object worthy of their desires; they would not have been so eager in the pursuit of those horrid lawreels, which were stained with the blood of nations, and bathed with the tears of humanity.

ROMAN ANNALS.

THIRD CENTURY.

Years of Rome 201. 202. 203. 204.

Before Christ 553. 552. 551. 550.

Dii compitales.

SERVIUS institutes, in favour of slaves, the feast of the *dii compitales*, or the gods of the cross-ways, which are said to be the same as the household gods, called *lares*. The day on which this feast was kept, viz. soon after the *Saturnalia*, the masters gave leave to their slaves to rest from all labour. Servius, though seated on the throne, still remembered his original condition.

205. 206. 207. 208. 209.

He gives the freedmen the privilege of Roman citizens. The senate opposed this regulation, at first; but at length they consented to their being divided into four tribes within the city, which four tribes, for this reason, were ever afterwards held in less esteem than the others.

210. 211. 212. 213. 214.

Servius commits the cognizance of private suits to the senate.

Alliance betwixt the Latins and the Romans.

Treaty of alliance betwixt the Latins and the Romans. They build at their joint expence, upon the Aventine hill, a temple sacred to Diana, where they were to meet every year, in order to offer up sacrifices, to determine all disputes in an amicable manner, and to promote a commercial intercourse between both nations. The articles of this treaty, engraved on a pillar of brass, were to be seen in Augustus's time, in the Latin tongue, but in Greek characters, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus looks upon as a proof, that the Romans were of Greek original.

215. 216. 217. 218.

Servius is said to have formed a design of abdicating the crown, and of reducing Rome to a republican government, administered by two annual magistrates, who should be chosen at an assembly of the people. Livy and Dionysius Halicarnassensis take notice of a memorial which was found among the papers of this prince; and in which the particulars of this scheme were drawn out at full length. But the wicked intrigues of his family did not allow him time to put it in execution.

219.

Servius is murdered

He is assassinated by order of his son-in-law, Lucius Tarquin, and his daughter, Tullia the Younger. This wicked woman had already poisoned Arunx Tarquin her husband, and Tullia her eldest sister, wife of Lucius Tarquin, to whom she wanted to be married, because she found him a man according to her own heart, a man determined to enter into all her criminal and ambitious projects. Those crimes were

CONSULS.	Years of Rome.	Before J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Lucius Junius Brutus. L. Tarquinius Collatinus. <i>To them were substituted</i> Publius Valerius Publicola. Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus. <i>And after the latter</i> M. Horatius Pulvillus. P. Valerius Publicola.	244	510	Anacreon, a lyric poet, born at Teos in Ionia, flourished in the sixty second olympiad. This poet, by his songs of festivity and love, created a new kind of writing, in which there is room to think he will ever be unrivalled. We have seen a vast number of Anacreontics; but we shall hardly ever see a second Anacreon.	<i>Kingdom of Judah.</i> Cyrus having made himself master of Asia, published an edict, whereby he permits the Jews to return to their country, to rebuild the city of Jerusalem, together with their temple, to worship their God there, and to carry away their effects with them.
Titus Lucretius. P. Valerius Publicola.	245	509		They return, to the number of about fifty thousand, under Zerubbabel, son of Sathiel, taking with them the vessels of the temple which had been transported to Babylon, in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. After this restoration, the Jews formed themselves into a republic, and were governed by their own laws; but the high priests had a principal share in the administration.
3°. M. Horatius Pulvillus.	246	508	Bias of Priena, one of the seven sages, lived in the fifty eighth olympiad.	
2°. Sp. Lartius Flavius. T. Herminius Aquilinus.	247	507	He wrote upwards of two thousand verses upon Ionia. It is related, that the inhabitants of Priena having all betaken themselves to flight, upon being menaced with a siege, he went out with the rest, but empty handed, saying, that he carried his all along with him.	Jeshua, son of Josedec, is made high priest, the very year of their return before J. C. 536
M. Valerius Volesus. P. Posthumius Tubertus.	248	506	Chilo the Lacedæmonian, one of the seven sages, lived in the fifty ninth olympiad.	They begin to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. The jealousy of the Samaritans is the cause of its being interrupted.
P. Valerius Publicola.	249	505	This sage is said to have died of a transport of joy, embracing his son, who had been crowned at the olympic games. He had therefore reason to say, that we ought not to be too desirous of any blessing. This is one of his sentences remaining.	Daniel has a vision, wherein God reveals to him the revolutions of the principal empires, namely, that of the Persians, that of Alexander the Great and his successors, and that of the Romans. 534
4°. T. Lucretius Tricipitinus. 2°. P. Posthumius Tubertus. 2°. Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.	250	504	Confucius, the most celebrated Chinese philosopher.	
Opiter Virginus Tricostus.	251	503		
Sp. Cassius Visullinus. T. Posthumius Cominius Auruncus.	252	502		
T. Lartius Flavius. Servius Sulpitius Camerinus.	253	501		
Manius Tullius Longus.				
P. Veturius Geminus. T. Ebutius Elva.	254	500		
T. Lartius Flavius. 2°. Quintus Clælius Siculus.	255	499		
Aulus Sempronius Atratinus.	256	498		
M. Minutius Augurinus.				
A. Posthumius Albus. A. Virginius Tricostus.	257	497		
Appius			He	D 4 The

Vicus Sceleratus.

Pecunia.

Tarquinius Superbus 7th king.

Feria Latina.

War with the Volsci.

were only preparatory to a parricide, which was committed with all the circumstances of unparalleled cruelty. Upon meeting in the *Vicus Cyprinus* (t) with the body of her father, which was still panting, just after he had been assassinated, she ordered her charioteer to drive over him, so that he was trampled to death under the horses feet: this street ever after had the name of *Vicus Sceleratus*.

Servius Tullius, affected by the vicissitude with which his life was chequered, erected a number of temples to Fortune, under different titles, *Fortuna Virilis*, *Fortuna Obsequens*, *Fortuna Privata*, &c. It is a moot point, whether he had more reason to thank or to curse that fickle goddess. It is observed, that Servius was the first king of Rome that stamped any image on his coin: the figure of a sheep impressed on it, was the occasion of giving it the name of *pecunia*, which was afterwards applied to all other money. Such, however, is the opinion of some authors; others pretend, that as all property in those early days consisted of cattle, and as commerce was carried on by the delivery of the things themselves, from thence was derived the word *pecunia*.

220. 221.

Tarquin seizes the throne by violence, and without any form of election. He gets rid, under different pretences, of the greatest part of the senators, and the wealthy citizens. M. Junius, the tyrant's uncle by his wife, is involved, with his whole family, in the general proscription; but Junius, one of his sons, escapes the massacre, by counterfeiting madness: this is what gained him the name of *Brutus*, which he afterwards rendered so illustrious, by the expulsion of Tarquin, and his family. The surname of *Superbus* was given to Tarquin, because of his cruelty and pride.

222. 223.

Tarquin strengthens himself with the alliance of the Latins, by marrying his daughter to Mamilius, a person of the greatest interest in that nation. Renewal of the treaties with those people: on an hill, near the ruins of Alba, a temple is erected to *Jupiter Latialis*, for holding the assemblies afterwards known by the name of *Latia*, or *feria Latina* (u). The consuls never took the field, or went to the provinces, unless they had first visited the temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, and celebrated the *feria*, which they appointed to be held upon any day they pleased.

224. 225. 226.

War with the Volsci, for having insulted the Latins. Tarquin was pleased with this opportunity of gaining the affections of his people,

(t) Or the *Good Street*, which, according to Varro, is the signification of the word *cyprus*, in the old Sabine language.

(u) Their annual meeting was on the 27th of April.

and

C O N

Appius C.
P. Servilius
A. Virginius
2°.
T. Veturia
T. Posthumus
nius A.
Sp. Cassius
2°.
T. Geganius
nus.
P. Minucius
nus.
M. Minucius
nus. 2°.
A. Sempiternus.
Q. Sulpicius
nus.
Sp. Lartius
C. Junius
P. Pinarius
mercator
Sp. Nautius
Sextus F.
T. Sicinius
C. Aquilius
Sp. Cassius
3°.
Proculus
costus.
Q. Fabius
Servius C.
sus.
L. Emilius
nus.
Cassio F.
nus.
M. Fabius
L. Valerius
Potitius
Q. Fabius
2°.
C. Julius
Cassio F.
nus. 2°.
Sp. Furius
M. Fabius
2°.
Cn. Manlius
patus.

THIRD CENTURY.

41

CONSULS.	Years of Rome.	Before J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Appius Claudius.	258	496	He flourished towards the year 544 before Christ: and he has been extolled as much by the Europeans, as by his countrymen. The Europeans were surprized to find, that there were philosophers in former times in a country so remote from those parts, which had been long considered as the only seat of learning and knowledge.	The second year of the reign of Darius, son of Hyftaspes, the Jews obtained leave from that prince to resume the building of the temple, 520
P. Servilius Priscus.				
A. Virginus Tricoftus, 2°.	259	495	Æschylus, a Greek poet, who died in the seventieth olympiad.	The building of the temple is finished by Zerubbabel, and by the high priest Jeshua, the third day of the month Adar, which answers to the 10th of March. The feast of the dedication is kept, the priests and Levites are restored to their functions, and the passover is celebrated there the 12th of April, 516
T. Veturius Geminus.				
T. Posthumius Cominius Auruncus, 2°.	260	494	He was the first improver of tragedy, which had been invented by Thespis. It was he that ascertained its principles; that taught the actors to use the vizard, and the buskin; and that first built a stage.	Jehoiakim or Eliakim is elected the second high priest, after the return from the captivity, in 488
Sp. Cassius Viscellinus, 2°.				
T. Geganius Macerinus.	261	493 <i>Persona palæque repertor bonæ</i> <i>Æschylus, & modicus instravit pulpita tignis.</i> <i>Et docuit magnumque loqui, nittque coturno,</i> says Horace in his Art of Poetry. Æschylus wrote ninety seven plays, of which there are only seven left, and these not intire.	The seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, Estas, the son of Saraiiah, of the priestly race of Phineas, and one of the principal Jews that remained at Babylon after the deliverance, obtained leave from that prince to return to Jerusalem, in order to finish the restoration of the Jewish religion and government, in 458
P. Minucius Augurinus.				
M. Minucius Augurinus, 2°.	262	492	Æsclop of Phrygia, a province of Asia, lived towards the year 550 before J. C.	<i>Kings of Egypt.</i> Amasis, 526 Psammenitus, 525 Cambyfes, 523 Smerdis the mage, 522 Darius Hyftaspis, 486 Xerxes, 465 Artaxerxes Longimanus.
A. Sempronius Atratinus, 2°.				
Q. Sulpitius Camerinus.	263	491	He is the well-known author of those ingenious fables, which contain so beautiful a moral, that they have served for the instruction of the whole globe.	He
Sp. Lartius Flavius, 2°.				
C. Junius.	264	490	He is the well-known author of those ingenious fables, which contain so beautiful a moral, that they have served for the instruction of the whole globe.	Kings
P. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.				
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.	265	489	He is the well-known author of those ingenious fables, which contain so beautiful a moral, that they have served for the instruction of the whole globe.	Kings
Sextus Furius Fusus.				
T. Sicinius.	266	488	He is the well-known author of those ingenious fables, which contain so beautiful a moral, that they have served for the instruction of the whole globe.	Kings
C. Aquilius.				
Sp. Cassius Viscellinus, 3°.	267	487	He is the well-known author of those ingenious fables, which contain so beautiful a moral, that they have served for the instruction of the whole globe.	Kings
Proculus Virginus Tricoftus.				
Q. Fabius Vibulanus.	268	486	He is the well-known author of those ingenious fables, which contain so beautiful a moral, that they have served for the instruction of the whole globe.	Kings
Servius Cornelius Cossus.				
L. Emilius Mamercinus.	269	485	He is the well-known author of those ingenious fables, which contain so beautiful a moral, that they have served for the instruction of the whole globe.	Kings
Cæso Fabius Vibulanus.				
M. Fabius Vibulanus.	270	484	He is the well-known author of those ingenious fables, which contain so beautiful a moral, that they have served for the instruction of the whole globe.	Kings
L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus.				
Q. Fabius Vibulanus, 2°.	271	483	He is the well-known author of those ingenious fables, which contain so beautiful a moral, that they have served for the instruction of the whole globe.	Kings
C. Julius Julius.				
Cæso Fabius Vibulanus, 2°.	272	482	He is the well-known author of those ingenious fables, which contain so beautiful a moral, that they have served for the instruction of the whole globe.	Kings
Sp. Furius Fusus.				
M. Fabius Vibulanus, 2°.	273	481	He is the well-known author of those ingenious fables, which contain so beautiful a moral, that they have served for the instruction of the whole globe.	Kings
Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus.				
Cæso			He	Kings

and giving marks of his prowess. The town of *Sueffa* (x) is taken by storm, and plundered.

227. 228.

The Sabines subdued. Tarquin has the same good success against the Sabines, who had lately revolted. He defeats their armies, and obliges them to pay tribute to Rome.

229.

Historians take notice of two triumphs of Tarquin the Proud, without mentioning the time. It seems they ought to be referred to this year, when he returned to Rome, after having defeated the Volsci and the Sabines.

230. 231. 232. 233. 234.

He finishes the common-sewers, and the great circus at Rome, which his grandfather had begun: but this creates new complaints against him, for obliging the populace to work at those structures with short allowance.

235. 236. 237. &c.

War against the Gabini. War against the Gabini, which lasted seven years, and was ended, at length, by a base piece of treachery. Gabii (y) was a strong city of Latium, in the neighbourhood of Rome; where most of the discontented senators and patricians had taken refuge, with a view of giving all the disturbance they could to Tarquin. Sextus Tarquinius, in concert with his father, pretends to be one of the malecontents, and goes over to Gabii, where, in a very short time, he gains the intire confidence of the inhabitants; in short, he is made general of their army: this gives him an opportunity of opening the gates to his father, who grants him the sovereignty of that place. Tarquin then entered into a treaty with this city, which treaty was still to be seen at Rome in Augustus's reign, in the temple of *Jupiter Fidius*, otherwise *Sancus* or *Sanctus*, that is, the god of fidelity. The articles thereof were written on a shield made of the hide of an ox, sacrificed on that occasion. Foundation of two new colonies, the one at *Signia* (z), and the other at *Circeum* (a), by *Titus* and *Arunx*, the sons of Tarquin. These two cities were properly situated for keeping the Volsci within bounds.

(x) This was *Sueffa Pometia*, one of the most flourishing cities of the Volsci. The name of *Pometia* distinguished it from another *Sueffa* beyond the *Liris*, called *Sueffa Auruncorum*. The former stood between *Cora* and *Velitra*, and from it the neighbouring marsh was called *palus Pometina* or *Pomptina*. Virgil uses it in the plural number, *Pometios, castrumque Inui, Bolamque Coramque*. *Æn.* lib. 6.

(y) Gabii was situate in the mid-way between Rome and *Præneste*, about ten miles from each. It is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* lib. 6. *Hi tibi Nomentum, & Gabios, urbemque Fidenam*.

(z) A town of Latium, now called *Segni*; according to *Sil. Ital.* it was famous for rough wines; *spumans immiti Signia musto*, lib. 8. and Martial mentions their stopping the flux, *Potabis liquidum Signina morantia ventrem*, l. 13. *epig.* 116.

(a) A promontory on the *Tyrrhenian* sea, now called *Monte Circelli*.

C O
Cæso
nus.
T. Virg
L. En
nus.
C. Ser
C. Hor
T. Me
Sp. Ser
A. Virg
C. Nau
P. Vale
L. Furi
C. Man
L. Emi
nus.
P. Vopi
lus.
Opiter V
L. Pinar
merc
P. Furi
Appius
T. Quin
nus Ba
L. Valer
Potitu
Tiberius
merc
A. Virgin
T. Numi
T. Quint
nus Ba
Q. Servil
Tiberius
merc
Quintus
lanus.
Q. Servili
S. Posthu
T. Quint
nus, 3^o
Quintus F
lanus.
A. Posthu
Sp. Furi
L. Ebuti
P. Servili
L. Lucreti
nus.
T. Vetur

CONSULS.	Years of Rome.	Before J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
Caeso Fabius Vibulanus. 3 ^o .	274	480	He had the art of making all beings talk reason, and of rendering it intelligible even to children.	<i>Kings of Assyria.</i> Nabonidus or Belshazzar, 552
T. Virginus Tricoftus.				Darius Medus, or Astyages, king of the Medes, 536
L. Emilius Mamercinus. 2 ^o .	275	479	Myfon, a native of Chene, near Sparta, lived in the year 587 before J. C.	Cyrus becomes master of all Asia.
C. Servilius Structus.			By some he is reckoned one of the seven sages, or wise men of Greece. Diogenes Laertius relates, that Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, having consulted the oracle, in order to know who was wiser than himself, he received for answer, that Myfon was. Anacharsis travelled to see this wise man, and found him busy in mending his plough, in order to go to work in the fields.	<i>King of the Medes.</i> Astyages reigns with his grandson till the year 536
C. Horatius Pulvillus.	276	478		<i>Persian empire.</i> Cyrus, 529
T. Menenius Lanatus.			Publius (or Sextus) Papirius, a Roman civilian, author of the Papirian code.	This prince, on whom God bestowed all the kingdoms of the earth, as it is expressed in the book of Esdras, was possessed of Assyria, of the kingdom of Babylon, Media, Persia, Syria, and finally of Lydia, which he seized, towards the year 548, after having defeated Cræsus, and taken him prisoner.
Sp. Servilius Structus.	277	477		Cambyfes, 523
A. Virginus Tricoftus.			Several authors are of opinion, that Papirius made his codex in the reign of Tarquin the Elder. But M. Teraſſon, in his history of the civil law of the Romans, has demonstrated, that this collection was not made till the reign of Tarquin the Proud. The Papirian code contained all the regal laws: but there are only thirty six remaining, which have been explained and illustrated by M. Teraſſon. From what has been said, it follows, that Papirius flourished	Smerdis the mage, 522
C. Nautius Rufus.	278	476		Darius, son of Hyſtaſpes, 486
P. Valerius Publicola.			Tiberius Emilius Mamercinus.	Xerxes the Great, 476
L. Furius Medullinus.	279	475		Artaxerxes Longimanus.
C. Manlius Vulſo.			Quintus Fabius Vibulanus.	<i>Kings of Macedonia.</i> Alcetas, 547
L. Emilius Mamercinus. 3 ^o .	280	474		Amyntas I. 497
P. Vopiscus Julius Julius.			Q. Servilius Priscus.	Alexander I. 454
Or				<i>The Lacedæmonians are governed by kings, of whom but very little is known.</i>
Opiter Virginus.			Tiberius Emilius Mamercinus.	<i>The Athenians are governed by annual archons.</i>
L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.	281	473		
P. Furius Fusus.			S. Posthumius Albus.	
Appius Claudius.	282	472		
T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus.			T. Quintius Capitolinus. 3 ^o .	
L. Valerius Publicola Potitus. 2 ^o .	283	471		
Tiberius Emilius Mamercinus.			Quintus Fabius Vibulanus. 3 ^o .	
A. Virginus Tricoftus.	284	470		
T. Numicius Priscus.			A. Posthumius Albus.	
T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus. 2 ^o .	285	469		
Q. Servilius Priscus.			Sp. Furius Medullinus.	
Tiberius Emilius Mamercinus. 2 ^o .	286	468		
Quintus Fabius Vibulanus.			L. Ebutius Elva.	
Q. Servilius Priscus. 2 ^o .	287	467		
S. Posthumius Albus.			P. Servilius Priscus.	
T. Quintius Capitolinus. 3 ^o .	288	466		
Quintus Fabius Vibulanus. 3 ^o .			L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.	
A. Posthumius Albus.	289	465		
Sp. Furius Medullinus.			T. Veturius Geminus.	
L. Ebutius Elva.	290	464		
P. Servilius Priscus.			P. Vo-	
L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.	291	463		
T. Veturius Geminus.				
P. Vo-				

The Sibylline books.

The Sibylline books are brought to Rome by an unknown woman (b). These pretended oracles, which were supposed to contain prophecies touching the fate of the Roman empire, were entrusted to the care of several citizens of distinction, and afterwards locked up in a vault, under the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

242.

The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

This year Tarquin undertook to finish this famous temple. We have already taken notice, that Tarquin the Elder had marked out the area where he would have a temple built, on the top of the Tarpeian hill; but was prevented by death from going on with it. His grandson thought it his duty to execute this design, and ordered the foundations to be laid. As the workmen were employed in digging, they found a human head (c) very deep in the earth, and the blood of it seemed to be quite fresh. Hereupon the augurs were consulted, and they artfully made answer, that this head presaged, that Rome would be, one day, the head and mistress of Italy: from thence both the hill and the temple took the name of Capitol. The augurs had been consulted before upon a more delicate point. The Tarpeian hill was already possessed by several deities, who were to be removed to some other place, in order to make room for the new temple; but then their consent was wanted. The god *Terminus* and the goddesses *Youth*, were the only deities that insisted upon not removing. From this pretended obstinacy, it is easy to see, that the whole was only a trick of the augurs, who would make the Romans believe, that Rome should preserve a perpetual bloom, and that her boundaries should be ever sacred and inviolate. *Dionysius of Halycarnassus* has left us a description of the capitol, in the condition he beheld it in the reign of *Augustus*. This temple was two hundred feet wide, and about two hundred and fifteen feet in length. It contained three chapels, one dedicated to *Jupiter*, the second to *Juno*, and the third to *Minerva*, pursuant to a vow made by *Tarquin the Elder*. It was built with a magnificence suitable to the idea, which Rome had conceived of her

(b) This woman is said to have come to Tarquin with nine books, for which she asked a considerable price. The king refusing to give it, she went away, and burnt three books. After which she returned, and asked the same price for the remaining six. Tarquin laughed at her, upon which she left him again, and burnt three more; then returning a third time, she demanded the same price as at first for the three that were left. The king, being surprized, consulted the augurs, who found them to be the oracles of the Sibyl, and advised him to buy them at any rate. The woman received her money, and charging them to keep those writings sacred, immediately vanished. They were first committed to the care of two persons of distinction, stiled *duumviri*; these were afterwards increased to ten, and then to fifteen, and as their number increased, they were called *decemviri*, *quindecimviri*, *sacris faciundis*. It was their business to consult those books when the republic was in any great distress, and to put in execution whatever the Sibyls commanded. They likewise had the regulation of the *ludi seculares*.

(c) We are told by some, that the name of this man was *Tolus*, and that the word *capitol* was compounded of *caput* and *Tolus*. Others say, that the hill *Tarpeius* took the above name, because it was the chief fortress in Rome.

future

CONSULS.	Years of Rome.	Before J. C.	Eminent and learned men.
P. Volumnius.	292	462	flourished in the year of Rome 240
Servius Sulpitius Camerinus.			Pythagoras, a Greek philosopher, originally from Samos, was born towards the fifty seventh olympiad, and died towards the seventieth.
P. Valerius Publicola. 2°.	293	461	
Caius Claudius.			
Quintus Fabius Vibulanus. 3°.	294	460	
L. Cornelius Cossus.			
C. Nautius Rutilus. 2°.	295	459	He is chiefly celebrated for his opinions concerning the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, and the motion of the earth round the sun; for the invention of several rules in arithmetic; for his important discoveries in geometry; for the strict silence which he made his disciples observe during the space of several years; and, finally, for his modesty in refusing the name of <i>sophos</i> , or wife, and contenting himself with that of <i>philosophos</i> , a lover of wisdom. The tyranny of Polycrates obliged him to leave Samos, and to retire to that part of Greece, which was called <i>Magna Græcia</i> . There it was that his sect took the name of <i>Italii</i> . There are maxims still extant, which are called the golden verses of Pythagoras, and of which M. Dacier has given a French translation.
L. Minucius.			
C. Horatius Pulvillus.	296	458	
Q. Minucius Augurinus.			
M. Valerius Maximus.	297	457	
Sp. Virginii Tricostus.			
T. Romilius Rocus.	298	456	
C. Veturius.			
Sp. Tarpeius Montanus.	299	455	
A. Eterius (or Aterius) Fontinalis.			
Sextus Quintilius Varus.	300	454	Athens by this Sufarion, and by his countryman Dolon. Thespis, a Greek poet, lived in the 61st olympiad. He is looked upon as the inventor of tragedy. The first he ever represented, was called <i>Alceſtis</i> , as we are informed by the Oxford marbles. This magnificent entertainment had but a very weak beginning, as Horace tells us in his Art of Poetry. Thespis besmeared the faces of his actors with lees of wine, and carried them about from village to village, in a cart, where they acted their plays. <i>Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ</i> <i>Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe poemata Theſpis; Quæ canerent ægerentque perunſti facibus ora.</i>
P. Horatius (or Curatius) Tergeminus.			The Oxford marbles mention, under the 30th epocha, that comedy was invented at Athens

future grandeur, and the ornaments, with which it was embellished at different times, rendered it one of the richest structures in the universe (*d*)

Tarquin
consults the
oracle of
Delphi.

Titus and Arunx are deputed by their father to consult the oracle of Delphi (*e*), in regard to a contagious distemper which made great havock at Rome. It is said that Tarquin had been forewarned by several omens of his approaching ruin, and that the pestilence then raging in his capital, served only as a pretence to have an opportunity to consult that oracle in regard to his future destiny. It is said, moreover, that the oracle having declared to the two princes, that he who should first give a kiss to his mother, was to reign after Tarquin; Brutus, whom his cousins had brought along with them to amuse themselves with his affected follies, immediately caught the right sense of the oracle, and falling down, as it were by chance, kissed the earth, the common parent of mankind: thus he is said to have secured the chief command in Rome, which indeed he obtained after Tarquin's expulsion, by the title of consul.

243.

War with
the Rutuli.
The rape of
Lucretia.

Behaviour
of Brutus.

Banishment
of the Tar-
quins.

Tarquin had undertaken a war against the Rutuli (*f*), which he had not time to finish. His son, Sextus Tarquinius, having used violence to Lucretia (*g*), the wife of his kinsman Collatinus, the generous lady could not survive the insult, but stabbed herself in the presence of Lucretius her father, of Collatinus her husband, and of several others of the Roman nobility. Brutus being one of the number, perceived that now was the time to let them know that his folly had been only feigned. He draws the poniard out of Lucretia's bosom, and shewing it, all bloody, to the assembly, he binds himself, and his company bind themselves also, by the most terrible oaths, to banish Tarquin and his family for ever from Rome.

The present opportunity for putting their resolution in practice seemed very favourable. Tarquin was employed at the siege of Ardea, a town belonging to the Rutuli: during his absence, Lucretius had been entrusted with the government of Rome, and Brutus, as captain of the guards, had a right to convene the people; which he did by

(*d*) It was the fate of this great building to be burnt down several times; the first under Sylla, but he rebuilt it in a more sumptuous manner; the second in the reign of Vitellius, but it was repaired by Vespasian; the third under Titus, and his brother Domitian rebuilt it.

(*e*) Delphi was a city of Phocis in Greece, situated on mount Parnassus, where Apollo was said to utter oracles.

(*f*) A very ancient people of Latium; their metropolis, *Ardea*, lay sixteen miles south east of Rome; at present there are scarce any footsteps of it remaining. Virgil takes notice of it, as having been anciently called *Ardua*, *Æn.* lib. 7.

Audacis Rutuli muros—locus Ardua quondam

Dictus avois, & nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen.

(*g*) Her husband, boasting of her beauty in the company of Tarquin's sons, brought them home with him to see her; Sextus, the eldest, fell in love with her, and paying her a visit, in her husband's absence, ravished her.

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curia, and without difficulty prevailed on them to confirm a decree of the senate, which condemned the Tarquins to perpetual banishment. The king having received advice of what passed, marched directly to Rome at the head of his army; but found the gates shut, and was made acquainted in form with the decree that determined his exile.

The administration was now reduced to an interregnum, the first that had happened since the death of Ancus Martius. During this short interval, the power was lodged in the hands of Lucretius, by declaring him inter-rex. Brutus was possessed of some papers drawn up by Servius Tullius, concerning the institution of a republic: these he read to the senate and the people, who approved his plan. The outrages committed by the late king, and which were recent in every body's memory, had rendered the regal authority odious; they agreed therefore to commit the supreme authority into the hands of two magistrates, who were to be elected annually by the people, out of the body of the patricians, and were to have the name of *consuls* (*f*). A modest title, says the abbé de Vertot, which gave to understand, that they were rather the republic's council, than sovereigns, and that the only point they were to have in view, was her preservation and glory. We ought likewise to observe with M. de Montesquieu, that the institution of consuls greatly contributed to raise the Romans to so high a degree of power. "Princes, says he, have their periods of ambition; but the republic being governed by chiefs, who were changed every year, and who endeavoured to signalize themselves in their office, in order to be promoted again to new dignities, there was a perpetual incentive to ambition; they engaged the senate to propose war to the people, and every day they pointed out new enemies."

A common-wealth established,

Under consular government,

The people being assembled by centuries, chose Brutus and Collatinus for their first consuls: one was the deliverer of their country; the other a personal enemy of the Tarquins. The consuls preserved the same ensigns of dignity as those which the kings had borne, except the crown of gold and the sceptre; namely, the habit striped with purple, the ivory curule chair, and the fasces borne by the twelve lictors: but only one of the consuls could have the ax carried before him: this honour they enjoyed alternately for a month; and it began with Brutus, his colleague chusing to pay him that regard.

Brutus and Collatinus first Consuls.

Tarquin, abandoned by his troops, is obliged to fly for refuge to the Hetrurians, along with his sons Titus and Arunx. Sextus retires to the city of *Gabii*, where he is put to death a little while after. The consuls conclude a truce of fifteen years with the Rutuli. Institution of a *rex sacrorum*, or king of the sacrifices, whose office, subordinate

Rex sacrorum.

(*f*) The name of *consuls* is generally derived from *consulere*, to watch for the public welfare; or, according to some, to *consult*, or *ask counsel*, because they were to do nothing without the advice of the senate and people. The candidates for this office were obliged to be present, and in a private station. The common age required was forty two, but this was sometimes dispensed with. Their authority was equal.

to the *pontifex maximus*, was to perform certain sacrifices, which had been reserved to their kings in person (g).

The first care of the new consuls was to fill up the places vacant in the senate, to the number of upwards of an hundred and sixty; and immediately Brutus made the senate and the people take a solemn oath, never to recall the Tarquins, nor to create any other king: those who should attempt to restore monarchy, they devoted to the infernal gods, and condemned to the most cruel punishments. Ambassadors sent from Hetruria, under the pretence of demanding Tarquin's effects, engage some of the young patricians in a plot against the new government. Brutus's two sons, with the *Vitellii*, and the *Aquilii* (h), nephews of Collatinus, were at the head of this conspiracy; which was discovered by Vindicius a slave (i), who obtained his liberty as a reward for saving that of Rome (k). It belonged to the consuls to try the criminals, and to pronounce sentence. What a trial for Brutus! The Roman historians have all indulged their fancies in describing every circumstance of so tragical an event. Some of them speak of Brutus, as of a ferocious man, who ordered, and beheld undaunted, the execution of his own children; others, with greater probability, represent him as relenting in that terrible moment. Livy says that the parent's love still appeared in the consul's face, though armed with the terror of punishment: *eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ ministerium*.

Tarquin's effects are distributed among the people. Tarquinius Collatinus, being suspected because of his name, abdicates the consulate, and retires to Lavinium, after receiving a considerable present from the republic and his colleague. In his stead the people elect

(g) As the kings had been, in many respects, serviceable to the state, it was thought proper to keep up the name of a king in the city; but he was to devote himself wholly to the care of the public worship. None but patricians were admitted to this dignity.

(h) There were three of the Aquilian family, the sons of Collatinus's sister, and two Vitellii, whose sister Brutus had married.

(i) This was a slave of the Aquilii, at whose house the conspirators met; the slave, suspecting his masters design, staid at the door of the apartment, and by that means discovered the whole conspiracy.

(k) The phrase *vindicare in libertatem* is generally believed to have had its rise from Vindicius. The manner of conferring freedom, was either by testament, or manumission. The ceremony of manumission was performed thus: the master, laying his hand upon his servant's head, before the prætor, said, *hunc hominem liberum esse volo*, and then let him go out of his hand, which was called *de manu emittere*. Upon which, the prætor laying a rod upon his head, called *vindicula*, said, *dico eum liberum esse more Quiritum*. The slave was then registered on the roll of freedmen, and received a cap in token of his liberty, which was termed *pilco donari*. Those who had been made free, were called *liberti*; and if it happened to be by testament, they had the title of *ercini*, because their masters were gone to *Orcus*. The children of the *liberti* were stiled *libertini*; whereas, *ingenui* were such as had been born free, and of parents that had been always free. But if a slave could get his master's consent to have his name inserted in the censor's roll, he was called *liber censu*, as the other two were *liberi testamento*, and *manumissione*.

P. Valerius, who had been one of the first that distinguished himself by his aversion to the Tarquins.

A general pardon granted to all Tarquin's adherents, upon their returning to Rome within a certain time.

The consuls march against Tarquin, who had engaged the Vcientes and Tarquinienfes to support his cause. A single combat between Brutus and Arunx, Tarquin's son, at the head of the army, and they are both slain at the same time. The Romans remain masters of the field of battle. Valerius triumphs on his return to Rome, which he enters with great magnificence, in a chariot drawn by four horses; a custom observed ever after. Honours paid to the memory of Brutus (1); his body is carried to Rome by Roman knights; the senate go out to meet it in funeral pomp; and the Roman ladies put themselves into mourning for a whole year. The funeral oration of this famous republican was pronounced by Valerius in the *forum*; and this was the first example of the kind among the Romans: the same honour was afterwards conferred on all those citizens who distinguished themselves either in war or peace.

Valerius causes his fine house to be levelled to the ground, upon finding that it gave umbrage to the people, by reason of its situation on a hill, which commanded the city of Rome. The people were so pleased with this condescension, that they built him another at the public expence.

Before another colleague was chosen, Valerius made several laws in favour of the people, which gained him the name of *Poplicola* or *Publicola*, by which he is known. Among other things, he ordained that every Roman citizen, condemned to corporal punishment, might appeal to the people, and the magistrates should proceed no further till the comitia had given their opinion. He forbid the entering upon any public office, without the consent of the people, upon pain of death. He made it lawful for those who had any knowledge of a design to revive the regal power, to kill the author of that design, without waiting for a legal condemnation. He gave orders that the consuls should have only fasces, without the axes, carried before them in the city; and that the public money should be removed from his own house to the temple of Saturn, where the treasury was ever afterwards kept; and last of all, he appointed two treasurers, called *quæstors* (m),

(1) Most of the ancients agree, that Junius Brutus left no issue; and yet Cicero positively affirms, that Lucius Brutus, one of the conspirators against Cæsar, was descended from the first consul.

(m) This word is derived from *quærendo*, from getting in the public revenue. Their number, at first, was only two; but in the year of the city 332, two more were added, to pay the troops, and to sell the spoils, &c. For which purpose they attended the armies, and had the name of *militares* and *peregrini*; whereas the others were called *ararii* and *urbani*. In the year 439 four new ones were created, with the title of provincial *quæstors*, each of whom had his province to reside in, and to regulate the taxes and customs; but as the republic extended her conquests, their number

to have the management of it. The first quæstors were Publius Vetturius, and Marcus Minutius. Others refer the institution of the quæstorship to the reign of Tullus Hostilius.

Lucretius, father of Lucretia, is chosen colleague with Poplicola; he dies a few days after, and M. Horatius is named to finish the year.

245.

A new lustrum and census of the people of Rome, on which occasion there appeared to be a hundred and thirty thousand citizens, without reckoning orphans and widows, who are declared free from all taxes. It was the fifth census since the institution thereof by Servius Tullius: this prince made four; however, we know nothing but of the first: in regard to Tarquin the Proud, he entirely neglected this useful institution. First treaty (m) between the Romans and Carthaginians, whereby we find that the former did not intirely neglect their maritime commerce.

Tarquin removes to Clusium, the residence of the king Porfena, and prevails on this prince, the most powerful of all the Lucumos of Hetruria, to espouse his cause.

246.

Porfena espouses the cause of Tarquin. Bravery of Horatius Cocles.

Exploit of Mucius Scævola.

Porfena lays siege to Rome at the head of a formidable army; and takes the fort of the *janiculum*. Remarkable bravery of Horatius Cocles, who sustained the efforts of the enemy for some time by himself, at the head of the bridge which separated the janiculum from the city; having by this gallant step given time to the Romans to demolish the bridge, he leaped into the river, and gained the opposite bank, all covered with wounds. Porfena turns the siege into a blockade, with a view to reduce the besieged by famine. Upon this occasion was performed the famous exploit of C. Mucius, afterwards surnamed *Scævola*, or *left banded*. This young Roman is said to have gone in disguise into the enemy's camp, with an intent to kill Porfena, and to deliver Rome: but having missed his blow by mistake, he was carried to the king, in whose presence he burnt his right hand, telling him that there were three hundred Romans, as resolute as himself, concealed in the Hetrurian camp, who had all sworn to take away his life. It is, moreover, added, that the king being struck with admiration, sent Mucius back, and thought proper to raise the siege. Of this exploit, so greatly extolled by the Romans,

was increased. The office of the quæstors was to take care of the public money, and the reception of ambassadors. Their place was very honourable, though they had no jurisdiction: it was the first office a person could bear in the commonwealth; and might be undertaken at the age of twenty four. They were first chosen by the people, afterwards by the consuls, and in Tully's time again by the people.

(m) The above treaty related chiefly to navigation and commerce, and was to be seen in Polybius's time on the base of a column in the ancient Roman language. By this treaty, the Carthaginians would not suffer the Romans to sail beyond the *Pulcrum Promontorium*, which lay north of Carthage, lest the fruitfulness of the land should tempt them to make a settlement on it.

Dionysius

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a very exact historian, takes no manner of notice. It seems more probable, that the raising of the siege, and the peace that followed, were the fruit of the conferences which Porfena had with the consuls, wherein they convinced him of the justice of their cause in expelling the Tarquins (n). This prince, upon Clælia, his retiring, gave a very signal testimony of his generosity, and his esteem for the Romans: he ordered his soldiers to take nothing away with them but their arms; so that after his retreat, the inhabitants of Rome, who were greatly distressed for provisions, found plenty of every kind in the Hetrurian camp. The senate, to shew their respect and gratitude, sent him a triumphal robe, and other ensigns of royalty used by the kings of Rome.

The capitol is finished and consecrated.

247.

Porfena, after concluding a peace with Rome, went to lay siege to Porfena Ardea, a town of Latium, where his army was defeated. Then he experienced that the Romans were not at all inferior to him in generosity; his troops found a sure retreat on the territory of Rome, where they met with so kind a reception, that a great number of them thought proper to settle in that city; and they had a quarter assigned them, which was afterwards called the *Etruscan Street*. Porfena makes peace with Rome,

248.

Commencement of the war with the Sabines. These people wanted War with to take advantage of the weak state to which Rome was reduced by the Sabines, the desertion of almost all her allies, who had been gained by their artifices. They are defeated at Tibur upon the Anio.

249.

An eminent Sabine, whose name was Aëtius Clausus, having incurred the hatred of his fellow citizens by opposing the war with the Romans, is prevailed on by Poplicola to remove to Rome. Accordingly he comes over with his family, his friends, and clients, amounting to upwards of five thousand men able to bear arms, who were all favoured with the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. He changes his name to that of Appius Claudius, and is admitted into the senate. Such was the origin of the family of the Claudii, Second defeat of the Sabines.

(n) Porfena is said to have been chiefly influenced to conclude this peace by his son Arunx, a great admirer of the Roman virtue. To secure the performance of the articles, the Romans sent ten young men, and as many virgins, of the chief families in Rome, as hostages. Among these was the famous Clælia, who stealing from the camp by night, with her companions, ventured to swim cross the Tiber, and having encouraged the rest to follow her, they all got safe to the opposite shore, and returned to Rome. But the consul Poplicola sent them back to Porfena, who dismissed her, and the other hostages, for the great esteem he had of her virtue. The senate afterwards erected a statue to her memory in the *via sacra*.

250.

Death of
Poplicola.

Death of *Poplicola* (o), who, after Brutus's decease, was looked upon as the greatest man in the republic. Though honoured with four consulships, and two triumphs, he died so poor, that he was obliged to be buried at the public expence. The Roman ladies paid the same honour to his memory, as to that of Brutus, by mourning a whole year for him.

The Sabines
defeated.

The consul Posthumius meets with a check from the Sabines, by falling into an ambuscade; Menenius, his colleague flies to his assistance; and the two consuls united, obtain a complete victory. Menenius receives the customary honours of triumph, but Posthumius only an *ovation* (p). This was an inferior sort of triumph; the person who received this honour, had only a crown of myrtle, and the *prætecta*, the usual habit of magistrates: he walked on foot, or, at most, on horseback, and was attended by the senate only. But the triumpher wore a lawrel crown, and a robe embroidered with palm branches; he was mounted on a chariot, and seated in an ivory curule chair. The *sacri capitolini* take notice of the ovation of Posthumius, as the first that was ever seen in Rome.

251.

The Sabines
again de-
feated.

The consul Cassius intirely subdues the Sabines in a pitched battle; they sued for peace, which was granted them, on condition of paying a yearly contribution, and of yielding a certain quantity of arable land to the Romans. The Camerini are reduced by Virginus, the colleague of Cassius; their city is taken by storm, and razed to the ground; some of the most guilty of the inhabitants are put to death, and the rest are sold for slaves.

252.

Assembly of the Latins at *Ferentinum*, where the Romans are declared to have violated the treaties between the two nations, by engaging Porfena, as it was pretended, to lay siege to *Aricia* (q). This intrigue was managed by Mamilius, son-in-law to Tarquin the Proud.

(o) By some historians he is called *Publicola*.

(p) We meet with various derivations of this word; some think it comes from *ob*, by which the people expressed their admiration on those occasions; others derive it from shouting *Evan* or *ewee*, to Bacchus. But the most probable original is from *ovis*, a sheep, which was usually offered in this procession, as an ox in the triumph. The difference between the ovation and the triumph is said by Gellius, to have been taken from the greatness of the achievements.

(q) A town of old Latium, in the Appian way, ten miles from Rome. It was formerly famous for leeks, hence we read in Martial 13. 19. *mittit præcipuus nemoralis Aricia portus*. Horace mentions it in his journey to Brundisium, l. 1. sat. 5. *Egressum magna me excepit Aricia Roma*. It is now called *L'Ariceia*. In this neighbourhood stood the *Aricinum nemus*, or grove *Diana Aricina*, famous for the fountain of the nymph Egeria, and dedicated by Numa to the muses. Liv. l. 1. c. 21.

A con-

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A conspiracy of slaves is discovered at Rome : they are condemned to be crucified, after being whipped with rods.

253.

Revolt of the Fidenates. The consul Tullius lays siege to Fidenæ, Conspiracy of the slaves. but is called back to Rome to stifle a new conspiracy formed again by the slaves, and the meaner citizens. Publius and Marcus, Tarquin's relations, who were come privately to Rome for this horrid purpose, turned informers, and, for their reward, received the privileges of Roman citizens, with a considerable gratification in money, and some lands. The conspirators, by the particular good management of Sulpitius the other consul, were surrounded in the *forum*, where they had met in the night, and were all cut in pieces, in virtue of a decree of the senate confirmed by the people.

Public games and sacrifices are celebrated during three days, to thank the gods for the deliverance of Rome.

254.

The city of Fidenæ continues to be invested, while Veturius, one of the consuls, goes and takes Crustumium, a city situated between the Tiber and the Anio. The Tarquins make reprisals by laying siege to Segnia, a new Roman colony ; but are obliged to raise it. Præneste (r), a city of Latium, submits to the Romans.

255.

Reduction of the city of Fidenæ by the consul Lartius. The Latins Fidenæ being alarmed, enter into a general confederacy, and declare war taken. against the Romans. Sextus Tarquinius, and Mamilius, have the Confederacy of the Latins. command of their armies. The poorer sort of people in Rome refuse to enlist, unless they are released from their debts, which expose them to the continual persecutions of the rich, and the nobility.

Never had the republic as yet been in so critical a situation ; menaced from without by a bloody war, and within by intestine division. The senate, after a long debate, thought the best way was to create a supreme magistrate, who, for a time, should be invested with an absolute power, that is, with the whole power which had been divided among the consuls, the senate, and the people. It was, therefore, resolved by a decree of the senate, " that Lartius and Clælius, who " were then consuls, should resign all their authority, and that all those " who had any share in the administration, should follow their example : that there should be only a single governor, who was to " be elected by the senate, and the election confirmed by the people :

(r) A town of Latium, about twenty miles from Rome eastward, now called *Palestrina* : but Præneste was situated on an eminence, for which reason Virgil, *Æn.* lib. 8. calls it *Altum Præneste*, and Horace *Frigidum* ; whereas, Palestrina stands in a valley. Virgil uses it also in the feminine, *Præneste sub ipsa*, *Æn.* lib. 8. This place was famous for the oracle in the temple of Fortune, to which Propertius alludes lib. 2. eleg. 32, *Nam quid Prænensis dubitas, ð Cynthia, sortes ?*

The first
dictator.

*Magister
equitum.*

"and that his power should not continue longer than six months." To this decree the people gave their consent.

T. Lartius, one of the consuls, is named *dictator* (1), which is the appellation they gave to their new magistrate; an appellation not unknown to the Romans, and which they borrowed of their neighbours. We find also that the *dictator* is called *magister populi*; and to this last name corresponded that of *magister equitum* (2), which was given to the general of the horse created by Lartius, and, after his example, by all the other dictators. He was the dictator's lieutenant general, but subject to his orders like the rest of the citizens. Lartius never appeared in public without four and twenty lictors, armed with axes, and his example was followed by all his successors; but it was merely to awe the common people. Of all the dictators, till about a century before the expiration of the republic, Manlius Imperiosus was the only one that rendered himself odious by his violent proceedings.

The sixth census, by which it appeared that there were one hundred and fifty seven thousand and seven hundred men in Rome, above the age of puberty. Lartius enlists all that were able to bear arms, and divides them into four bodies; one he leaves to guard the city, and the rest take the field. The Latins are worsted in a slight engagement: Lartius takes great care of their wounded, and sends the prisoners back without ransom: his humanity and moderation paved the way for negotiations, which proved successful, and a truce was agreed on for a year. Tranquillity being restored, Lartius resigns the dictatorship before his term is expired, and names new consuls.

256.

Decree of the senate, granting liberty to the Latin women who had been married to Romans, and the same to Roman women who had been married to Latins, to return to their respective countries. There were no more than two Latin women married to Roman husbands, that determined to quit Rome; but almost all the Roman dames married to Latin husbands, returned to their native city. With regard to the children, it was settled that the boys should stay with their fathers, and the girls should follow their mothers: there is reason to believe that this was done by the consent of both nations, from an

(1) This word is derived, either from his being *dictus*, that is, named by the consul, or from his dictating or commanding what was to be done. Though we sometimes meet with the naming of this officer on less important occasions, yet he was generally created upon some pressing emergency of the state. No one could be made dictator, till he had been consul. He was never to stir out of Italy, and he was always to march on foot, except on some sudden, or tedious expedition, and then he was to ask leave of the people to ride. He was accountable to no body at the expiration of his office. In cases of extreme necessity, the consuls, and sometimes the other chief magistrates, were also invested with a kind of dictatorial power, by this short decree of the senate, *Dent operam consules, &c. ne quid detrimenti capiat respublica.*

(2) The *magister equitum* held the same place and command under the dictators, as the *tribunus* or *praefectus celerum* under the kings, and the *praefectus praetorio* under the emperors.

appre-

THIRD CENTURY.

55

apprehension that the women would be too much afflicted by the war, which was ready to break out again.

257.

And indeed the truce was scarce expired, when the Latins appeared on the frontiers of the republic, with an army of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. On so pressing an emergency, Rome had once more recourse to a dictator; and the two consuls were empowered, as had been done before, to name one of themselves to that office. Virginius named his colleague Posthumius, who soon marched out at the head of the legions, and at his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph. Scarce were there left ten thousand men of the whole Latin army; Mamilius, and Tarquin's two sons, Sextus and Titus, were slain in this battle, which was fought near the lake of *Regillus* (x). War with the Latins.
The battle of Regillus.

Tarquin the Proud dies at Cumæ in Campania, to which place he retired after the defeat of the Latins, and the death of his sons: he was then in the ninetieth year of his age. Death of Tarquin the Proud.

258.

The Troubles are revived at Rome about the severity of creditors (y). War with the Volsci, who solicit the Latins to join them; but the latter deliver up their deputies to the Romans. In return for this mark of affection, the senate send them back all their prisoners without ransom, to the number of six thousand. The Senate cannot oblige the people to serve, till after passing a decree, which put a stop to all proceedings at law against those who would enter the army, and commanded the creditors to prosecute all such debtors with severity as should refuse to enlist. The consul Servilius marches against the Volsci, obtains a victory, and gives up their camp to be plundered, without reserving any part of the spoil for the public treasury, as had been hitherto the custom. the Volsci.
The Volsci

This behaviour made him appear too popular, at a time when the senate wanted to make head against the encroachments of the

(x) It was in the neighbourhood of Tusculum, towards the Anio, and not near *Regilla*, a town of the Sabines: this appears from Livy, *ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano*, lib. 2. c. 19. It is now called *Lago di S. Prossede*. Florus mentions, that Castor and Pollux appeared in this battle, mounted on white horses, at the head of the Roman cavalry; in consequence of which, Posthumius vowed a temple to the two brothers.

(y) The creditor was empowered to put the insolvent debtor in irons, or to sell him as a slave. The keeping him in his own house was called *coercion*; and then the debtor was stiled *nexus*, not *servus*, because his slavery lasted only till his debts were paid. But the inhumanity of the creditors in whipping their debtors, was the cause of the coercion's being afterwards changed into public imprisonment.

people. Appius Claudius, a man severe to a fault, and a great abettor of the pretensions of the senate, prevails with them to refuse Servilius a triumph; but this general finding himself supported by the people, marched to the capitol with the usual pomp of triumphant commanders. He defeats the Sabines and the Aurunci, a people of Campania, who began to be alarmed at the progress of the Romans.

Collegium
Mercuriale. To this year, some authors refer the establishment of a college of merchants, called *collegium Mercuriale*, because they took Mercury for their protector. The Romans were grown sensible of the necessity of commerce; and yet they had long continued to undervalue it. It was not till towards the end of the republic, that they began to think of granting some privileges to the wholesale dealers, or merchants (*negotiatores*). With regard to retailers, they were always held in the utmost contempt, because their trade being very limited, it was supposed they could not make any considerable profit, but at the expense of sincerity and justice. Cicero says this expressly in his first book of offices.

259.

Violent sedition at Rome, where the consuls were in danger of being insulted: the Volsci, the Æqui (z), and the Sabines, unite, and threaten the Romans all at the same time. Appius Claudius proposes to create a dictator; his advice is followed; and Manius Valerius, Poplicola's brother, is named to that dignity. The dictator is successful over the enemy, and obtains a triumph; but the senate refuse to grant him the abolition of debts, which he had promised several times to the people: he resigns his dictatorial office; and the republic falls into the utmost confusion.

Retreat of
the people
to the sacred
mount.

Retreat of the people to the *sacred mount*. The soldiers were kept under arms in the neighbourhood of Rome, by express order of the senate, who knew they would not dare to violate the oath (a) they had taken to the consuls, never to desert their colours. But they contrived an expedient to elude their oath; this was to make one Sicinius carry away all their ensigns and standards (b): then thinking themselves released, they put themselves under Sicinius's direction, and retired in good order to a hill situated within three miles of Rome, which was afterwards called the *mons sacer*, or the *sacred*

(z) A people of Latium.

(a) The legal way of enrolling men among the Romans, was by giving the oath called *sacramentum*, whereby the soldiers bound themselves to obey their commander.

(b) The Roman soldiers had a particular regard for their ensigns and standards, so as to swear by them, and pay them a kind of religious worship; and the bearers were either put to death, or whipped, if they lost them. The common ensign of the whole legion, was a gold or silver eagle, fixed to the top of a spear, and holding a thunderbolt in her talons. Each *manipulus*, or company, had its own ensign. The standard was called *vexillum*, and consisted of a piece of rich stuff, of about a foot square, fastened to a cross piece of wood on the top of a pike.

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mount. There they were joined by crouds of people from the city; and they would not stir from thence but to seek for provision.

Posthumius Cominius, and Sp. Cassius are appointed consuls for the following year. Nobody aspired to this dignity in so dangerous a conjuncture; not one candidate appeared on the list. The name of *candidate* was given to such citizens as sued for public employments; because, on those occasions, they always wore a white garment (c).

260.

After two unsuccessful attempts to bring back the malecontents, the senate send new deputies, with full powers to grant the people whatever they should think proper to ask. This third deputation was composed of ten of the most respectable senators, all consular men, except Nautius, who was not inferior in prudence to those of a more advanced age; for it was owing to his management, that all the young senators voted with those of more years and experience.

Every body must have heard of the famous apologue, of a conspiracy of all the members of the human body against the stomach, by which Menenius Agrippa, one of the deputies, reduced the malecontents to reason. They were just ready to return to Rome, upon the promise Menenius had made them of cancelling the debts of insolvent citizens, when they were stopped by Lucius Junius, a plebeian, and a man of very good sense, who had hitherto affected the air of a driveller, and for that very reason had the surname of Brutus given him, like the founder of the republic. "Under the sanction of the same name, says father Catrou, he looked upon himself as sent by heaven to rescue the people from the tyranny of the senate, as the famous Brutus had delivered Rome from the oppression of the kings; and indeed the advice he gave them, contributed not a little to the superiority which the people gained over the patricians; a superiority which they afterwards preserved, and which rendered them masters of the commonwealth." The new Brutus therefore demanded of the deputies, that the plebeians should have leave to chuse annually, out of their own body, a certain number of magistrates, who were to be their protectors, and to oppose or disannul any edicts or judgments that might be oppressive to the people. This proposal embarrassed the deputies; they returned therefore to consult the senate, who decreed to grant them all they asked.

Institution of the tribunes of the people (d). The first elected to this dignity, were that very Sicinius, whom the seceders had chosen for their
Tribunes of the people instituted,

(c) *Viz. the toga candida.* They declared their pretensions a year before the election, during which time they made all the interest possible, in going about among their friends, which was called *ambire magistratum*. They had usually a *nomenclator* or *monitor*, to whisper people's names to them.

(d) In the beginning they were five, but in the year 297 their number was increased to ten, and so continued ever after. Their institution was intended to protect the plebeians, and redress public grievances; but afterwards they usurped the power of

their general; Brutus, who had proposed the creation of this office; the two brothers, Licinii, and C. Icilius; who were all chosen upon the spot. A law was also passed, declaring the persons of the tribunes sacred and inviolate. As soon as they returned to Rome, the people insisted upon the creation of two new magistrates, to be chosen annually by the plebeians, and to serve as assistants to the tribunes.

Institution
of ædiles.

Institution of *ædiles* (e). This is the name given to those two new magistrates, because one branch of their office was to have the inspection of all public and private buildings.

The Volsci
defeated.
Siege of Co-
rioli.

The Volsci are defeated by the consul Cominius; who takes *Longula* and *Polusca* (f), and then lays siege to *Corioli* (g), the capital of their country. The besiegers were now beating down the walls with their battering ram, when the besieged, taking courage at the sight of the *Antiates* (b) their allies and countrymen, who appeared on the plain, made a vigorous sally, routed the Romans, and drove them back to their camp. But C. Marcius, a young patrician, who served as a private soldier, rallies some of his comrades, brings them back to the charge, obliges the enemy to retire into the town, and pursuing them close, enters pell-mell with them, and makes himself master of the place. Thence he hastens back to the camp, and has the greatest share in the victory obtained over the Antiates. Of all the rewards with which the general wanted to honour his bravery, Marcius accepted only of a captive, whom he immediately restored to his liberty; and of the surname of Coriolanus, which he afterwards rendered memorable by his exploits. The republic renewed her ancient alliance with the Latins, out of gratitude for the fidelity with which this nation had behaved in the last war.

C. Marcius
Coriolanus.

of doing whatever they pleased, and often created great confusion. Their interposing in matters determined by the senate, was called *intercessio*, and was performed by uttering only a single word, *veto*. They had no place in the senate, nor any ensigns of their office; except that they were attended by a sort of beadle, stiled *viator*. Their jurisdiction did not extend to above a mile from Rome; they were not allowed to be absent from the city a day; and they were obliged to keep their doors open night and day, in order to shew their readiness to defend the people.

(e) They were likewise to judge inferior causes, to regulate weights and measures, to prohibit unlawful games, &c. Rosinus calls them *ædiles plebis*. But, in the year of the city 389, the care of the public games was committed to two more ædiles, chosen from among the patricians. These had the honour of using the *sella curulis*, or chair of state, carved and placed in a chariot, in *curia*, from whence the word is derived, and from thence they had the title of *ædiles curules*. They had also the care of temples, theatres, baths, and other noble structures.

(f) These were small towns of the Volsci, in the neighbourhood of Corioli; there are no remains of them to be seen at present.

(g) *Corioli* was a town of Latium, belonging to the Volsci, near the Appian way: its situation is not known exactly, for even in Pliny's time there were no vestiges of it; but it is thought to have been towards Antium.

(b) The Antiates were the people of Antium, an ancient city of Latium, and the capital of the Volsci. It was famous for the temple of Fortune. There is no memorial of this city at present, except a promontory still called *Capo d'Anzio*, in the *campagna di Roma*.

Death

THIRD CENTURY.

59

Death of Menenius Agrippa. This illustrious patrician was so poor, that the senate thought proper to order the expences of his funeral to be defrayed out of the public treasury : but the commons had been before hand with them, having taxed themselves at so much a head for the same purpose ; and they never would take back their money, but made a present of it to Menenius's children.

The seventh census, whereby it appeared that there were a hundred and ten thousand men in Rome able to bear arms.

261.

The city of Rome is afflicted with a cruel famine, a consequence of the civil dissensions, which had hindered the people, the preceding year, from attending to agriculture. The complaints of the plebeians against the patricians, are renewed on this occasion ; the former accused the latter of having been the cause of this scarcity, to make themselves amends for the abolition of debts, by the high price of corn, with which their granaries were over-stocked. These troubles were fomented by the tribunes of the people ; Sicinius and Brutus, who were now no more than *ædiles*, had still interest enough to obtain a *plebiscitum* (g), which invested the tribunes with a power of convening the people.

The Volsci were ready to fall upon the Romans, weakened by discord and famine, but a contagious distemper spreads among their towns, defeats their measures, and obliges them to have recourse to the Romans, in order to re-people the city of Velitræ (b), almost destitute of inhabitants. A colony is sent to Norba (i), a city of Latium, to disburden Rome.

Coriolanus, by order of the senate, puts himself at the head of a band of volunteers, fights the Antiates, and returns loaded with booty.

262.

He sues for the consulship, which he is refused : his having been attended to the *Campus Martius*, by a great number of patricians, was a sufficient reason for the commons to exclude him. The tribunes knowing that he was become the head of the patrician party, took occasion from thence to represent him as a man that affected tyranny, and that wanted to obtain the suffrages of the people by mere authority.

(g) A *plebiscitum* was a law made by the joint consent of the people, without the authority of the senate.

(b) An ancient city of Latium, and the first town of the Volsci beyond *mons Albanus*, still called *Velitri*. It was made famous by the Octavian family, who sprung from thence. *Gentem Octavianam Velitris præcipuam olim fuisse, multa declarant.* Suet in Aug. The gentile adjective is *Veliternus*, not *Velitrinus*, as we find in some corrupt copies of Suetonius. Silius mentions it, lib. 8. *Setia et in celebri miserunt valle Velitræ.*

(i) Dionysius calls it *ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου*, no mean city. It was situate on an eminence, as appears from Livy, *Norba in montes novam coloniam miserunt* (viz. Romani) ; it now goes by the name of *Norma*.

The

Disputes
about the
division of
corn.

Coriolanus
provokes the
people.

He is banish-
ed.

The senate are divided in opinion about the distribution of corn, lately brought to Rome; some were for distributing it gratis, or at a very small price, among the poor; others maintained, that the only way to humble the populace, was to keep them low and miserable. Coriolanus, to be revenged of the affront he had received, puts himself at the head of those who were for humbling the people, and desires the senate to abolish the tribuneship. Sicinius, then tribune the second time, summons him to appear before the people; Coriolanus refuses to obey the summons, and is supported by the patricians; so that Rome is threatened with a civil war. At length the tribunes extort a decree of the senate, by which the plebeians are empowered to try any citizen that should be accused of having violated the laws. Coriolanus, being obliged to obey the tribune's summons, and to appear before the people assembled, is sentenced to perpetual banishment. This was a terrible stroke to the senate: they had flattered themselves that the commons would never presume to banish a man, who had done them such signal services. It was upon the occasion of this trial, that the people were assembled for the first time by tribes, (there were at that time one and twenty) whereas since the reign of Servius Tullius, they had always been assembled by centuries; this difference was decisive; and ever after made the balance preponderate either in favour of the people, or of the patricians.

263.

This year the Romans imagined they saw several prodigies, which portended heavy misfortunes to the commonwealth. The senate ordained the great games to be renewed, at double the usual expence, to appease the wrath of Jupiter Capitolinus. It is pretended that this god had complained of the person that led the dance at the last public games.

264.

He retires
among the
Volsci.

Coriolanus had taken leave of his country, attended only by a few of his faithful clients, never to see it more but at the head of an hostile army. Among all the nations bordering on Rome that were likely to afford him shelter, he preferred the Volsci as the most warlike, and the fittest for his purpose of humbling the Romans. They had often experienced the valour of Coriolanus; hence they easily put their confidence in so great a general, who offered to avenge their cause and his own. Being appointed to command the Volscian troops in conjunction with Attus Tullius, he enters the territory of Rome at the head of the main army, and ravages the country. But the lands belonging to the patricians are spared by his order, to increase the mistrust and suspicion between the two parties. He takes *Circum* (k), a Roman colony.

Is appointed
to command
their troops.

265.

(k) Or, more properly *Circæi*: *statim mittam vel Antium vel Circeos*, Cic. ad Att. l. 15. ep. 10. It was situate at the foot of monte Circello, where Circe is said to have dwelt,

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265.

He carries on his conquests with surprising rapidity, and makes himself master of all the towns which the Romans had taken from the Volsci: then he enters Latium, which submits to the conqueror; and, at length, he lays siege to Rome (1). On this occasion, the haughty spirit of Coriolanus, and of his fellow citizens, was fully displayed. The senate sent two deputations to him, the first composed of consulars; the second of all the ministers of the gods in their sacerdotal habits. Coriolanus received them sitting, and surrounded by the principal nobility among the Volsci; he insisted upon exorbitant conditions for this nation: but the Romans, though in appearance upon the brink of ruin, still spoke in the stile of masters; for this was their custom: they told him, on behalf of the senate, that they would not treat of peace, till he had laid down his arms. So spirited a declaration might have occasioned the loss of Rome, if Veturia, mother of Coriolanus, and Volumnia his wife, had not undertaken to intercede with him to raise the siege: he could not withstand their tears; but led back his troops to Antium, without committing any hostilities on his march.

Marches towards Rome.

Is prevailed upon by his mother to raise the siege.

Fresh misfortunes beset him at his return. Attius Tullus, the other general of the Volsci, had no share in the honours of this campaign, having staid at home to cover the country. Jealous of Coriolanus's glory, he summoned him to appear before an assembly of the Antiates, to answer a charge of treason; and caused him to be assassinated in a popular tumult.

His death.

The generous behaviour of Coriolanus makes us lose sight of his mistakes, and the irregularity of his conduct. For no other name can we give either to that cruel resolution, by which he was for obliging the people to renounce the necessary aid of their magistrates, and against granting them any relief when Rome was afflicted with a famine; nor to his furious resentment against the republic, for an injury done him by part of the plebeians; nor, in fine, to his infidelity to his allies. With a particular magnanimity, he had all that pride and ambition, which appeared in Sylla, in Marius, and in so many other tyrants, when Rome was grown more powerful, and the republic more weak. If the Volsci put Coriolanus to death, it was a just punishment upon him, for having betrayed their interest: but Fabius Pictor, an historian of great antiquity, says that he died of old age in his exile; and Livy seems to be of this opinion. The Roman matrons, who were under obligations to him for having saved Rome upon their account, went into mourning for him ten months.

The senate erect a temple to the *fortune of women*, *fortuna muliebri*, on the very spot where the mother of Coriolanus disarmed him by her

dwelt, and from thence the place derived its name. There is a village here, now called *S. Felicità*.

(1) He encamped at Fosse Clælie, or, as some call it, *Fossa Cluilia*, a place within five miles of Rome.

tears.

tears. This temple was finished and consecrated the following year. None but matrons were permitted to enter it, and to offer up sacrifices to the goddesses.

266.

The Hernici
and the
Volsci de-
feated.

Rome received a considerable advantage from her late humiliation; the people were sensible of the mistake they had committed since the last troubles, in conferring the consulate on mean-spirited men. This year they chose for consuls, C. Sicinius, and C. Aquilius, patricians of distinguished valour, who defeated the joint forces of the Hernici (k) and the Volsci. Attius Tullus was killed in this battle.

267.

Troubles
about the
agrarian
law.

The consul Virginius being sent against the Æqui, ravages their country without opposition, and brings his troops back to Rome. The Volsci and the Hernici, against whom Cassius was ordered to march, treat with this consul about terms of peace, which he had received full powers from the senate to conclude. The Hernici are admitted to an alliance with the republic, after the senate had confiscated two thirds of their lands.

Troubles in regard to the agrarian law (l). (This name was given to the regulation which settled the division of the conquered lands among the people.) Cassius proposes to divide the lands lately taken from the Hernici, and those heretofore conquered from other nations, into equal shares among the plebeians and the Latins. This proposal, so favourable to the people of Rome and their allies, was rejected nevertheless by the senate and the tribunes; by the former, because they were apprehensive of being stripped of the lands, of which they had robbed the public; by the latter, because they could not, without jealousy, behold a patrician and a consul endeavouring to gain the confidence of the people. Besides, they apprehended, and with good reason, that Cassius, by this artful liberality, might obtain such a popularity, as would render him the lord and tyrant of Rome. Appius Claudius proposes the creation of decemvirs; his advice is followed, but with some modifications proposed by A. Sempronius Atratinus. A decree was made, enacting: "that ten of the senate who had been consuls (these are the decemvirs) should be appointed to divide the lands among the public treasury, the Romans, and their allies; that for the future, all the lands the republic should conquer, with the aid of her allies, should be divided among the public treasury, the citizens of Rome and those same allies; and lastly, that the election of the first decemvirs should be left to the consuls of the next year."

(k) The Hernici were a people of new Latium eastward, between the Æqui, Volsci, and Marfi; their chief town was *Anagnia*, now *Anagni*.

(l) So called from the Latin word *ager*, signifying *land*.

268.

Cassius being accused by the quaestors, Cæso Fabius and L. Valerius, of having had a design to usurp the sovereignty of Rome, is brought to a trial. According to the most general tradition, he underwent a domestic sentence, and was put to death by his own father: but the most probable account is that given by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, who informs us, that Cassius being fairly convicted of the crimes laid to his charge, was condemned by the people to be thrown down headlong from the top of the Tarpeian rock. Thus perished a man honoured with three consulates, and two triumphs; he fell a victim to his ambition, and to Roman liberty.

Cassius is condemned and executed.

This event stunned all those who were for carrying the partition of lands into execution. For some time, no further mention was made either of the agrarian law, or of the creation of decemvirs, which the patricians had an interest in delaying. As they were masters of the election of the consuls, which was made in comitia by centuries, they took care to chuse none but persons on whom they could intirely depend. They had likewise the policy to be always at war with some of their neighbours; so that the people being employed abroad, had not time to create disturbances at home.

Expedition against the Veientes, the Æqui, and the Volsci. Q. War with Fabius orders the booty to be sold, and the money to be put into the treasury, without giving any part of it to his troops.

Q. War with the Veientes, the Æqui, and the Volsci.

269.

The Volsci and the Æqui are defeated by Æmilius. Consecration of the temple of Castor, which had been vowed by the dictator Posthumius in the last war with the Latins. The temple was built in honour of both; but custom determines names; and this temple afterwards was called only by the name of Castor. This explains a jest in Suetonius: Bibulus having exhibited some magnificent games to the people, in conjunction with Julius Cæsar, and the honour of them being given intirely to the latter, the former said, by way of joke, that his fate was the same as that of Pollux.

The Volsci and the Æqui defeated.

270.

The tribune Mænius opposes the levies which the consuls wanted to make for the war against the Veientes and the Volsci: by this opposition he reckoned he should oblige them to appoint decemvirs, at length, for the partition of lands: but the consuls found out a method to get over this difficulty. They ordered their tribunal to be carried into the open country, and there they summoned the plebeians to enlist. Those who refused, were compelled by military execution: nor could the tribunes oppose it; for their jurisdiction did not extend beyond the walls of Rome; they were not even allowed to stir out of town, except it was to celebrate the *feriæ Latinæ*.

New disturbances.

The vestal Oppia, or Opimia, convicted of having violated her vow of virginity, undergoes the usual punishment.

271.

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268.

271.

Great divisions about the election of consuls. The people were tired of seeing the administration in the hands of magistrates intirely averse to their interests : the tribunes therefore hearing that the patricians were for giving this dignity to Appius Claudius the son, a man in every respect like his father, opposed the comitia by centuries. The senate, on the other hand, opposed the several meetings appointed by the tribunes ; so that they were obliged to reduce the republic for some time to an interregnum. Sempronius Atratinus is intrusted with the public authority, and after him Sp. Lartius. The latter ordered an assembly of the people by centuries in the Campus Martius. As Appius Claudius was now quite out of the question, the election was made without disorder. The consuls chosen, were Q. Fabius and C. Julius, one of the faction of the nobles, the other of that of the people. War against the Æqui and the Veientes, without any considerable success.

272.

The difference betwixt the senate and the people, was accommodated in the same manner as the preceding year ; each party chose a consul devoted to their interest. Thus the tribunes fomented a perpetual division among the patricians ; those who aspired to the consulship, siding some with the people, and others with the nobility, to gain their respective votes. The tribune Julius forms a fresh opposition against the levies, in hopes of obtaining the partition of lands.

The enemy, without doubt, would have taken advantage of these broils, if Appius the younger had not given a very prudent advice, which was immediately followed. He represented to the senate, that the only method to weaken the power of the tribunes, was to sow divisions among them ; the expedient succeeded, and the four other tribunes declared against Icilius.

Furius marches against the Veientes, and Fabius against the Æqui, but with different success. Fabius was so hated by the plebeians, that his infantry were of no service to him. Luckily, however, his horse alone put the enemy to flight : yet he was obliged to abandon his camp the next night, and to retreat, in consequence of the sudden and total desertion of his infantry.

273.

Notwithstanding the aversion the plebeians shewed to the family of the Fabii, which had been so long in possession of the consulate, the patricians nominated Marcus Fabius consul a second time.

Battle of
Veii.

Battle of Veii, where the Romans gained a memorable victory over the Hetrurians and their allies. It cost them very dear : if the enemy had not quitted their camp the night before the battle, the advantage of that day would have been very uncertain, so great was the loss of the Romans. Among the slain were the consul Manlius, and Q. Fabius, the other consul's brother. As soon as the news of this success came to Rome, they resolved to confer a triumph on Fabius : but he refused

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refused it, and entered Rome in mourning, bringing with him the bodies of Manlius his colleague, and of his brother Quintus. As he was now sole governor of the republic, he abdicated his consulship, lest he should introduce the least appearance of monarchy; upon which ensued an interregnum.

274.

So modest a behaviour gained him the hearts of the people, so that the Fabii, from that time, became popular. Cæso Fabius, who had greatly distinguished himself at the last battle, is chosen consul a third time, as much by the inclinations of the people, as by the votes of the patricians. He obtains leave of the senate for his family to undertake alone, and at their own expence, the defence of the frontiers against the perpetual incursions of the Æqui and the Hetrurians.

Marcus Fabius, who had been consul the preceding year, sets out upon this expedition at the head of three hundred and six patricians, all of his own family and name: about four thousand of their clients marched with them. They came to the banks of the Cremera, a small river, now called the *Baccano* (m), and there built a fort.

275.

Cæso Fabius joins his brother Marcus, with the title of proconsul, which he was the first that bore, for it had been created in his favour. This was afterwards a very common office. It was conferred at first by the senate or people, at will, without there being any necessity to assemble the centuries. The proconsul's power (n) extended only to the troops under his command, over which he had the same authority as the consul.

Servius Furius was invested with the same title this year, and sent against the Æqui, while the consuls marched, one against the Volsci, and the other against the Hetrurians. Furius routs the Æqui; but Servilius being too eager to attack the Volsci, is defeated. Æmilius gains a victory over the Hetrurians before Veii. The senate refuse him a triumph, because he had granted such conditions of peace to the Veientes, as the Romans thought too advantageous. Piqued at this affront, he endeavours to revive the animosities between the plebeians and the senate, the latter having delayed to make a distribution of the conquered lands.

Creation of
proconsuls.War with
the Æqui,
the Volsci,
and the He-
trurians.
Servilius de-
feated by the
Volsci.
The Hetrur-
ians de-
feated.

(m) Its source is in the little lake of Baccano, in the patrimony of St. Peter; and it empties itself into the Tiber, within five miles of Rome, at the village of *La Varca*, from whence it sometimes takes its name.

(n) This office, at first, was confined to the command of the troops, when the consul, upon some necessary occasion, was absent, or when the republic was obliged to send several armies into the field, and of course to increase the number of her generals. As soon as the expedition was over, the office ceased. But when the Romans extended their empire beyond Italy, the consuls, at the expiration of their office, were appointed governors over distant nations, with the title of proconsuls, and proprietors. They were not chosen by the people, but drew lots for one of the consular provinces, which, as well as the prætorian provinces, were declared by the senate. Their authority, both civil and military, was very great; but, at their return, they were accountable for their conduct.

276.

The Fabii
surrounded
in an am-
bush, and
killed.

A meeting of the Heturians, where they oblige the Veientes to break the peace concluded the preceding year with the Romans without the consent of the other lucumonies. Defeat of the Fabii; who are surprised in an ambush by the Veientes, and being overpowered by numbers, are all killed on the spot. The Fabii we find, mentioned in the sequel of this history, were descended from Q. Fabius Vibulanus, an illustrious sprig of so great and unfortunate a family, who was decemvir, and thrice consul. The republic reckoned, among her unlucky days, that on which she lost so many brave patricians (n); it was not then lawful to begin any thing of consequence, no more than on the days called *nefasti* (o). The behaviour of the Fabii is unparalleled in the Roman history.

Menenius
defeated by
the Hetru-
rians.

This year proved unfortunate to the Romans: Menenius having pitched on an improper ground for his camp, is defeated by the Heturians, who advance towards Rome, and make themselves masters of the hill *Janiculum*. Horatius, receiving timely intelligence of the step, returns with the army which he had been leading against the Volsci, and gains some advantages, which prevent the enemy from laying siege to Rome. Still they continue in possession of the Janiculum, from whence they had an opportunity of ravaging the adjacent country.

277.

The Hetru-
rians intire-
ly defeated.

The Heturians are intirely defeated by the consuls Servilius and Menenius.

Menenius being summoned by the tribunes of the people, to give an account of his conduct in the last war, is condemned in a fine of two thousand *asses* (p); and being sensibly affected, dies of grief. He was son of that Menenius Agrippa, who reconciled the people to the patricians. Notwithstanding the great pains the senate took, yet they could not stave off this sentence, which was pronounced by the people assembled in tribes, as in the affair of Coriolanus.

(n) The gate *Carmentalis*, near the temple of Janus, through which they marched out of the city, was thenceforth called *porta scelerata*, or the *accursed gate*.

(o) The *dies nefasti* also signified those days on which the courts were not open, that is, on which it was not lawful for the prætor to sit in judgment, and say these three solemn words, *do, dico, addico*; I sit here to give laws, declare right, adjudge losses: on the contrary, those days when it was lawful to say those words, were called *fasti* from *facere*. The *dies prostridui*, or next day after the kalends, nones, or ides, were always reckoned unfortunate, because they had proved so to the state for several ages, and therefore were called *dies atri*.

(p) The *as* was so called *quasi as*, or brass, being of that metal, and at first consisted of 1 lb. weight; but after many gradual reductions, was, by a law of Papius, brought down to half an ounce, where it continued. It was equivalent to the tenth part of the *denarius*, so named from containing *denos asses*, and was worth about three farthings of our money.

278.

278.

The tribunes took particular care to have the same comitia in the trial of Servilius, whom they likewise summoned to appear before the people, under pretence that he had lost some of his troops, by pursuing the Hetrurians with more courage than prudence; but this consular defended himself like a man that had a thorough confidence in the goodness of his cause, and was unanimously acquitted. This whole proceeding was a consequence of the animosity between the patricians and the plebeians. The real crime of Menenius and Servilius was, that during their consulate they never would nominate the commissioners, who were to make the distribution of lands.

Valerius triumphs at Rome over the Hetrurians and the Sabines. Nautius, his colleague, had obtained some advantages against the Equi and the Volsci, who had made an irruption upon the Latin territories.

279.

The eighth census: the number of citizens was found to be less than at the preceding census; for it amounted to no more than a hundred and three thousand. The Veientes obtain a truce of forty years. The tribunes embrace this opportunity to renew their demands.

280.

Cn. Genutius, the most daring of the tribunes, summons the consuls of this year to proceed immediately to the nomination of decemvirs; and he cites the consuls also of the preceding year for neglect. This factious tribune had bound himself by horrid oaths, to prosecute this affair to his last gasp: and they made him keep his word; for he was found dead in his bed a few days after. Some of the patricians were suspected of being accessary to his death; but as there appeared no marks of violence on his body, the people, ever superstitious, imagined that the gods disapproved of his scheme.

The senate might have profited by this event, had it not been for the imprudent behaviour of the consuls, who shewed an unseasonable severity against those that did not appear soon enough to give in their names. One Volero, formerly a centurion, having refused to enlist as a common soldier, the consuls ordered him to be immediately whipped with rods, the usual punishment of soldiers. Volero appeals to the people from the sentence of the consuls, and finds as many defenders as there were plebeians in the forum; the lictors are driven away, and wounded: even the consuls themselves ran the risk of losing their lives, if they had not quickly retired to the senate-house.

281.

The senate ordained *supplications* (q), to obtain of the gods a cessation of the contagious distemper, which depopulated Rome. These tions.

(q) The *supplicatio* was properly a solemn procession, feast, and thanksgiving for a victory, after the general had informed the senate of it by *litteræ laureatæ*, letters wreathed with laurel,

supplications were a religious ceremony, observed in time of public calamity: the temples were opened, and the senate went in a solemn manner to the chief of them, a ceremony which has since been used, under the name of procession, by Christian churches. A vestal, named Virginia, was put to death for breaking her vow. The contagion ceased at that time, and they did not fail to attribute this favourable circumstance to the just punishment of the vestal.

The people chose Volero tribune, in order to screen him from the prosecution of the senate, by an office which rendered his person sacred. Volero proposes a new law, purporting, that the tribunes should no longer be chosen in the comitia by curiæ, but in those by tribes. The difference was great: the thirty curiæ could never be assembled but by a *senatus-consultum*; their decisions were to be confirmed by another decree of the senate; they were to be preceded by auguries; which the augurs, being patricians by birth, frequently interpreted to the advantage of their own body; and, lastly, none but citizens of Rome had a right to vote there. On the contrary, the comitia by tribes might be held without a decree of the senate, the augurs were not consulted; patricians were not admitted; the judgments, called *plebiscita*, had no need of confirmation; and the country tribes had a right to vote there. Thus Volero's law tended to hinder the patricians from ever having any influence in the election of the tribunes. These disputes are suspended, in consequence of a dreadful pestilence, which began to rage with greater fury than ever.

282.

Volero is created tribune a second time, with C. Lectorius, a man of less abilities than his colleague, but of a warmer temper: the senate set Appius Claudius, the greatest enemy of the plebeian faction, against them. His pride and inflexibility frustrated all the negotiations of his colleague, Quintius, who was a sage and moderate patrician; they even came to blows, and a civil war would have ensued, if they had carried arms with them to the assembly; but the Roman laws made it unlawful to wear any in the city. The senate, overcome by the turbulent spirit of the tribunes, resolve to let the people give their suffrage in regard to Volero's law; being the only way to save their authority, in appearance: and the law passed by a plurality of votes. To complete the misfortune, Lectorius had added two important articles to it; the first, that the ædiles should also be chosen in comitia by tribes; the second, that all affairs relating to the people, should be determined, not in the comitia by curiæ, but by tribes: at that time there were thirty.

Piso the historian, quoted by Livy, says, that on this occasion three tribunes were added to the former number, which was no more than two. This is not the opinion of Livy, nor of Dionysius Halicarnassensis.

War with
the Æqui
and the
Volsi.

During these disturbances, the Æqui and the Volsi had, according to custom, made incursions on the territories of the republic. Quintius marched against the former, who fled as he approached: Appius advancing

THIRD CENTURY.

69

advancing against the latter, is deserted by his troops, in the same manner as the consul Fabius had been formerly served, and for the same motives. He decimates his army; and gives orders for the centurions, and other officers, who had abandoned their posts, to be beheaded in his presence.

283.

Appius is cited by the tribunes to account for having opposed a petition which they had lately presented, to obtain the execution of the agrarian law. He did not so much as put on a mourning habit, as was the custom of the accused, in those times; but, on the day appointed, he appeared before the people in his ordinary dress, and spoke rather as a judge, than a culprit. The people were so surprized, as they durst not condemn him; his sentence was put off to another day; but, apprehending the disgrace of a condemnation, he killed himself. Some authors, however, say that he died of a natural death. He left a son behind him of the same name as himself: and after his death, the war was renewed against the Æqui and the Sabines.

284.

Expedition against the Volsci; Numicius carries off twenty gallees out of the harbour of Antium, which he demolishes.

The people, excited by their tribunes, refuse to assist at the comitia, for electing the next year's consuls. The senate and the nobility, with their clients, proceed to the election by themselves; but they took care to chuse consuls agreeable to the plebeians.

285.

Quintius obtains two great victories over the joint forces of the Æqui and the Volsci, whose army was considerably more numerous than his own; then he lays siege to Antium, which surrenders by capitulation. The Volscian nation was divided into two cantons, one of the Antiates, and the other of the Ecetrani (r): by the taking of Antium and Quintius's double victory, they were brought under subjection to the Romans. Servilius also obtained several advantages over the Sabines.

286.

A colony is sent to Antium: the senate were in hopes that this would be a means to dismember the town of some of the poorest, and, at the same time, most factious citizens; but very few would give in their names; they preferred, says Livy, to sue for a partition of lands at Rome, than to accept of lands elsewhere. The government had therefore recourse to the Latins, and to the Hernici, to fill up this colony.

(r) The Ecetrani were the inhabitants of *Ecetra*, a Volscian town, which stood on the confines of the Aurunci, a people of Campania.

Peace with
the Æqui.

The war against the Sabines was attended with no remarkable event. The Æqui obtained a peace of the consul Fabius upon hard conditions.

287.

They commit some depredations on the territory of the Latins, who were allies of Rome; and Fabius is ordered to call them to an account.

Deus Fidius.

Posthumius consecrates the temple of *Deus Fidius*, that is, of Jupiter, witness and conservator of the faith of treaties.

288.

War with
the Æqui
again.

The Æqui refusing to deliver up the authors of the depredations committed against the Latins, war is declared against that nation. The consuls give them battle, with dubious success.

By the enumeration of the people made this year, it appeared that there were a hundred and fourscore thousand, two hundred and fifteen citizens, able to bear arms: this was the ninth census.

289.

The consul
Furius de-
feated by the
Æqui and
the Volsci.

The consul Furius is defeated by the Æqui, who had called the Volscian Ecetrani to their assistance; he is besieged in his camp, and runs great risk of being destroyed, together with his whole army, by a much superior force. The consternation is great at Rome. The senate suspend all civil proceedings: which is what we call *justitium indicere*. Posthumius, the other consul, receives order to take care that the republic suffer no detriment: *videret ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet*. This was conferring an absolute power on the consuls, and was never used but in great extremity. Posthumius makes very great levies, and marches to disengage his colleague; the two consuls join their forces, and defeat the enemy several times.

The enemy
defeated se-
veral times.

290.

The plague breaks out again at Rome; and carries off the greatest part of the Roman youth, with a considerable number of senators, two consuls, and above one half of the tribunes; the ædiles were the only officers remaining, and Rome, for the first time, was governed by subaltern magistrates. The Æqui and the Volsci advance to the gates of Rome, after ravaging the territories of her allies. This city seemed to be on the brink of ruin, when, all of a sudden, her enemies broke up their camp, and marched towards Tusculum (1). Probably they were afraid of the pestilential air, which made such havoc in the neighbourhood of Rome.

(1) Tusculum was a city of Latium, about twelve miles from Rome, built on an eminence, frequented by many of the Roman nobility, and particularly by Cicero, who wrote his Tusculum disputations in this place. It is now called *Frescati*, and is famous for some of the finest gardens and pleasantest villas in Italy.

291.

Scarce had the infection ceased, when the consuls marched against the enemy, and coming up with them in the plains of the Hernici, discomfited them intirely in three successive battles. The tribune Terentillus (1), taking advantage of the absence of the consuls, proposes a new law, which tended to diminish their authority, and that of the senate. He desired commissaries to be appointed, for drawing up a body of laws, by which the form and manner of administering justice should be ascertained. Rome, in fact, had no fixed laws; the kings in the beginning, and after them the consuls and the senate, had taken upon them to judge almost arbitrarily; the Papirian code, which was only a compilement of some of the king's ordinances, was absolutely insufficient; it must therefore be acknowledged, that Terentillus's proposal would have deserved great commendation, had not his motive been rather an aversion to the consuls, than love of justice.

The Æqui and the Volsci intirely defeated. The tribune Terentillus proposes the establishment of fixed laws.

292.

Cæso Quintius, a young patrician of great reputation, is cited by the tribune Virginius, for the violences he had used in opposing the Terentian law. Upon not appearing, he is condemned to banishment, and takes shelter among the Hetrurians. L. Quintius Cincinnatus, his father, pays a considerable sum to indemnify those who were bail for his son; and retires to a poor cottage to cultivate a spot of ground, which was all he had to live upon.

Cæso Quintius cited before the people.

293.

The tribunes spread a false report of a conspiracy formed by the patricians: they pretended, that the latter, headed by Cæso, were to come and destroy the tribunes, and to put the people to the sword. The consul Claudius detects the fraud.

A Sabine, named Herdonius, seizes on the capitol, and the adjoining fortress, by night. He had only a small army with him of about four thousand men, consisting chiefly of his clients, fugitive slaves, and exiles; yet he hoped that the slaves, and the Roman populace, would declare in his favour. Nobody stirred; but the consul Valerius, with the help of the Tusculans, retook the capitol before Herdonius could receive any succours, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribunes, who would fain have the people refuse to take up arms, till the passing of the Terentian law. Valerius is killed just in the very moment that he recovers the capitol, and the people willingly contribute to the expences of a magnificent funeral for him. The patrician party, substitute in his stead, in the consulate, L. Quintus Cincinnatus, the father of Cæso; knowing nobody more capable of opposing the encroachments of the tribunes. The deputies of the senate found him employed in driving the plough; which he left, and assumed the ensigns of consular authority. During the whole time

Herdonius seizes on the capitol.

(1) Some historians call him C. Terentius Arsa.

of his office, he behaved with a prudent steadiness, and maintained the public tranquillity.

The senate, at his request, publish a decree, forbidding any citizen to be chosen two years successively to the same office.

294.

Notwithstanding this decree, Virginius, and his colleagues, are created tribunes the third time. The senate proposed likewise to continue Quintius in the consulate; but he rejected the proposal as unworthy the integrity of the senate, and returned to his farm.

The Roman arms are triumphant over the Volsci and the Æqui. Fabius retakes Tusculum, which the Æqui had wrested from the Latins. Cornelius punishes the revolt of the Antiates by the death of their chiefs.

The tenth census, begun the preceding year, and interrupted by the taking of the capitol, is finished this year. The number of citizens proves to be a hundred and thirty two thousand and forty nine.

295.

Virginius, and his colleagues, are again continued in the tribunate, notwithstanding the opposition of the patricians.

The troops of the republic are in very great danger by the imprudence of the consul Minutius, who had suffered himself to be led into a valley, where he was hemmed in, on all sides, by the Æqui. Nautius, the other consul, was employed against the Sabines: in this emergency Quintius Cincinnatus was created dictator; and the deputies found him, as before, driving the plough. The dictator makes all the able bodied citizens take up arms; with these numerous troops he arrives at the enemy's camp, and surrounds them in their entrenchments. Finding themselves attacked, at the same time, on both sides, by the consul, and by the dictator, they are forced to surrender at discretion, and to pass under the yoke. Their general and their chief officers were carried to Rome in irons, and served to adorn the dictator's triumph.

The Æqui
and Volsci
defeated.

The consul Minutius is deposed; *you must all now*, says the dictator to him, *in an inferior rank, till you have learnt the art of war well enough to command in chief.* Volscius, one of the tribunes of the people, being convicted of calumny and false testimony against Cæso Quintius, is condemned to perpetual banishment, and Cæso is recalled home. Quintius resigns the dictatorship at the end of sixteen days: he might have been loaded with riches, as he was with honours; they offered him lands, slaves, and cattle; but he refused them all, and returned to his cottage.

296.

New distur-
bances in
Rome.

Virginius, and his colleagues, are created tribunes the fifth time; they

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they recal Volscius, and reinstate him in his office. The insolence of the tribunes increased with the public calamities: intelligence had been received, that the Sabines and the Æqui were wasting the territory of Rome and her allies with fire and sword; yet the tribunes oppose any further levies, unless the senate would consent, that the tribunes of the people should be increased from five to ten. The senate consented, in compliance with the opinion of Appius Claudius; but on condition that they should not be continued in office above a year. The consuls forthwith marched against the enemy, and put them to flight.

297.

The senate had flattered themselves, that by increasing the number of tribunes, it would be easier to divide them: the latter soon perceived the design, and resolved to disappoint the conscript fathers. Heretofore it had been sufficient, if one tribune opposed the decisions of the whole body, to render them null and of no effect: the new tribunes swore to be determined by a plurality of voices. Icilius puts himself at their head, and compels the senate to yield to the tribunes, who began now to assume the right of convening the senate. He obliges them to pass a law for putting the people in possession of all the lands that had been usurped from them, and that those which were as yet unoccupied, should be distributed gratis among the plebeians.

298.

This seemed a prelude to the revival of the agrarian law, of which no notice had been taken for some time. Icilius and his colleagues, having been continued again in the tribunate, revived the scheme once more, and insisted vigorously on its being put in execution: the people are assembled in comitia to judge of this law, but the patrician youth disperse them by open force. The Posthumii, the Temponii, and the Clælii, who had signalized themselves on this occasion, are cited before the tribunes, and condemned in a fine for default, and their goods are sold to pay it; but the patricians indemnify them at the public expence.

The tribunes, out of revenge, opposed, according to custom, the levying of troops: but the senate, by the advice of Q. Cincinnatus, determined that the patricians should take the field, followed by their clients only, and that they should invoke the protection of the gods for such plebeians as would join them. This was sufficient to rouse the emulation and ardour of the bravest of the plebeians. A cohort of eight hundred veterans was immediately formed, under the command of a very gallant man, named L. Siccius, and marched to join the consuls. The Æqui, who had ravaged the territory of the Tusculans, those faithful allies of Rome, were routed; and lost upwards of seven thousand men. From such a victory, the consuls might

might naturally have expected the honours of a triumph; yet they were disappointed. Siccus marched back with such expedition as to get to Rome before them; and he complained, that out of hatred to the plebeians, they had charged him with an undertaking, where he and his cohort must have lost either their honour or their lives, had it not been for a lucky circumstance.

299.

Siccus, being made tribune, causes Romilius and Veturius, consuls of the preceding year, to be condemned in a considerable fine. He resumes the pursuit of the Terentian law, and so strongly enforces the advantages thereof, that most of the senators were for agreeing to it. The consular Romilius, whom Siccus had lately prosecuted, seconded the motion. The tribune surprised, would fain rival him in generosity, and declared, that he remitted, in the name of the people, the fine in which he had been condemned. But Romilius rejected this favour; saying, *I should think myself guilty of sacrilege, if I did not pay this fine; the money belongs to the gods.* And, indeed, the sums arising from fines, were applied to the worship of Ceres.

Three deputies were sent to Athens to collect the laws of Draco, Solon, and other most celebrated legislators of Greece. These deputies were Sp. Posthumius, Serv. Sulpitius, and A. Manlius. Upon their return, commissaries were to be appointed, for choosing such laws as should appear most suitable to the present constitution of Rome.

The consuls of this year, to conciliate the good will of the tribunes, cause a law to be enacted, whereby every magistrate was empowered to fine those who did not shew proper respect to his dignity. This had been heretofore the privilege of consuls only; by this law it was extended to tribunes.

300.

This year all Italy was afflicted with a pestilence, which hindered the Romans and their neighbours from entering upon any military enterprise. The consul Quintilius, his successor Sp. Furius, and four tribunes, all died of the contagion; which likewise carried off almost all the slaves, and very near one half of the people. The pestilence was succeeded by a famine, almost all the lands having remained untilld for want of hands.

PARTICULAR REMARKS:

THE revolution which changed the Roman monarchy into a republic ought no longer to surprise us, after what has been mentioned in regard to that spirit of independency and conquest which animated the Romans. If they had wanted reasons, they would have sought for pretences to abolish the regal dignity; but Tarquin furnished them with the best of arguments. We shall not dispute the great qualities with which this king was perhaps endowed, though it

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is but too common to refuse to unfortunate princes, the possession of any one good quality, and as wantonly to bestow every virtue on those whom fortune has crowned with success. Neither shall we expatiate on his pride, his avarice, and his cruelty; these perhaps are exaggerated by historians. But we may affirm, without danger of being contradicted, that he acted very impolitically, in attempting to trample upon the necks of a people, who could hardly submit to the limited power of their kings, or, as in some measure we may stile them, their generals. Less provocation would have been sufficient to a nation, who were already disposed to throw off the yoke. Jealous of their independence, they could not but be alarmed at the very infancy of regal government, whose foundations, though unsettled at that time, might every day receive additional strength. Ambitious to extend their power by arms, had not they reason to be apprehensive of the pacific disposition of some of their kings? And might not more Numas ascend the throne?

Nothing is more easy than to accommodate designs to past events: for my part, I shall not attribute any views, nor any depth of design, to the Romans, but such as are plainly proved by facts. Far am I from thinking, that they had thoughts in those early days of subduing the whole globe: the most they pretended to, was to be, some day or other, masters of Italy, as Tarquin had made them believe by the artifice above mentioned. I shall even grant, that as yet, they had only vague and general notions of aggrandizing themselves; that it was their inclination which directed them naturally to this pursuit; that this made them greedy to embrace whatever was conducive to the favourite object, and as ready to reject whatever might divert them from it. Still it would be saying more than I advanced at first, for our inclinations have oftentimes an absolute sway over us; they are a kind of instinct, which conducts us more safely, and more directly, than any rational plan whatever.

The Romans, as soon as they banished their kings, thought themselves happy. They were incessantly repeating the sweet name of liberty, and the harmonious sound of the love of their country. These were the two main springs of their conduct; and, upon consideration, we shall find, that they were an essential part of their character. To be animated with the love of liberty, was, according to the Romans, to form a fantastic notion of independency, and to vow perpetual enmity to kings. To love their country, was to adopt its ambitious views, and to vow perpetual war against the human race. They were not sensible that we are free indeed, when we owe subjection only to the laws, to magistrates who are its depositaries, and to princes who are its protectors; they were not sensible that to love our country, we must love mankind. They should have banished tyranny and despotism, rather than monarchy; they should have studied rather the happiness, than the glory of their country.

When once the Romans were mistaken on two such important objects, it is not at all surprizing, that they struggled so hard for liberty, without

without ever being able to enjoy its advantages. Neither is it in the least surprizing, that their love for their country should have inspired them with so many false virtues, or rather should have filled their minds with so many wild and extravagant ideas.

The Romans, after the expulsion of their kings, were far from having all the independency they desired. On the contrary, they suddenly fell upon a system that was almost a complete aristocracy, which, in the opinion of the best judges, is one of the severest governments that mankind can submit to. In a well regulated monarchy, the subjects are all so inconsiderable, when compared to the prince, that they seem equal; and from this apparent equality arises a real and perfect liberty, that is, such a one as I have been explaining. Even to persons of the greatest distinction, nothing more is due than reverence and respect, but no obedience; they are raised above the level of the rest, but they have no authority over them. In an aristocracy, the people are subject to a multitude of petty tyrants; and yet the Romans could not avoid falling into this misfortune. It is true, that during the war against Tarquin, there were several comitia by tribes. And at one of those comitia, the consul Valerius Poplicola had ordered the lictors to lower the fasces before the people, thereby giving to understand, that he looked upon them as the real depositaries of the supreme power; but all this was still only a shadow of liberty. "The patricians, says the abbé de Mably, would have imagined they had gained nothing at all by the banishment of their kings, unless they governed as despotically as those princes. The consuls never convened the comitia but by centuries, and as the patricians were the predominant party at those meetings, they agreed to every proposal of the senate, who, to reward them for their compliance, suffered them to exercise all sorts of oppression over the plebeians. Thus the people were driven from their inheritance, condemned to slavery, or to ignominious punishments; while every patrician was a Tarquin."

Hence we may judge of that love of their country, for which the Romans are so greatly extolled. Here we behold the patricians, in the very infancy of the republic, oppressing the plebeians, who, in their turn, will soon endeavour to crush the patricians. Ever at variance, because they are ever endeavouring to enslave each other, they seem united only when they are subduing their neighbours, because then a common interest, their chief and predominant passion, leaves them but one and the same spirit.

In general, it is a mistake to imagine, that there are more virtues in a republican, than in a monarchical government. I am apt to think, that in the former there are more republican virtues; and in the latter, more of those which belong to a monarchy; and that honour and glory are commonly the principle of both. In republics, honour attends him who sacrifices himself for his country, and for the public good; in monarchies, it attends the person that performs this same sacrifice for the service of the prince, who is the father of his country,

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country, and the founder of the public good. In all governments, mankind will be excited to great exploits by the love of glory, as virtuous men will be excited by the love of the human species.

If we consider the proud and turbulent disposition of the Romans, we shall easily perceive that they abounded in people ready to undertake great actions, with a view to their own glory; and that they had but few of those who do every thing for their country's sake, or with the sole desire of being useful to their fellow citizens, even were they to foresee that their actions should expose them to the public hatred and contempt in their life time, or (which is much stronger) should be buried in eternal oblivion. Brutus seems to me more deserving of pity than admiration, even taking, as I have done, the passage out of Livy, in the most favourable sense. If he heard the cries of nature, this only made him the more unhappy, because he was obliged to stifle them. Humanity and paternal tenderness required he should have used his utmost endeavours to save the lives of his children, and to mitigate their punishment; the example would have been still sufficiently striking; but glory called upon him to put them to death without hesitating; and he did it. Can it be supposed that a man will listen to the cries of his country, when he is deaf to those of nature? We shall see, in the sequel of this history, other instances still stronger than these. We shall see the Romans devoting themselves to death, at a time when their superstition makes them believe that such sacrifices are necessary for the preservation of the republic. The motive of those actions is more difficult to determine; they may have sprang from a real love for their country; and in that case, instead of saying with M. de Saint Evremont, that the Decii, who sacrificed themselves for the welfare of a society, of which they were to be no longer members, appear to me as downright fanatics; I should say, that they rather seem to have attained the highest pitch of heroism. It is possible, nevertheless, that they were actuated by the principle of self-love; for the mind can in an instant frame to itself, and even enjoy, a long futurity. At the very moment that a man is making such sacrifices, his head is filled with the idea of his future glory, he hears the high encomiums that are bestowed upon him after his death, he beholds the flowers that are strewed upon his tomb, and the monuments erected to his memory; in a word, he coexists with posterity. I grant we shall likewise behold some actions worthy of admiration, actions free from all suspicion of private interest, and we shall take care to point them out: yet we shall still have a right to affirm, that, in general, the Romans did not carry the real love of their country, which is that of their fellow citizens, as far as people imagine; even if we had no other proof thereof, than that determined study of the two orders of the republic to humble each other, which at length ended in the ruin of the republic.

At the time of the regifuge, the Romans had already experienced some part of the mischiefs, arising from the too great inequality of the two orders, which of course involved them in divisions and perpetual animosities; and

and one would have been tempted to think, that in framing the republic, this inequality would have been abolished. After suppressing the regal dignity, it was an easy matter to destroy the work of kings; the public hatred might invite them to take this step. "But, as the abbé de Mably observes, Brutus would have been guilty of a capital mistake, if at the time that every body's eyes were fixed upon him, he had attempted, with a view of restoring real liberty in Rome, to revive that equality of fortunes, which had rendered the Romans so happy a people, before the distinction of noble and plebeian families, the institution of centuries . . . this would have estranged the two orders of the republic from their principal object, would have created mutual animosities, and made a diversion in favor of Tarquin and tyranny." To this political reason I shall add another, which may be considered as a moral one; that it is impossible there should ever be a perfect equality of conditions amongst mankind: no doubt, but nature desires it, and that is all it can do.

Let us not imagine, that Romulus aimed at this equality, upon making an equal division of lands among the inhabitants of his new colony. The policy which this prince shewed in the rest of his conduct, absolutely contradicts this supposition. He made an equal division, either because it would have been dangerous to begin with establishing distinctions among a wild rapacious people, who had put themselves under his command, all on the same condition; or because the lands to be divided were so inconsiderable, that he could not have given a larger portion to one than the other, without depriving the latter of mere necessaries. The reader may recollect, that by this first division, each citizen had about two acres of land. Romulus left it to time and circumstances to produce an inequality of conditions among his subjects; and even he himself endeavoured, soon after, to make some distinction among them, by instituting the order of patricians. Hence the happy state of equality of conditions among the Romans, was, as it must naturally be, of very short duration. Legislators who have endeavoured to establish this perfect equality, had more love than knowledge of human nature. Little did they consider, that our inclinations, abilities, and passions, being infinitely diversified, must be productive of so many real distinctions, which it is impossible to abolish. To endeavour to put all mankind upon a level, is opening an immense field to the passions: they espy the high stations which have been imprudently left vacant, and they perpetually dart towards this object, as their proper quarry. The only equality that can subsist amongst mankind, is that of internal happiness; the only one interesting, the only one worth desiring.

FOURTH CENTURY.

Year of Rome 301.

Before Christ 453.

THE people were assembled by *curiæ*, and ten commissioners appointed to compile a body of laws. These had the name of *decemvirs*, and were invested, for one whole year, with the supreme power, while all other authority was superseded. It was settled, that during their administration, there should be neither consuls, tribunes, ædiles, nor quæstors; that there should be no appeal from their decision; and that they should be the sole arbiters of peace, war, and justice. Such immense prerogatives occasioned many to appear as candidates for this office; the haughty Appius Claudius grew popular and cringing, as did also T. Genucius, who had been chosen consul with him. They were nominated the first. To them were joined P. Sestius the consul, who had pronounced the decree for creating the decemvirate; T. Romilius, who, two years before, had been the first that voted for the Terentian law; Sp. Posthumius, Serv. Sulpitius, and A. Manlius, who had been sent into Greece; and, lastly, for the other three places, they chose C. Julius, T. Veturius, and P. Horatius, or Curiatius.

Nomination
of decem-
virs.

302.

Appius and Genucius resign the consulship. The decemvirs enter upon their office with a general applause. To avoid affecting any pompous appearance, they agreed among themselves, that only one of them should have the chief authority for a day, and that they should succeed by rotation; the decemvir of the day was to have the twelve fasces, but the rest should be distinguished from the other senators, only by having a simple officer, called *accensus* (x), to walk before them. Their behaviour corresponded with this external simplicity; the meanest citizen found them impartial judges, and warm protectors; if, by chance, a person thought himself injured by the decision of a decemvir, he might have recourse to his colleague, which was not considered as an appeal, but a revival of the sentence.

An officer
called *accen-
sus*.

The decemvirs propose ten tables of laws, which are fixed up in the forum, to be examined and approved by the people. Each of the decemvirs had undertaken to compile one of the tables, which was assigned him by lot. In this task they were greatly assisted by a Greek, named Hermodorus, who happened to be then at Rome, and interpreted the laws of Greece to them: in acknowledgment for this favour, a statue was erected to him in the forum. The new

Laws of the
ten tables.

(x) The *accensi* and *pracones* were public criers, who called witnesses, and signified the adjournment of the court, and the like: but the *accensi* more nearly attended on the magistrates.

laws are approved by a decree of the senate, and afterwards at an assembly of the people convened by centuries.

Appius causes a report to be spread, that there were still two tables wanting to perfect the new code. The design of this ambitious man was to have the decemvirate continued, and to be at the head of it himself. In this he succeeded, notwithstanding the opposition of his colleagues, who, in order to disappoint him, made him president at the comitia in which they were to proceed to a new election. The custom was, in such case, that the president should propose to the people, the persons qualified for this office; but it was never known, that any one had proposed himself: Appius did what had been never done before, and was chosen the first.

303.

Of those who were elected with him, Q. Fabius was the only person that deserved this rank, the rest were hardly known by name; and Appius, to make his court to the people, caused three plebeians, viz. Cæso Duilius, Q. Petilius, and Sp. Oppius, to be raised to this supreme dignity. The first time that the new decemvirs appeared in public, the people were frightened to see them attended with a hundred and twenty lictors; each had twelve, and they carried the ax before them, contrary to the custom of the consuls, who had left them off for a considerable time, except they went into the country. The people perceived, when it was too late, that the persons they had chosen to govern them, were not magistrates, but tyrants.

Tyranny of
the decem-
virs.

Two tables
added to the
ten.

Outrages committed by the decemvirs. A great number of Roman citizens take refuge in the country. The usual time of holding the comitia expires, and no mention is made of convening the people, in order to proceed to the choice of magistrates for the ensuing year. The decemvirs propose the two last tables of the laws; and the intire code bears the celebrated name of *the laws of the twelve tables*. These were the source of the civil law of the Romans, which even to this day, is the basis of jurisprudence in a great part of Europe. Among the last laws of the decemvirs, there was one which might be considered as a further proof of their tyrannical designs: this was the law forbidding patricians and plebeians to intermarry: it convinced the public, that the decemvirs wanted to hinder the union of the two parties, that they might reign with greater security.

304.

The decemvirs continue themselves in office, of their own authority. Their tyranny grows more bare faced, and more violent than ever; and not only the decemvirs reigned thus imperiously; there was, moreover, a band of young patricians, who, in return for supporting the decemvirs in their tyrannical proceedings, were screened from justice, so as to commit all manner of crimes with impunity. Nobody dared to avenge the cause of oppressed liberty; there seemed to be a profound calm: but the storm was gathering. A tragical adventure,

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T. Quin
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Agrippa

FOURTH CENTURY.

81

<i>Consuls, decemvirs, and military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>	<i>Contemporary princes.</i>
<i>Consuls.</i>			<i>Aristophanes, an Athenian poet, flourished towards the eighty sixth olympiad.</i>	<i>Kingdom of Judea.</i>
P. Sestius Capitolinus.	301	453		Ehathib, son of Joiakim, is chosen the third high priest after the deliverance, the year before Christ
T. Menenius Lanatus.			Out of fifty comedies which he wrote, there are only eleven extant, intitled, <i>Plutus</i> , the <i>Nephelai</i> , the <i>Batrachoi</i> , the <i>Hippis</i> , the <i>Acarnes</i> , the <i>Spheces</i> , the <i>Ornithes</i> , the <i>Irene</i> , the <i>Ecclesiastusai</i> , the <i>Thesmophoria-sousai</i> , and <i>Syssistrata</i> .	
<i>Decemvirs.</i>			These performances shew his great ability in ridiculing and exposing vice, without any regard to persons. His <i>Nephelai</i> , or comedy of the clouds, contains a very keen satyr against Socrates, the philosopher. It is translated into French, as well as the <i>Plutus</i> , by M. Dacier. The <i>Ornithes</i> , or the comedy of the birds, is translated by M. Boivin junior, and that of the <i>Spheces</i> or wasps, is ingeniously imitated by M. Racine in his <i>Plaideurs</i> .	452
App. Claudius Crassinus.	302	452		Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, of a sacerdotal family, hearing that the neighbours of the Jews, and the officers of the kings of Persia, had destroyed the walls of Jerusalem, and broke the gates of the city, complaineth to Artaxerxes, to whom he was cup-bearer. He obtaineth leave from that prince to come into Judea, with orders to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and to cover the towers of the temple. He repairs to Jerusalem, with this order, the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, before Christ . . .
T. Genucius Augurinus.				445
P. Sestius Capitolinus.				It is from this edict of Artaxerxes for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, that we reckon, according to the ancient fathers, the seventy weeks of years, at the expiration of which the Messiah was to die, pursuant to the revelation made to Daniel, by the angel Gabriel. Christ was crucified the fourth year of the seventh week, and thus the prophecy was literally fulfilled, that in the middle of the last week, the sacrifice and the oblation shall
T. Romilius Rocus.				
Sp. Posthumus Albus.				
Servius Sulpitius Camerinus.				
A. Manlius Vulso.				
Caius Julius Iulus.				
T. Veturius Crassus.				
P. Horatius or Corvinius Tergeminus.				
App. Claudius Crassinus.	303	451		
Q. Fabius Vibulanus.				
M. Cornelius Maluginensis.				
Marcus Sergius.				
Lucius Minucius.				
Titus Antonius Merenda.				
Marcus Rabuleius.				
Cæso Duilius.				
Quintus Petilius.				
Spurius Oppius.				
App. Claudius Crassinus, and the other decemvirs of the preceding year. They are suppressed, and two consuls are substituted in their stead, namely,	304	450		
<i>Consuls.</i>				
L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus.				
M. Horatius Barbatus.				
L. Herminius Aquilinus.	305	449		
T. Virginianus Tricostus.				
M. Ceganus Macerinus.	306	448		
Caius Julius Iulus.				
T. Quintilianus Capitolinus.	307	447		
Agrippa Furius Fufus.				
M. Ge-				

The Æqui
and the Sa-
bines revolt.

The story of
Appius
Claudius and
Virginia.

Second
retreat to the
sacred mount.

The decem-
virate abo-
lished.

much like that of Lucretia, produced very near the same effect. The Æqui and the Sabines having renewed their usual incursions, the decemvirs raised ten legions in a hurry, five of which, under the command of M. Cornelius, were sent against the Æqui, and three under Q. Fabius, against the Sabines. Both these armies were defeated, which was owing to the soldiers, who chose rather to let the enemy conquer, than to encrease the power of the decemvirs, by rendering them victorious; the other two remained at Rome, under the command of Appius, and his colleague Oppius. Here Appius falling in love with a young plebeian virgin, named Virginia, resolved to have her seized by one of his clients, who laid claim to her in presence of the decemvir, under a pretence that she was his property, as the daughter of one of his slaves. Virginius, her father, was at that time in the army, and served under Cornelius as a centurion; being informed of what was transacting, he sets out for Rome, and arrives just at the very time they were carrying off his daughter; at this sight he is enraged, and snatching up a butcher's knife, which happened to be near him, to save his daughter's honour, he plunges it into her heart. This occasioned an insurrection. While Rome is in the greatest commotion, two senators, L. Valerius, and M. Horatius, having put themselves at the head of the malecontents, Virginius returns to the camp, and tells his comrades the melancholy story. Immediately they snatched up their colours, and refusing to pay obedience to their generals, they took their way to Rome, and encamped on mount Aventine; where they chose ten officers for their chiefs, by the name of *military tribunes*. On the other hand, Numitorius, Virginius's uncle, and Icilius, to whom she had been promised in marriage, followed the same example in Fabius's army, who had been already incensed against their general, for having caused a gallant man, whose name was Siccius (y), to be assassinated: the soldiers, therefore, resolved to desert their commander, and chusing to themselves ten military tribunes, they went and joined the army on mount Aventine.

The second retreat of the people to the sacred mount. The troops being assembled on mount Aventine, imagined that the best way to obtain the restoration of the tribunate, was to retire to that very same mount, on which they had heretofore obtained the creation of those magistrates. Thither, therefore, they retired, but without committing any violence by the way; and they were soon followed by almost all the people of Rome. The senate met, and obliged the decemvirs, who had scarce any adherents left, to promise to resign their authority. Valerius and Horatius are sent to the *sacred mount* with full power, and conclude a treaty, which restored the tribunes and consuls, with a right of appealing from the latter to the decision of the people. The decemvirs resign. The people who had retired to mount Aventine, chose their tribunes in the presence of the *pontifex*

(y) He is called by other writers Siccius Dentatus.

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C. Juliu
L. Virgi
C. Juliu
L. Virgi
2°.

<i>Consuls and military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. of J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>	<i>Contemporary princes.</i>
<i>Consuls.</i>				
M. Genucius Augurinus.	308	446	mends the reading of them to his pupils. Cratinus took care to raise his genius with wine, pretending that a water drinker could never make good verses. Horace says, in the beginning of one of his epistles to Mæcenat:	shall cease, by the sacrifice and oblation of him whose type they were.
Caius Curtius Philo. Military Tribunes.				Nehemiah, after repairing the walls and gates of Jerusalem, makes a solemn dedication the year before Christ
A. Sempronius Atratinus.	309	445		434
L. Attilius Longus.			<i>Prisco si credis Mæcenat doctæ, Cratino,</i>	" The seventh
T. Clælius Sículus.			<i>Nulla placere diu, nec vivere carmina possunt,</i>	" month of the sacred year, happening to be at the same time, says M. Godeau, "a great number of people shocked from all parts of Judea, to the capital city, in order to celebrate the festivals, which took up nearly this whole month, Ezra (who had always acted in concert with Nehemiah) read the book of the law in the presence of the people; who finding in how many different ways they had broke it, sighed and wept bitterly. Then it was that the sacred fire which had been concealed by Jeremiah, was found, or rather that the thick water which was found in its stead, being thrown upon the wood and the sacrifice, kindled of itself at the rays of the sun. Artaxerxes, hearing of this miracle, sent fresh presents to the temple, and gave orders for surrounding it with walls, and
<i>They resign at the end of three months, and in their stead are substituted two consuls, viz.</i>			<i>Quæ scribuntur aquæ potioribus.</i>	" doing
<i>Consuls.</i>				
L. Papirius Murgillanus.			We have but a very small number of this poet's verses remaining.	
L. Sempronius Atratinus.			Democritus, a philosopher, born at Abdera, died at the age of about a hundred years, in the ninety fourth olympiad, or, according to other authors, in the hundred and fourth.	
T. Quinctius Capitolinus. 5°.	310	444		
M. Geganius Macerinus. 2°.			He had so great a thirst for knowledge, that he travelled into Egypt, Persia, and Chaldea, to visit and to confer with the learned of those countries; it is even said that he travelled as far as India, to converse with the Gymnosophists. The fruit of so much toil was that he contracted an habit of incessant laughter, which made him pass for a fool among his countrymen. Hippocrates was sent for; he saw the pretended patient, conversed with him, and	
M. Fabius Vibulanus.	311	443		
Posthumius Ebucius Elva.				
C. Furius Pacilus Fusus.	312	442		
M. Papirius Crassus.				
Proculus Geganius Macerinus.	313	441		
L. Menenius Lanatus.				
T. Quinctius Capitolinus. 6°.	314	440		
Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.				
<i>Military tribunes.</i>				
Mamercus Emilius Mamercinus.	315	439		
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.				
L. Julius Iulus.				
<i>Consuls.</i>				
M. Geganius Macerinus.	316	438		
L. Sergius Fidenas.				
M. Cornelius Maluginensis.	317	437		
L. Papirius Crassus.				
C. Julius Iulus.	318	436		
L. Virginius Tricoftus.				
C. Julius Iulus. 2°.	319	435		
L. Virginius Tricoftus. 2°.				
<i>Military</i>			G 2	in

maximus Q. Furius, whom the senate had appointed to preside at the election, in order to give it a greater sanction. The first three named, were Virginius, Icilius, and Numitorius. "The people, says father Catrou, would shew thereby, that they owed the recovery of their liberty to the father and avengers of Virginia, as Rome heretofore was indebted for her liberty to the father and avengers of Lucretia."

Consuls appointed.

Valerius and Horatius are named consuls: they get two laws passed in favour of the people, one that the decrees of the comitia by tribes should bind the patricians, whereas hitherto they only bound the plebeians; the other, that no magistrates should be created hereafter with sovereign power, and without appeal to the people, and that the authors of any such innovation might be killed with impunity. The law declaring the persons of the tribunes sacred, was likewise renewed.

The decemvirs had been promised, that no inquiry should be made into their past administration; but the tribunes, finding their power so well established, did not observe this promise. Appius is impeached by Virginius, and, to avoid the ignominy of a public execution, he makes away with himself. Some historians pretend, that he was put to death in prison by a secret order from the tribunes; and what confirms this suspicion, is that Sp. Oppius, Appius's colleague, having been also imprisoned, at the accusation of Numitorius the tribune, was found dead the same day; the other decemvirs, frightened at those imprisonments, which were followed by sudden deaths, went into voluntary banishment.

The two last tables of the laws are confirmed.

The Æqui, Volsci, and Sabines defeated.

Horatius defeats the Sabines, and Valerius the Æqui and the Volsci. The senate, being offended at the laws which those consuls had promoted in favour of the plebeians, refuse them a triumph; which they obtain of the people. This triumph had a place in the *fasti capitolini*, so that there is all the reason in the world to think it was considered as a legal triumph; and this was a new privilege obtained by the people.

At the election of tribunes for the following year, the people could agree only in regard to five; the old tribunes would fain take advantage from hence, to continue with the new magistrates: but Duilius, one of their college, prevented this usurpation by a law, enacting, that in such cases, the tribunes newly elected, should have a right to name their colleagues, in order to fill up the number of ten. Duilius gave another mark of his affection for the public weal, by making a regulation, that two patricians should be chosen into the college of tribunes, reckoning that this would be a sure way to preserve a good understanding between the nobility and the people. Sp. Tarpeius, and A. Æternius, senators and consulars, did not disdain to accept of this office; but this new establishment was not lasting.

305.

Lex Trebonia.

L. Trebonius, one of the tribunes, got a law passed, by which it was ordained, that, for the future, the magistrate who proposed holding

<i>Consuls and military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>	<i>Cotemporary princes.</i>
<i>Military tribunes.</i> M. Fabius Vibulanus. M. Fossius Flaccinator. L. Sergius Fidenas. L. Pinarius Rufus Mam- mercinus. L. Furius Medullinus. Sp. Posthumius Albus.	320	434	in the end was struck with admiration. Hip- pocrates perceived that Democritus laughed at the follies and irregu- larities of mankind, and of course that he had just cause of per- petual laughter. The most celebrated opinion of this philosopher is that of the plurality of worlds.	"doing every thing "that was necessa- "ry for its ornament "and defence, which "made the author of "the second book of "Maccabees say that "he built a temple ; (Torniel, and some o- thers, pretend that they found also the ark and mercy seat, and the al- tar of perfumes)" but
<i>Consuls.</i> T. Quintius Pennus Cincinnatus. C. Julius Mento. C. Papirius Crassus. L. Julius Iulus. L. Sergius Fidenas. 2 ^o . Hostus Lucretius Tri- cipitinus.	321 322	433 432	Empedocles, a ce- lebrated Pythagorean philosopher, born at Agrigentum in Sicily, lived in the eighty fourth olympiad.	"this is not sufficient- "ly proved. Nehe- "miah after his ar- "rival, governed the "Jews the space of "twelve years, with "equal wisdom and "piety, omitting no- "thing that could "contribute to make "them continue faith- "ful to the new co- "venant, which they "had solemnly con- "tracted with God.
T. Quintius Pennus Cincinnatus. 2 ^o . A. Cornelius Cossus. L. Papirius Mugilla- nus. C. Servilius Structus Ahal.	323 324 325	431 430 429	He was also a poet and historian ; but of all the works attri- buted to him, there remains only an ex- planation of the sphere, which some believe to have been rather writ- ten by Demetrius. He had written a long poem on the principles of natural philosophy, and the different effects arising from the mix- ture of elements. It is thought, that this is what made Lucretius bestow such great en- comiums upon him in his first book, where he gives him the epi- thet of <i>divine</i> .	"He collected a large "library, which, as "some will have, "consisted of all sorts "of books, and, as "others pretend, of "those only which "related either to the "religion or civil go- "vernment of the "Jews. According to "the conjecture of "several, Ezra col- "lected all the cano- "nical books of the "sacred scripture,
<i>Military tribunes.</i> T. Quintius Pennus Cincinnatus. C. Furius Pacilus. M. Posthumius Albus. A. Cornelius Cossus. A. Sempronius Atrati- nus. L. Furius Medullinus. L. Quintius Cincinna- tus. L. Horatius Barbatus. App. Claudius Crassus. Spurius Nautius Ru- tilus. Lucius Sergius. Sextus Julius Iulus.	326 327 328	428 427 426	Eupolis, an Athe- nian, flourished in the eighty fifth olympiad. Horace, in one of his satyrs, ranks him with Cratinus and A- ristophanes, among the founders of the ancient comedy, which lashed the vices and follies of mankind in general,	"freed them from "the corruptions, "which had crept "into them, and dis- "tinguished them in- "to two and twenty "books, after the "number of letters G 3
<i>Consuls.</i> C. Sempronius Atrati- nus. Q. Fabius Vibulanus. <i>Military tribunes.</i> L. Manlius Vulso, Q. Antonius Merenda, L. Papirius Mugilla- nus. L. Servilius Structus.	329 330 331	425 424 423	and	"in

holding the comitia for the election of tribunes, should be obliged to go on with the election in all the following assemblies, till the number of ten tribunes was completed by the suffrages of the people. By this law, the tribunes first chosen were deprived of the power to name their colleagues; and it took from the patricians any further hopes of being admitted to the tribunate,

306.

The tribunes of this year were so quiet, that the patrician youth dared to commit several insults against the plebeians. But the consuls, by their prudent conduct, restored things to order.

307.

The Æqui and the Volsci defeated.

The consuls obtain a complete victory over the Æqui and the Volsci.

The inhabitants of Ardea and Aricia, chose the Romans arbitrators, in a dispute of a long standing, about a district situated in the neighbourhood of Corioli. The Romans adjudged the district to themselves, pretending that it belonged to Corioli, which was one of their conquests.

The people take upon them to nominate quæstors, whereas these magistrates had hitherto been appointed by the consuls.

308.

New dissensions at Rome.

The encroachments of the people on the prerogatives of the nobility, did not end here: the tribunes demanded that the plebeians might be admitted to the supreme magistracy. Canulejus, a cunning active man, was then the leading tribune: he proposes that the plebeians shall be admitted to the consulate, and be chosen at the comitia; and he further demands a repeal of the law, by which intermarriages between plebeian and patrician families were prohibited. Upon the first advice of those domestic troubles, the Æqui, the Volsci, and the Veientes invade the territory of the republic; and the tribunes oppose all levies of troops. The senate agree to the law relating to intermarriages, without being able to pacify the tribunes. The fathers were greatly perplexed; either they must suffer the consular dignity to be degraded, or the state to be over-run by the enemy. C. Claudius makes a proposal, which seems to obviate these inconveniencies; it is that the consular authority shall be in the hands of six *military tribunes*, chosen partly out of the nobility, and partly out of the plebeians. This opinion was followed, because it checked the people, by excluding them from the consular dignity, to which they had aspired.

Military tribunes.

Election of military tribunes. The people, satisfied with the victory which they had gained over the patricians, refuse to give their votes to plebeians, so that only three military tribunes, and those patricians, were chosen, viz. A. Sempronius, L. Atilius, and T. Cladius, or Cæcilius.

309.

Consulate
restored.

These new magistrates having abdicated at the end of three months, under pretence that there had been some defect in the manner of taking the auguries at the time of the election, the people, of their own accord, restored the consular government to its former state. In consequence hereof none but patricians were permitted to aspire to the consulate; and at the comitia by centuries, two consuls were chosen, one named L. Papirius, the other L. Sempronius.

The Ardeates, who had revolted on account of the judgment given against them, lay down their arms, and renew their alliance with the republic.

310.

Creation of
the censor-
ship.

Creation of the *censorship* (z). This event was occasioned by the eleventh census; the consuls observing, that seventeen years had elapsed without taking a review of the people, in consequence of foreign wars and domestic broils, resolved to disburden themselves of this care, by laying it upon two magistrates, who were to continue in office for five years, and at the expiration of that term, to take a list of the people. Though this new office seemed of small importance, yet the patricians reserved it to themselves; doubtless foreseeing the pitch of power and grandeur to which it would in time arrive. The first censors were L. Papirius and L. Sempronius, consuls of the preceding year. From that time they were exact in making the census every five years; but I shall take no notice hereafter of any but those which have been particularly described by historians.

The consul Geganius undertakes to quell a civil war that had broke out among the Ardeates: he defeats the Volsci, who were come to assist the plebeians of Ardea, then in arms against the nobility; and after he had obliged them to surrender, he made them pass under the yoke. Half naked and unarmed, they were under a necessity of halting on the territory of the Tusculans, who, to revenge themselves for the injuries they had formerly received of those people, were so cruel as to cut most of them in pieces.

(z) Servius Tullius, the 6th king, was the first who introduced the survey of the Roman citizens, called *census* from *censeo*, to rate and value, and took upon himself the trouble to manage it. After the regifuge, this business devolved upon the consuls; but for the reason above given, proper officers were at length created to discharge that office. In process of time, their power having greatly increased, a law was passed (*Æmilia*) in 419 to limit the continuance of their authority to a year and a half. Their station was reckoned more honourable than the consulship, though of inferior authority in matters of government. Their office originally was only to take a survey of the people; but, by degrees, they began to assume to themselves the reformation of manners, for which they were stiled *magistri morum*. Their power, in this respect, extended to all ranks and orders; they might expel the senators the house, *senatu ejicere*; or take away the knights horses, *equum adimere*; or remove the plebeians to a less honourable tribe, *tribu movere*; or disqualify them from voting in public, in *Ceritum tabulas referre*, which is to put them on the same foot with the *Cerites*, the inhabitants of *Cære*, a town in *Hetruria*, who had no votes; or condemn them in a fine to be paid to the treasury, *ararium facere*.

311.

<i>Consuls and military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. Y. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>	<i>Cotemporary princes.</i>
<i>Consuls.</i>				
M. Papirius Mugillanus.	342	412	Oxford marbles, in the 59th epocha. It is even observed, that out of seventy five, or according to others, ninety two tragedies of his composing, only five obtained the prize at the olympic games. This might proceed in part from his having made himself a great many enemies, as well as by his satirical strokes against the women, as by his haughty behaviour to several poets, his cotemporaries, and to many of his fellow citizens. It is even reported that the people of Athens having desired him one day to strike a certain passage out of one of his plays, he appeared upon the stage, and said, with a loud voice: <i>I do not write my works to receive instructions from you, but to give you instructions.</i> Hated by the women, ridiculed by the comic poets, and tormented by a jealousy conceived at Sophocles's success, he left Athens, and retired to king Archelaus, who had a great esteem for this poet, and raised him to an important office. At the news of his death, which happened at this prince's court, Athens was sensible of the loss which Greece sustained, and the whole city went into mourning. There are still	"cult passages of the Holy Scriptures, to keep them in their custody, and to prevent their being corrupted. Some attribute the Chronicles to him. There are two books in the Bible that go by his name, but the second seems to have been written after his death, which happened about the tenth year of Darius, surnamed the <i>bastard</i> , who succeeded Artaxerxes. At the end of twelve years, Nehemiah went back to the latter's court; and during his absence, the Jews swerved from that piety in which he had left them, and violated the law in many articles of consequence. At his return, he punished them, and reformed the abuses."
C. Nautius Rutilus.				Joiada, son of Eliahish, is elected the fourth high priest since the deliverance in 412.
M. Emilius Mamercinus.	343	411		Jonathan, or John, son and successor of Joiada, was made high priest the year before Christ 376
C. Valerius Potitus Volusus.				<i>Kings of Egypt.</i>
Cn. Cornelius Cossus.	344	410		Artaxerxes Longimanus, 424
L. Furius Medullinus.				Xerxes II. 424
<i>Military tribunes.</i>				Sogdianus, 424
C. Julius Iulus.	345	409		Darius Ochus, or Northus, 413
P. Cornelius Cossus.				Amyrtes, 407
C. Servilius Ahala.				
C. Valerius Potitus Volusus.	346	408		
L. Furius Medullinus.				
Numerius Fabius.				
C. Servilius Ahala.				
P. Cornelius Rutilus Cossus.	347	407		
L. Valerius Potitus.				
Cn. Cornelius Cossus.				
Fabius Ambustus.				
C. Julius Iulus.	348	406		
M. Emilius Mamercinus.				
T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus.				
L. Furius Medullinus.				
Q. Quintius Cincinnatus.				
A. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.				
P. Cornelius Maluginensis.	349	405		
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.				
Cn. Cornelius Cossus.				
C. Valerius Potitus.				
Cæso Fabius Ambustus.				
Marcus Sergius Fidenas.				
M. Emilius Mamercinus.	350	404		
M. Furius Fufus.				
App. Claudius Crassus.				
L. Julius Iulus.				
M. Quintius Varus.				
L. Valerius Potitus.				

C, Ser-

eleven

Ne-

311.

The senate send a colony to repeople Ardea, and under pretence of making a division of lands among the old and new inhabitants, they give private orders, that the territory which the people of Rome had adjudged to themselves, should be distributed among the Ardeates only. This restitution did great honour to the senate, but displeased the tribunes, who cited the triumvirs, that had been appointed to settle the colony: the latter, who were three senators, finding they could not ward off the unjust prosecution of the tribunes, declared themselves citizens of Ardea, and there fixed their residence.

312.

The public games which the senate had vowed, during the last retreat of the people, are solemnized at Rome.

313.

The Romans were this year afflicted with every domestic scourge, with famine, pestilence, seditions, and conspiracies. The famine occasioned a pestilence, and these two together produced seditions. L. Minucius, created *superintendant of provisions*, could not hinder the scarcity of corn; but, by the authority annexed to his office, he quelled the seditions. Several citizens reduced to despair, throw themselves into the Tiber. In this general calamity, a Roman knight, whose name was Mælius, greatly relieved his fellow citizens; being immensely rich, he bought up corn at foreign markets, and ordered it to be distributed gratis, or at a very low price among the meaner people. The great popularity which this action gained him, was his ruin; imagining he might aspire to the sovereign power, he formed a conspiracy with that view.

Mælius aspires to sovereign power.

314.

The conspiracy is discovered by the superintendant of provisions, who was continued in his office, because the scarcity still continued. The case was extraordinary, and they had recourse to an extraordinary man; this was the celebrated Quintius Cincinnatus, who, though stooping with years, was looked upon as a person to whom the republic might have recourse in extreme necessity: hence he is created dictator at the nomination of T. Quintius Capitolinus, his brother, who was then consul the sixth time. The dictator was preparing to perform the duties of his office, when all of a sudden he was eased of this care by Servilius Ahala, his general of the horse. Servilius, having received orders to arrest Mælius, goes up to him in the forum, and acquaints him with the dictator's summons; Mælius grows pale, draws back, and throws himself into the midst of his adherents, of whom he had always a multitude about him; Servilius pursues, and overtakes him, and kills him on the spot. This was a right that every citizen had, viz. to put any man to death without form of trial, who had aspired to the sovereign power, provided they could prove the crime on the person slain. The dictator found no difficulty in proving Mælius guilty:

He is slain.

M.
C. Se.
Q. S.
nus
Q. Se.
A. M.
L. Vi.
Marc.
L. Va.
L. Ju.
M. E.
nus
Cn. C.
Cæso
tus.
M. Fu.
P. Ma.
Publiu.
Sp. Fu.
Lucius
L. Pub.
P. Lic.
M. V.
Cicu.
Caius
Lucius
Ca. G.
tinen.
Marcus
Volero
L. Vale
L. Furi
M. Val.
Q. Serv
Q. Sulp
nus.
M. Furi
Lucius
Lucius
A. Post
nus.
Aulus
Lucius
linus.
Publiu.
lugine
P. Licin
Lucius
Publiu.
tolinu.
C. Gen
senis.

FOURTH CENTURY.

91

<i>Military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>	<i>Cotemporary princes.</i>
<i>Military tribunes.</i>				
C. Servilius Ahala,	351	403	eleven of Euripides's tragedies remaining, intitled the <i>Pœnissa</i> , <i>Orestes</i> , <i>Medea</i> , <i>Alceſtis</i> , <i>Andromache</i> , the <i>Suppliants</i> , <i>Iphigenia in Aulis</i> , <i>Iphigenia of Tauris</i> , <i>Rhesus</i> , the <i>Troades</i> , the <i>Bacchæ</i> , the <i>Cyclops</i> , the <i>Heracidae</i> , <i>Helena</i> , <i>Ion</i> , <i>Hercules furens</i> , <i>Electra</i> , <i>Hecuba</i> , <i>Hippolytus</i> .	Nephirites, or Nephircus, 383 Achoris, 376 Psammuthis 375 Nephirites II. 375 Nectanebis I. 363 Tachos, 362 Nectanebis II.
Q. Sulpitius Camerinus.				
Q. Servilius Priscus.				<i>Persian empire.</i>
A. Manlius Vulfo.				Artaxerxes Longimanus, 424
L. Virginus Tricoſtus,				Xerxes II. 424
Marcus Sergius.				Sogdianus, 424
L. Valerius Potitus.	352	402	Heraclitus, a philosopher, born at Ephesus, lived in the eighty fifth olympiad.	Darius Ochus, or Nectanebis II. 405
L. Julius Iulus.				Artaxerxes Mnemon, 360
M. Emilius Mamercinus.				
Cn. Cornelius Coffus,				Artaxerxes Ochus.
Cæſo Fabius Ambuſtus.				<i>Kings of Macedonia.</i>
M. Furio Camillus.				Perdiccas II. 413
P. Mælius Capitolinus.	353	401	The obſcurity, for which his works were remarkable, was the cause of his being ſiled the <i>dark philosopher</i> .	Archelaus, 399
Publius Mænius.			Yet it is known he believed that every thing ſprung from fire, and was reſolved into fire, and that chance alone preſided over human events. Heraclitus was called alſo the <i>weeping philosopher</i> , because, inſtead of laughing at the follies of mankind, like his cotemporary Democritus, he wept over them, at the leaſt with as much reaſon.	Amyntas II. 398
Sp. Furius Medullinus,				Pausanias, 397
Lucius Titinius.				Amyntas III. reigns till the year 392
L. Publius Philo.				Argeus ſeizes on the throne, and reigns till 390
P. Licinius Calvus.				Amyntas III. reſtored, dies in 371
M. Veturius Craſſus	354	400		Alexander II. 366
Cicurius,				Perdiccas III. 360
Caius Duilius,				Philip.
Lucius Atilius Longus.				<i>Kings of Sparta.</i>
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.				Theſe were properly magiſtrates, and not monarchs. The very idea of monarchy is irreconcilable with that of a ſtate governed by two colleges both inveſted with equal power. Now ſuch was the Lacedæmonian ſtate, and the cauſe of it was this. Sparta or Lacedæmon, had originally but one king, but in the reign of Tiſamenus, the Heraclidæ or deſcendants of Hercules, having returned
Marcus Pomponius.				
Volero Publius Philo.				
L. Valerius Potitus.	355	399		
L. Furius Medullinus.				
M. Valerius Maximus.				
Q. Servilius Priscus.				
Q. Sulpitius Camerinus.				
M. Furius Camillus.				
Lucius Julius Iulus.	356	398		
Lucius Sergius Fidenas.				
A. Poſthumius Albinus.				
Aulus Manlius Vulfo.				
Lucius Furius Medullinus.				
Publius Cornelius Maluginensis.				
P. Licinius Calvus.	357	397		
Lucius Atilius Longus.				
Publius Mælius Capitolinus.				
C. Genucius Aventinensis.				
Lucius				

ROMAN ANNALS.

guilty: the people were comforted for the loss of their benefactor, by the great quantity of corn found in his house, which was distributed among them at a low rate; and a statue was erected to Minucius.

Three of the tribunes, who had been concerned in Mælius's conspiracy, desiring now to be revenged of the patricians, caused the military tribunate to be restored, in hopes that they themselves should be chosen. But they were mistaken, the people chose only three patricians.

315.

The Fidenates take up arms, and put themselves under the protection of the Veientes, whose king, at that time, was Lars Tolumnius. By this prince's order, they murder the Roman ambassadors, who had been sent to ask the reason of their conduct. The consular government is restored.

316.

War with
the Veien-
ses.

So manifest a violation of the law of nations involved the Veientes in a bloody war.

The second
spolia opima.

Notwithstanding that the consul Sergius had gained some advantage over them, yet it was thought proper to appoint a dictator: this was Mameercus Æmilius, who had been military tribune the preceding year. The Veientes being joined by the Fidenates and the Falisci (a) come to an engagement with the dictator, and are defeated. Tolumnius, their chief, was killed in battle by a Roman officer, named A. Cornelius Cossus, who stripped him of his armour and robes, and made a trophy of them. This was the second time that the Romans obtained the *spolia opima*; for so we must call these, according to Varro, though Cossus that carried them, was only a private officer. The glory he acquired by this exploit, eclipsed that of the dictator himself; and he deposited those spoils in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, near those of Romulus.

317.

Minucius, and Servilius Ahala, are cited before the people to answer for the death of the tribune Mælius: Servilius was condemned to banishment by the intrigues of the tribune, a relation of that Mælius who had attempted to invade the sovereignty. Public prayers were ordered in consequence of the plague and the earthquakes felt this year.

(a) The Falisci were the inhabitants of Falerii, a town of Tuscany, and one of the twelve lucumonies, situate on the river Tiber, near the conflux of the Nar, a little below Fescennia, where the nuptial verses called Fescennina were invented. Virgil mentions the Falisci, *Æn. lib. 7. Hi Fescenninas acies, æquosque Faliscos*, where he styles them *æquos* according to Servius, because the Romans received from those people some additions to the laws of the twelve tables. Falerii is now called *Civita Castellana*.

Consul

Mili
Lucius
Publius
Publius
sus.

P. Corn
M. Valer
Cæso F
ras.
Lucius F
nus.
Q. Servil
denas.
Marcus
lus.

L. Furi
Publius
C. Emili
nus.
Spurius
binus.
Lucius V
cola.

C
L. Lucre
Servius
merin
Lucius V
tus.

Marcus
tolinu
Mili
L. Lucre
Servius
merin

Marcus
merc
L. Fufu
Agrippa
Caius E
Quintus
dustus
Cæso F
stus.

C. Fabi
Quintus
sus.
Quintus
cus Fi
Servilius
luginæ

Consuls and military tribunes.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
<i>Military tribunes.</i>				
Lucius Titinius.			much expressly in his first book of laws; in his Orator, he compares Herodotus's style to the smooth clear stream of some deep river. His writings are still remaining; they contain the hist. of the wars of the Persians against the Greeks, from the reign of Cyrus, down to that of Xerxes; as likewise that of most other nations: it is divided into nine books, to which the Greeks assembled at the olympic games, gave the name of the nine muses, to shew the great satisfaction they had received from hearing them recited by their author.	turned to Peloponnesus, from whence they had been heretofore expelled by Euristheus, Aristodemus, one of those Heraclidæ, seized on the throne of Sparta. He was succeeded by his sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, twin brothers, who divided the regal power between them, and transmitted it in that manner to their posterity. The kings of the branch of Eurysthenes were called <i>Eurysthenidæ</i> or <i>Agidæ</i> ; those of the branch of Procles, were called <i>Proclidæ</i> or <i>Euripontidæ</i> .
Publius Mænius.				
Publius Cornelius Cos- sus.	358	396		
P. Cornelius Scipio.				
M. Valerius Maximus.				
Cæso Fabius Ambus- tus.				
Lucius Furius Medulli- nus.				
Q. Servilius Priscus Fi- denas.				
Marcus Furius Camil- lus.	359	395		
L. Furius Medullinus.				
Publius Cornelius.			<p><i>Hippocrates</i>, born in the isle of Coos, one of the Cyclads, in the eightieth olympiad, died very old.</p> <p>He has always held the same rank among physicians, as Homer among poets, Demosthenes among orators, and Herodotus among historians. Though in his time they had not yet acquired all the necessary knowledge in regard to the animal œconomy, yet his aphorisms and prognostics are to this very day, so many oracles; because his principles, derived from observa- tion and experience, were as clear, and as solid, as those founded on the most learned theory. The science of physic was, in some measure,</p>	<p>Kings of the branch of Eurysthenes.</p> <p>Elistonax, or Plistonax, governs from the year before Chr. 479 to the year 434 Pausanias, 394 Agesipolis, 380 Combrotus, 371 Agesipolis II. Cleomenes II.</p> <p>Kings of the branch of the Proclidæ.</p> <p>Archidamus governs from the year before Chr. 469 to the year 427 Agis, 400 Agesilaus, 359 Archidamus the Second.</p> <p><i>Athens continues to be governed by perpetual archons.</i></p> <p><i>Kings of Pontus</i></p> <p>Of the first kings of this country, but very little is known. All that has been handed for certain is, that Artabazes</p>
C. Emilius Mamercinus.				
Spurius Posthumius Al- binus.				
Lucius Valerius Popli- cola.				
<i>Consuls.</i>				
L. Lucretius Flavius.	360	394		
Servius Sulpitius Cam- merinus.				
Lucius Valerius Poti- tus.	361	393		
Marcus Manlius Capi- tolinus.				
<i>Military tribunes.</i>				
L. Lucretius Flavius.	362	392		
Servius Sulpitius Cam- merinus.				
Marcus Emilius Ma- mercinus.				
L. Fufius.				
Agrippa Furius Fufus.				
Caius Emilius.				
Quintus Fabius Am- bustus.	363	391		
Cæso Fabius Ambus- tus.				
C. Fabius Ambustus.				
Quintus Sulpitius Lon- gus.				
Quintus Servilius Prif- cus Fidenas.				
Servilius Cornelius Ma- luginensis.				

Co-

318.

The pestilence rages with greater fury; and the Velentes and the Falisci take the field again. Q. Servilius Priscus, being appointed dictator; gains a complete victory over them, and falling upon Fidenæ, makes himself master of that city. We do not find that so glorious a victory procured the dictator a triumph; as Fidenæ was a Roman colony, probably they looked upon this as a civil war, which never gave room for a triumph.

319.

A rumour being spread, that all Hetruria was going to arm in defence of the Veientes, Marcus Æmilius is created dictator a second time. This rumour proving groundless, Æmilius resolved to lay down the dictatorship; but before he did it, he proposed a law for shortening the duration of the censorial office. These magistrates had assumed to themselves very considerable prerogatives, the inspection of the manners and good order of the people; the power of punishing the citizens, knights, and even senators with degradation; the maintaining of the public edifices; and the administration of the revenue. Æmilius, thinking it would be of service to the state to diminish the duration of a magistracy now grown so important, proposed a law for reducing it to eighteen months; and to the end, said he, *that the public may be convinced how great an enemy I am to magistracies of long continuance, I resign my dictatorship this very day.* He resigned it accordingly, and retired to his house, exposed to the hatred of the censors, who went so far, as to degrade this great man, reducing him to the condition of those who were reckoned citizens, merely by the taxes which they paid to the republic.

The tribunes of the people, by dint of clamour, prevail to have military tribunes elected, who were three patricians.

320.

The year of their administration was remarkable for another pestilence, which made great havock both in town and country. The republic vows a temple to Apollo, god of physic. The plebeians had ito hand in the nomination of military tribunes for the following year.

321.

This induced the tribunes of the people to propose a law against the canvassing of patricians for public employments. They were forbid to go about in garments of extraordinary whiteness, which occasioned their being called *candidati*; but this prohibition was not long observed. The senate apprehending, that in consequence of these disturbances, the people would nominate plebeians to the military tribuneship, took care to have consuls chosen for the next year, under pretence, that the allies of Rome had given notice of the great preparations, which the Æqui and the Volsci were, at this time, making for war.

322.

Military

Camillus i
tw, cu
or militLucius V
licola.

L. Virgin

P. Cornel

Aulus M

tolinus

L. Emiliu

nus.

L. Posthu

nus.

T. Quint

tus.

Quintus S

cus Fid

Lucius Ju

L. Aquili

Lucius Lu

cipitinus

S. Sulpit

L. Papiri

C. Sergiu

Lucius F

mercini

L. Mener

L. Valeri

C. Cornel

Marcus F

lus.

Servius C

lugimen

Q. Servili

Lucius C

cinnatu

L. Horati

Publius V

licola

Aulus

tolinus

P. Cornel

Titus Qui

linus.

L. Papiri

C. Sergiu

A. Cornel

M. Furiu

S. Sulpit

Servius C

lugimen

P. Valeri

Postu

<i>Military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. Y. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>	<i>Contemporary princes.</i>
<i>Camillus is chosen dictator, without consuls or military tribunes.</i>	364	390	measure, hereditary in Hippocrates's family; he was even said to be descended from Æsculapius, by his father Heraclides. But we are better informed of what relates to his posterity: his sons, Thesphalus and Draco, and Polybius, his son-in-law, inherited his knowledge. Hippocrates had formed a number of excellent pupils, whom he sent, on several occasions, to visit the sick, in every town in Greece. The same honours were, out of gratitude, decreed to him, as had been heretofore decreed to Hercules.	tabases was created king of Pontus by Darius Hystaspis, king of Persia, towards the year 486 before Christ. The names of the four kings that succeeded him, and sat upon the throne till towards the year 400, are lost.
<i>Lucius Valerius Poplicola.</i>	365	389		
<i>L. Virginius Tricostus, P. Cornelius Cossus, Aulus Manlius Capitolinus.</i>				
<i>L. Emilius Mamercinus.</i>	366	388		
<i>L. Posthumus Albinus.</i>			<i>Gorgias</i> , a native of Sicily, flourished in the eighty eighth olympiad. This orator became famous by his readiness in haranguing <i>ex tempore</i> on all sorts of subjects; but his principal recommendation is his having been master to Isocrates. There are some pieces of his remaining.	Mithridates I. 363 Ariobarzanes.
<i>T. Quintus Cincinnatus.</i>				
<i>Quintus Servilius Priscus Fidenas.</i>				
<i>Lucius Julius Iulus.</i>				
<i>L. Aquilius Corvus.</i>			<i>Papirius (Caius)</i> a Roman civilian. He was <i>pontifex maximus</i> in the early years of the republic, and revived the laws of Numa, concerning sacrifices and religion. M. Terassion has shewn that they are mistaken, who would fain make him pass for the author of the Papirian code.	
<i>Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus.</i>				
<i>S. Sulpitius Rufus.</i>				
<i>L. Papirius Cursor.</i>	367	387		
<i>C. Sergius Fidenas.</i>			<i>Pindar</i> , the prince of lyric poets, was born at	
<i>Lucius Emilius Mamercinus.</i>				
<i>L. Menenius Lanatus.</i>				
<i>L. Valerius Publicola.</i>				
<i>C. Cornelius Cossus.</i>				
<i>Marcus Furius Camillus.</i>	368	386		
<i>Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.</i>				
<i>Q. Servilius Priscus.</i>				
<i>Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus.</i>				
<i>L. Horatius Pulvillus.</i>				
<i>Publius Valerius Publicola Potitus.</i>				
<i>Aulus Manlius Capitolinus.</i>	369	385		
<i>P. Cornelius Cossus.</i>				
<i>Titus Quintus Capitolinus.</i>				
<i>L. Papirius Cursor.</i>				
<i>C. Sergius Fidenas.</i>				
<i>A. Cornelius Cossus.</i>				
<i>M. Furius Camillus.</i>	370	384		
<i>S. Sulpitius Rufus.</i>				
<i>Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.</i>				
<i>P. Valerius Publicola Potitus, C. Pa-</i>				

322.

Accordingly, those eternal enemies of the Roman name, were advancing with a formidable army. The danger seemed pressing, upon which a dictator is demanded. It belonged to the consuls to nominate this officer; but as they refused to comply, the senate had recourse to the authority of the tribunes of the people, to oblige them to it. The tribunes ordered the consuls to be carried to jail, if they persisted in their refusal. A. Posthumius Tubertus is named dictator. He defeats the confederates, takes their camp, and orders all the prisoners, except the senators, to be sold.

Several historians have asserted, that Posthumius stained his dictatorship by an act of inhumanity: they pretend that he caused his son to be beheaded for fighting without his order, though he came off victorious. It seems that they have anticipated the story of Manlius Torquatus, and attributed it to Posthumius the dictator; this is the opinion of Livy.

323.

The Æqui obtain a truce for eight years.

324.

This year was productive neither of war abroad, nor of domestic scourges at Rome; and in this only it seems to be remarkable.

325.

Rome, and almost all Italy, are afflicted with an extraordinary drought. The Romans, on this occasion, had recourse to new superstitions, which were suppressed by an edict of the senate, who ordered the ædiles to take care that no foreign worship should be introduced among the Romans.

There were some military operations this year against the Fidenates and the Veientes. Some authors pretend it was on this occasion that Cossius fought the king Tolumnius. As he was consul this year, it adds a greater probability to the name of *spolia opima*, which we find given to those he took from that prince.

326.

A dispute arises between the senate and the people, concerning the war against the Veientes, whether it was to be declared by an order of the people, or by a decree of the senate. The tribunes prevailed to have it declared by order of the people. They likewise prevailed to have military tribunes chosen for the following year; but though there were four nominated, they were all patricians.

327.

The Romans defeated before Veii.

So many chiefs hurt the arms of the republic. The Romans are defeated before Veii, through a misunderstanding among the military tribunes, who commanded the army. It was thought proper to chuse a dictator; but as there were no consuls at that time, and none but consuls had a right to name a dictator, this occasioned great perplexity.

The

<i>Military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. Y. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>
L. Papirius Crassus.			at Thebes, in the six- ty fifth olympiad, and died in the eighty eighth.
Titus Quintius Cin- cinnatus.			Horace, in 'his ode to Julius Antonius, mentioning Pindar, says, that whoever pretends to imitate him, may be com- pared to Icarus, and must meet with the same fate, as that rash youth.
L. Valerius Publicola.	371	383	<i>Pindarum quisquis studet amulari, Jule, ceratis ope Dæ- dalæ</i>
A. Manlius Capitoli- nus.			<i>Nititur pennis, vitreo daturus nomina ponto.</i>
S. Sulpitius Rufus.			Of all Pindar's poems, we have only his odes remaining, which he wrote in praise of those who had obtained the prize at the four pub- lic games of Greece. His memory was long held in such venera- tion, that when Alex- ander the Great de- molished the city of Thebes, he ordered the house, in which this poet had lived, to be spared.
L. Lucretius Tricipiti- nus.			<i>Socrates, a celebrat- ed philosopher of A- thens, was born in the seventy seventh olym- piad, and died in the ninety fifth.</i>
L. Emilius Mamerci- nus.			It was not by his singular opinions con- cerning the origin of things, and the nature of man; nor by his re- searches in natural phi- losophy and the ma- thematics, that Socra- tes acquired the name of a celebrated philo- sopher;
M. Trebonius Flavus.			
Sp. Papirius Crassus.	372	382	
Lucius Papirius Crassus.			
Servius Cornelius Ma- luginenfis.			
Q. Servilius Priscus.			
Servius Sulpitius Præ- textatus.			
L. Emilius Mamerci- nus.			
M. Furius Camillus.	373	381	
A. Posthumius Albi- nus.			
Lucius Posthumius Al- binus.			
L. Furius Medullinus.			
Lucius Lucretius Tri- cipitinus.			
M. Fabius Ambustus.			
L. Valerius Publicola.	374	380	
L. Menenius Lanatus.			
C. Sergius Fidenas.			
Sp. Papirius Cursor.			
Servius Cornelius Ma- luginenfis.			
Publius Valerius Pub- licola Potitus.			
P. Manlius Capitoli- nus.	375	379	
Aulus Manlius Capi- tolinus.			
L. Julius Iulus.			
Caius Sextilius.			
Marcus Albinus.			
Lucius Antistius.			
Sp. Furius Medullinus.	376	378	
Q. Servilius Priscus.			
Caius Licinius Calvus.			
Publius Clælius Sici- lus.			
M. Horatius Pulvillus.			
L. Ge-			

The augurs being consulted on the occasion, attributed this right to Cornelius Cossus, one of the military tribunes, who staid in Rome to guard the city. Cossus chose Mamercus Æmilius for dictator, that great man so unjustly degraded. There had been an instance of a dictator taken out of a cottage; and now there was a dictator chosen from among the common people, a condition to which he had been reduced by the injustice of the censors.

The Fidenates join the Veientes, after having massacred the Romans that had been sent among them by way of colony, when their city was taken; and a great number of Hettrurians join them as volunteers. The dictator engaged the enemy under the walls of Fidenæ, where the Romans were terrified at first with a new manner of fighting. In the very heat of the battle, the Fidenates sent out a body of troops with lighted torches in their hands, who threatened to carry fire and sword through the Roman legions. This stratagem, however, had no great effect; the Romans, though frightened at first, soon recovered themselves; and wresting the torches from the enemy, forced their ranks, and put them to flight: the Veientes ran towards the Tiber, where a great number of them were drowned; the Fidenates fled towards their capital, where the Romans entered pell mell with them, and made themselves masters of the city.

Æmilius, at his return to Rome, had the honours of a triumph, and laid down the dictatorship, which he had held only sixteen days.

328.

Though the ill success of the preceding year had sufficiently shewn the inconveniency of governing by military tribunes, still the tribunes of the people prevailed so far as to have this government continued the two following years; but no plebeians had any share in it. A truce of twenty years is granted to the Veientes; and that with the Æqui is continued three years longer.

329.

The public games, which had been vowed in the preceding war, are celebrated this year. The Romans, on this occasion, distinguished themselves by their hospitality to strangers, who were all received and entertained at free cost. Expedition against the Volsci, who were advancing with an army towards the frontiers of the republic. The senate did not fail to seize this opportunity of electing consuls for the next year.

330.

Battle between the Romans and the Volsci.

The consul Sempronius attacked the Volsci: but it proved a drawn battle, because both armies being equally frightened at their loss of men, had quitted their camp in the night. The Romans owed their preservation to the gallant behaviour of a decurio, named Tempanius, who made the horse dismount, in order to support the infantry that were giving way on all sides. To reward his service, he was created tribune of the people, with three other officers of the horse, though absent.

The

<i>Military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>
L. Geganius Macerinus.			<p>Sophocles; it was by his pure and sound morality which he taught by word and example. He believed, that there was but one only God, and proved it to the Athenians, who charged him with a capital crime for thus abolishing all their false deities, and condemned him to die by poison. Socrates underwent this sentence with constancy, and died a martyr for the most sacred of all truths. So greatly did this heroic death affect the ingenious Erasmus, that every time he read the account of it, he was ready to cry out: <i>blessed Socrates, pray for us.</i> We have some letters under his name, published by Leo Allatius.</p> <p><i>Sophocles</i>, a tragic poet, born at Athens in the seventy first olympiad, died in the ninety third.</p> <p>He carried tragedy to the highest perfection. Euripides had good reason to be jealous of Sophocles. The latter surpassed the former greatly in dignity of expression and sublimity of style, as appears by the seven tragedies of his extant, out of a hundred and twenty which he is said to have written. Their titles are, <i>Ajax, Electra, Oedipus Tyrannus, Antigone, Oedipus Coloneus, Trachinæ, Philoctetes.</i> Horace ranks him</p>
L. Emilius Mamercinus.	377	377	
Servius Sulpitius Prætextatus.			
P. Valerius Potitus Publicola.			
L. Quintius Cincinnatus.			
Caius Veturius Crassus.			
C. Quintius Cincinnatus.			
<i>No curule magistrates.</i>	378	376	
<i>No curule magistrates.</i>	379	375	
<i>No curule magistrates.</i>	380	374	
<i>No curule magistrates.</i>	381	373	
L. Furius Medullinus.	382	372	
P. Valerius Potitus Publicola.			
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C. Valerius Potitus.			<p>He carried tragedy to the highest perfection. Euripides had good reason to be jealous of Sophocles. The latter surpassed the former greatly in dignity of expression and sublimity of style, as appears by the seven tragedies of his extant, out of a hundred and twenty which he is said to have written. Their titles are, <i>Ajax, Electra, Oedipus Tyrannus, Antigone, Oedipus Coloneus, Trachinæ, Philoctetes.</i> Horace ranks him</p>
Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.			
M. Fabius Ambustus.	383	371	
Q. Servilius Priscus.			
M. Cornelius Maluginensis.			
C. Veturius Crassus.			
Q. Quintius Cincinnatus.			
A. Cornelius Cossus.			
Lucius Quintius Capitolinus.	384	370	
Sp. Servilius Structus.			
Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.			
L. Papirius Crassus.			
Servius Sulpitius Prætextatus.			
L. Veturius Crassus, Camillus, and afterwards Manlius, were dictators, without consuls or tribunes.	385	369	
A. Cornelius Cossus.	386	368	
L. Veturius Crassus.			
M. Cornelius Maluginensis.			
P. Va-			H 2 him

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P. Valerius Potitus Publicola.			
L. Quintius Cincinnatus.			
Caius Veturius Crassus.			
C. Quintius Cincinnatus.			
<i>No curule magistrates.</i>	378	376	
<i>No curule magistrates.</i>	379	375	
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A. Cornelius Cossus.	386	368	
L. Veturius Crassus.			
M. Cornelius Maluginensis.			
P. Va-			

The three military tribunes, who by their misconduct were defeated by the Veientes, are cited by the tribunes of the people: and Posthumius, one of their number, is condemned in a fine.

The bad conduct of the consul Sempronius, induces the senate to agree to the nomination of military tribunes.

331.

Sempronius is cited to answer for his behaviour, by the tribune Hortensius, who, afterwards, drops the prosecution at the request of Tempanius and his colleagues. Sempronius was greatly beloved by the troops subject to his command. Under such moderate tribunes of the people, there was no more talk of creating military tribunes.

332.

The Æqui
defeated.

Fabius defeats the Æqui, and receives the honours of an ovation.

Disputes between the senate and the people in regard to the quaestorship. The consuls having proposed to create two new quaestors for the army, the tribunes obstinately insisted that two out of the four quaestors should be chosen from among the plebeians. The senate refusing, the tribunes oppose holding the comitia, and the state falls into an interregnum.

333.

At length they come to a compromise, whereby the tribunes consent that the four quaestors should be indifferently chosen out of the two orders, patricians or plebeians; on condition that the people were permitted to name military tribunes. The four quaestors, and the four military tribunes, were chosen from among the patricians only. The nobility had generally a kind of ascendancy over the people, which defeated all the intrigues of the tribunes. A vestal is arraigned before the *pontifex maximus*, and accused of having violated her vow of chastity. She was acquitted, but the *pontifex maximus* admonished her to behave with greater reserve for the future, and to value herself more for modesty, than for elegance and levity of dress; *absolutam pro collegii sententia, pontifex maximus abstinere jecit, colique sanctè potius quam scitè jussit.* Tit. Liv.

334.

Conspiracy
of slaves.

A conspiracy of slaves stifled in its infancy. They had formed a design to set fire to the different quarters of Rome, and to seize on the capitol during the confusion. Two of the conspirators, who had informed against the rest, were rewarded with their liberty, and a considerable sum of money.

335.

Revolt of the Labicani (a), a people of the Latin confederacy: they join

(a) They were the inhabitants of Labicum, or Lavicum, which is oftener used in the plural Labici and Lavici, Sil. lib. 8. *babiles ad aratra Labici*. This town was situate within

<i>Consuls and military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>
<i>Military tribunes.</i>			
P. Valerius Potitus Publicola.			him among those, whom the Roman tragedians proposed to themselves as a model; and Boileau observes, that they never came up to him in point of expression.
M. Geganius Macerinus.			<i>Thucydides</i> , a celebrated Greek historian, born at Athens in the seventy fourth olympiad, and died in the ninety second.
P. Manlius Capitolinus.			When he was very young, he assisted at the olympic games, where Herodotus recited his history: and so greatly was he pleased with it, as to shed tears of joy. A taste so delicate, presaged what the youth would one day attain to. He undertook to write the history of the Peloponnesian war; but death hindered him from finishing this work: what he wrote of it, is still extant.
<i>Consuls.</i>			
L. Emilius Mamercinus.	387	367	
Lucius Sextius Sestinus.			
L. Genucius Aventinensis.	388	366	
Q. Servilius Ahala.			
C. Sulpitius Pæticus.	389	365	
Licinius Stolo.			
L. Emilius.	390	364	
Cneus Genucius.			
Q. Servilius Ahala. 2 ^o .	391	363	
L. Genucius Aventinensis. 2 ^o .			
Caius Sulpitius Pæticus. 2 ^o .	392	362	
Licinius Stolo. 2 ^o .			
C. Petilius Libo.	393	361	
Marcus Fabius Ambustus.			
M. Popilius Lænas.	394	360	
Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus.			
C. Fabius Ambustus.	395	359	
C. Plautius Proculus.			
C. Marcius Rutilus.	396	358	
Cn. Manlius Capitolinus. 2 ^o .			
M. Fabius Ambustus. 2 ^o .	397	357	
Marcus Popilius Lænas. 2 ^o .			
C. Sulpitius Pæticus. 3 ^o .	398	356	
M. Valerius Publicola.			
Marcus Fabius Ambustus. 3 ^o .	399	355	
T. Quintius Pennus Capitolinus.			
C. Sulpitius Pæticus. 4 ^o .	400	354	
M. Valerius Publicola. 2 ^o .			

join the Æqui, and gain some advantage over the Romans. C. Servilius, the only military tribune that remained in Rome, nominates his father Servilius Priscus to the dictatorship. In eight days the dictator defeats the enemy, makes himself master of their camp, takes Labicum by storm, returns to Rome, and resigns the dictatorship.

336.

The senate send a colony to Labicum, to prevent the intrigues of the tribunes of the people, who were preparing to insist on the distribution of the lands of the Labicani.

337.

Disputes
about the
agrarian
law.

The tribunes finding themselves disappointed on this article, revive the ancient dispute of the agrarian law, in regard to the distribution of conquered lands. Two of that college, Mæcilius and Metilius, were for having a new and equal division of those lands between the nobility and the plebeians. The senate artfully defeated this scheme, by gaining over six of the tribunes, who opposed their colleague's petition. This advice was given them by Appius Claudius, the younger, son to the decemvir.

338.

The town and territory of Bola (*b*) is taken from the Æqui. Sextius, a tribune of the people, insists that a colony should be sent thither, as had been done in regard to Labicum. The patricians, willing to seize on these new conquered lands, have recourse to the same expedient, as that which succeeded so well with them the preceding year.

339.

P. Posthumius, one of the military tribunes, is killed in a mutiny by his own soldiers. Bola had been retaken by the Æqui; Posthumius recovered it again, but broke his word, by which he had promised the soldiers; to distribute the plunder among them, if they took the town. Some of his men having mutinied on this occasion, he increased the sedition by his severity against the delinquents. The general of a Roman army having a supreme authority, from which there was no appeal, the soldiers had recourse to force, to rescue their companions out of the hands of the executioners; and Posthumius coming down from his tribunal to appease the tumult, the soldiers threw stones at him, and killed him on the spot. In those circumstances, the senate ordained that consuls should be chosen the

within fifteen miles of Rome, and is now called *la Colonna*. The *via Lavicana* is frequently mentioned in history: according to Antoninus's itinerary, the first place, in this road from Rome, was *ad quintanas*, fifteen miles; the second *ad pictas*, that is, *tabernas*.

(*b*) It was situated on this side of the Anio, not far from Labicum. Virgil mentions it in the singular, *Pometios, castrumque Invi, Bolamque, Coramque*. *Æn.* lib. 6. but Livy generally in the plural, &c. with a *v*, *Volis insequente anno receptis*, lib. 4.

ensuing

FOURTH CENTURY.

103

ensuing year. This was opposed by the tribunes of the people; and the republic fell into an *interregnum*.

340.

Fabius Vibulanus, being *interrex*, assembles the comitia by centuries, for the choosing of consuls.

They enquire after those soldiers, who had been guilty of murdering their general: a few were condemned to death, who prevented their execution by laying violent hands on themselves.

341.

A plague which raged this year, interrupted the career of the tribunes, who were beginning to revive the disputes about the agrarian law.

342.

The famine which followed the plague, was productive of the same effect.

343.

Scarce had these scourges ceased, when domestic broils, and foreign wars, revived. The *Æqui*, and the *Volsci*, had renewed their incursions on the Roman territory: the consuls would have levied troops; the tribune *Mænius* opposed it; nor did he acquiesce, till news came that the enemy had taken the fort of *Caruentum* (c). The consul having retaken this fort, ordered the booty to be sold, and the money to be put into the public treasury, to punish the soldiers for having refused at first to enlist.

344.

Out of four *quæstors* chosen this year, three were plebeians. This is the first step the people had dared to take towards establishing their power, since they were permitted to aspire to the military tribunate, and the *quæstorship*. It was taken at the instigation of the *Icili*, who, at that time, had three places in the college of tribunes. The dignity had been, in some measure, hereditary in their family, and as often as an *Icilius* had a seat among the tribunes, some of the privileges of the nobility were sure to be invaded. The *Icili* obtained further, that the republic should be governed the following year by military tribunes, expecting, doubtless, to be of the number themselves. But the senate passed a decree, that none of the present tribunes of the people, should be chosen military tribune; at the same time, they took care to engage some very mean plebeians, who seemed, however, to have the whole patrician interest on their side, to set up for this place. The people were ashamed, and named only three patricians.

345.

The senate apprehending a disunion betwixt these new magistrates, caused a dictator to be created, in order to make head against the

(c) This was the *Arx Caruentana*,

Æqui and the **Volsci**, who had renewed the war, **P. Cornelius** is invested with this supreme dignity, and defeats the enemy near the city of **Antium**.

To prevent the plebeians from obtaining the military tribuneship, the nobility had recourse to an expedient very different from that of the preceding year, but which proved equally successful; this was to make the most illustrious of their own body stand candidates for that employment.

346.

The truce of thirty years with the **Veientes** was expired, and the Romans were ready to declare war against them; but being informed by the ambassadors of the **Veientes**, that their city was disturbed by civil broils, they deferred declaring war to another time: so far were they, says **Livy**, from taking advantage of the distresses of their enemy, to forward their own interests: *tantum absuit, ut ex incommodo alieno sua occasio peteretur*. But the true reason was, they were willing to wait till the **Veientes** had weakened themselves by their divisions. The behaviour of the Romans on a thousand other occasions, clearly shews the motive of their present conduct.

The **Volsci** take **Verrugo** (d) from the republic, and put such part of the garrison to the sword, as had made the most vigorous defence.

347.

The death of those brave men did not remain unpunished. The military tribunes ravage the territory of the **Volsci**; **Fabius** lays siege to **Anxur** (e), now called **Terracina**, and taking it by storm, he divides the spoil among his troops.

The Roman
infantry be-
gin to re-
ceive pay.

This liberality was followed by another more generous act, which produced a reconciliation between the nobility and the people. The senate passed a decree, that henceforward, the infantry should be maintained in the field at the public expence. This generosity of the senators was greatly admired; but they had their private views. They wanted to divert the people from petitioning for the distribution of lands; and to enable the troops to keep the field longer than usual. The pay was to come out of the people's own pockets, and would occasion a new tax. The sagacious tribunes did not fail to make this remark. The senators, to defeat their ill intentions, and to set

(d) A town of **Latium**, belonging to the **Volsci**, situate, according to **Cluverius**, between **Velitrae** and **Sacripotus**; but **Cellarius** looks upon its situation as very uncertain.

(e) **Anxur** was the name of this place in the **Volscian** language; but the Greeks and Latins called it **Terracina**. *Dein flumen Ufens, supra quod Terracina oppidum, lingua Volscorum Anxur dictum*. **Plin.** lib. 3. c. 5. It is sometimes called **Terracinae** in the plural. **Horace** uses **Anxur** in the neuter, *impositum saxi late cadentibus Anxur*, lib. 1. sat. 5. **Martial** has it in the masculine, *five salutaris candidus Anxur aquis*, lib. 5. epig. 1. Here was a temple of **Jupiter Anxurus**, or **Axurus**, i. e. **Imberbis**, a name by which young **Jupiter** was worshipped in **Campania**.

an

347. Liv. lib. 4. p. 276.

Before this time Roman
soldiers had no pay. —

an example, began with taxing themselves, in proportion to their estates; and some of them, out of ostentation, caused their contingents, which filled several carts, to be carried through the city. For the Romans had no silver money as yet; it was all in pieces of brass, of course very weighty, and cumbersome.

The great designs of the senate, appeared in their declaring war against the Veientes.

348.

These people not chusing to run the hazard of a battle, shut themselves up within the walls of their capital. The Romans then began this famous siege, which historians have compared to that of Troy, for its length and difficulty.

There is room to imagine that the importance of this enterprize occasioned the naming of six military tribunes, instead of four, which had been the usual number.

349.

The siege of Veii went on but slowly, because the Romans had been obliged to detach part of the forces against the Volsci. They obtained two victories over the latter, and took one of their towns, named Artena (*f*). The citadel would have held out a long time, had it not been for the treachery of a slave, who betrayed it to the Romans; and it was razed together with the town.

350.

Livy reckons eight military tribunes this year, but the capitoline fasti shew that he mistook the two censors, who were chosen this year, for military tribunes.

The Roman army met with a check before Veii; the besieged having made a sally in the night, set fire to the military machines, and slew a great number of the Romans. The tribunes rejoiced at this news, imagining they had found a good opportunity to repeal the law for paying the troops, which deprived them of the means of opposing the levies. But suddenly there appeared a strong instance of Roman generosity, the chief support of the republic in difficult times. The richer plebeians offered to mount themselves at their own expence, and to serve before Veii; the lower people at the same time offered to enlist in the infantry. The senate accept of the proposal, appoint magistrates to thank the people, and ordain that henceforward the cavalry shall also receive pay (*g*). Since the reign of Ser-

(*f*) There were two towns of this name, as Livy observes, one belonging to the Veientes, and situate between Cære and Veii, was destroyed by the kings of Rome: the other belonging to the country of the Volsci, is the town above meant; there were no remains of it even in Livy's time, so that the exact situation thereof is not known.

(*g*) It does not appear what pay was given at this time to the troops; but during the second Carthaginian war, we find that each foot soldier was allowed two *æboli* a day, that is, sevenpence three farthings Eng. a centurion double that money, and an horseman treble.

vius Tullius, the horses belonging to the Roman cavalry were maintained by the public, but the horsemen or knights had always served at their own expence.

In consequence of these regulations, the army was enabled to keep the field all the winter for the first time. Hitherto their expeditions were but of a short duration; as the soldiers served at their own expence, they were obliged to return quickly to Rome, in order to resume their respective callings, by which they subsisted. The generals change the siege of Veii into a blockade, with a view to reduce this city by famine.

351.

The town of Anxur is retaken by the Volsci, and the garrison cut in pieces. The Romans meet with a second defeat before Veii. The Capenates (b) and Falisci, nations of Hetruria, having made a sudden attack upon the lines commanded by M. Sergius, one of the military tribunes; Virginus, who covered the siege, neglected to succour his colleague, against whom he had a personal enmity. The Veientes at the same time made a sally, and forced the lines. Other military tribunes are named before the usual time; their authority did not expire till the third of December; but these were obliged to resign the first of October.

352.

The tribes, not being able to agree in the election of the ten tribunes of the people, the eight who had been chosen, appointed themselves colleagues, contrary to the Trebonian law.

Sergius and Virginus are condemned in a fine, by an assembly of the people.

The great levies the state was obliged to make, in order to resume the siege of Veii, occasioned new disturbances. The tribunes of the people oppose the laying of taxes, and again propose the agrarian law. All this bustle ends in raising a plebeian to the dignity of military tribune; his name was Licinius Calvus. The tribunes of the people were so greatly pleased to see a plebeian in this high and wished for station; that they easily dropped their other pretensions. The Romans now lay siege to Anxur.

353.

This city is retaken. The siege of Veii offers nothing remarkable, but the constancy of the Roman soldiers in bearing the inclemency of the weather this winter campaign. The cold was so intense, that the like had never been seen in the memory of man.

(b) Capena was a town of Hetruria, between Veii and the Tiber, situate on the banks of that river, and famous for the grove and temple of Feronia; the temple was plundered by Hannibal, Liv. lib. 26. cap. 11. Virgil takes notice of this grove; *et Cimini cum monte lacum, lucosque Capenas.*

The two orders were equally pleased with the conduct of the plebeian military tribune. The people, encouraged by this success, nominate five military tribunes, of their own body, for the following year.

354.

The Capenates and the Falisci march a second time to the relief of the Veientes; but are repulsed with considerable loss.

The nobility were desirous of recovering into their own hands the first dignity of the state, which they were grieved to see possessed by plebeians. Superstition opportunely came to their assistance. A violent contagion having made great havock both of man and beast, they gave out that this scourge, and the excessive cold of the preceding year, were a just punishment of the gods for the injustice done to the nobility. The multitude, in all probability, believed this report; since they named none but patricians to the military tribuneship.

One thing worthy of notice, is the kind of expiation which the duumvirs, entrusted with the care of the Sibylline books, prescribed on account of the contagious distemper. They ordered magnificent repasts to be served up for eight days together, and a certain number of gods to be invited to the feast. This ceremony was called *lectisternium* (*a*), because it was the custom of the Romans to lie down on couches at their repasts. This is the first festival of the kind mentioned in history, and was celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings. During eight days, there was nothing but feasting, every one kept open house, law-suits were suspended, and prisoners were set at liberty. The joy and content which such a ceremony must naturally have inspired, might greatly contribute to put an end to the contagion: fear and inquietude being one of the principal causes of the spreading of infectious distempers.

The ceremony of *lectisternium*.

355.

The Roman generals ravage the territory of the Falisci and the Capenates, who had attempted a second time to succour Veii.

The senate send deputies to Delphi (*b*), to consult the oracle of Pythian

(*a*) The *lectisternium*, or the ceremony of *strewn a bed*, rather took its name from the custom the Romans had of taking down the statues of the gods from their bases or pedestals, and laying them on couches in their temples, with pillows under their heads, in which posture they entertained them with elegant repasts, as if they had been to partake of them. For this purpose, they made three magnificent couches, on which they laid the statues of Jupiter and Apollo, with those of Latona, Hercules, Neptune, and Mercury, in order to appease those deities. Juno and Minerva were always seated, this being the most decent posture for their sex. Livy mentions the original of the *lectisternia*, lib. 5. c. 16. See also Cicero in *orat. de Harusp. resp.* and Valerius Maximus, lib. 2. c. 1. & 10. Casaubon thinks that this ceremony obtained not only among the Romans, but likewise among the Greeks. And Spon, in his voyage to Greece, gives us a description of the *lectisternium* of Isis and Serapis, which is still to be seen at Athens.

(*b*) *Delphi*, otherwise *Pytho* or *Pythia*, a town of Phocis, on mount Parnassus, famous

Pythian Apollo, in regard to an extraordinary and sudden swell of the lake of Alba, which happened in a dry summer.

256.

The lake
Alba drain-
ed.

The deputies brought back for answer, that the conquest of Veii depended on draining the lake, and particular care should be taken not to convey the waters to the sea. As this answer was found agreeable to that of a Veientan, who called himself a diviner, and who had been brought to Rome by some Roman soldiers, the senate immediately sent out pioneers to make that fine canal which subsists to this very day; and the water of the lake Albano, which runs along Castel Gandolfo, passes through it. The oracle had said something, which was interpreted to the disadvantage of the present military tribunes; upon which they all abdicated, and an interregnum ensued. The Tarquinienfes, having made incursions on the Roman territory, were repulsed with loss.

The tribunes of the people so far prevailed, that none but plebeians were chosen to the military tribuneship.

357.

Camillus
dictator.

Veii taken.

Their administration was unfortunate. Atinius and Genucius fell into an ambuscade, laid by a body of Hetrurian volunteers, and were beaten; and Genucius was killed in the action. Fame generally magnifies objects; the Romans looked upon their affairs as desperate, and immediately had recourse to a dictator. This was Camillus, already famous for military glory, and for having been twice tribune. One may judge of the grandeur and power of Veii, by the difficulty which the Romans found in subduing it. Camillus, though so great a captain, despairing to carry it by assault, caused a passage to be dug under ground, from his camp to the very castle: after which he ordered a general attack to amuse the enemy, and while they spread themselves upon the walls, the besiegers appeared all of a sudden in the middle of the town. The number of the assailants was prodigious; for the senate, having made a decree by which all the citizens of Rome were permitted to repair to the camp, and to share in the plunder of Veii, this had brought an immense multitude together, and the spoils, as well as perils, were equally divided between them and Camillus's troops. Out of the immense booty, which was found in that opulent city, only a tenth part was reserved to discharge a vow of the general, who had promised to send it to the temple of Pythian Apollo.

The magnificence of the dictator's triumph, was proportioned to the importance of his conquest: but he stained the lustre of it by an

famous for the oracle of the temple of Apollo. The origin of this oracle is mentioned by Diodorus, lib. 16. cap. 26. The town is now a heap of ruins, upon which stands a small village, called Castri, at the foot of mount Parnassus, between Salona and Livadia.

act

FOURTH CENTURY.

109

act of vanity, which gave great offence, he caused his chariot to be drawn by four milk white horses, an honour which the Romans allowed only to Jupiter and the sun.

358.

A peace is granted to the Volsci and the Æqui, in order to give the people time to recover themselves, after the fatigue of the siege of Veii.

The ravages committed on the territory of the Capenates, oblige them to sue for peace. The war against the Falisci is continued. The senate want to send a colony of three thousand Romans to the territory of the Volsci; the people oppose it, and desire to be removed to Veii. Sicinius, a tribune of the people, insisted that half of the senate and the Roman knights, should be transplanted from Rome, and the two cities should form but one republic. This proposal the patricians rejected with indignation; but some time after it was revived with great warmth.

The Roman ladies gave their jewels to make up the money designed as a present to Apollo. They were well rewarded for their generosity by the senate, who granted them, among other favours, that funeral orations should be made for illustrious women, as well as for great men.

359.

Camillus being appointed to carry on the war against the Falisci, Falerii be-
defeats them, and takes their camp before Falerii their capital city, sieged.
to which he lays siege. This great man had promised to lengthen out this siege, in order to keep a mutinous populace employed; but a sudden event broke his measures. Camillus subdued Falerii by his generosity, as he had done Veii by his valour. A schoolmaster of the town, who had the care of the education of youth, came and delivered up the children of the best families in the place to the Roman general. Camillus was struck with horror, *though we have* Generosity
arms, says he, yet know, we never make use of them against that tender of Camillus.
age, which is spared even in the sacking of towns. Immediately having caused the master to be stripped, and his hands to be tied, he ordered the youths to whip him back again into the city, which no doubt but they did with all their hearts, says M. Rollin.

The Falisci, won by this generous act of Camillus, offer to surrender themselves to the republic; and a treaty of alliance is concluded with them. Posthumus obtains a very considerable advantage over the Æqui.

Sicinius, tribune of the people, and author of the law, proposed for removing part of the people, and of the senate to Veii, had been continued this year, and was rechosen for the year following. The senate, in revenge, cause the comitia by centuries to be convened for the electing of consuls. There had been none these fifteen years.

360.

360.

A. Virginus, and Q. Pomponius, who had been tribunes of the people the year before, are condemned in a fine, for having opposed Sicinius's law. The people, excited by Sicinius, were extravagantly fond of this law. The tribes are assembled to decide it; but the constancy of Camillus, and the intreaties of the other senators, prevail over the intrigues of those turbulent men; and the law is rejected. A happy decision for the republic, which would have been greatly weakened by such a division.

361.

The *great games*, vowed by Camillus during the war of Veii, are celebrated by the consuls. At the same time, Camillus himself dedicated the temple, he had promised to Juno, the patroness of Veii, and whose statue he had removed to Rome. It is said, that at the taking of Veii, one of those who were commissioned to carry off this statue, asked it whether it was willing to go to Rome, and that the answer was, it consented. The Pagans believed that the tutelary gods of a town retired from thence, when it was going to be taken by an enemy. Diodorus of Sicily relates, that when the Tyrians were besieged by Alexander the Great, they imagined that Apollo wanted to leave them, and to go over to that prince's camp; upon which, they fastened his statue with a gold chain to the altar of Hercules, in order to hinder the god from running away. In consequence of the same persuasion, the Romans had a custom of inviting out the guardian deities of a besieged town; and part of the ceremonies observed in this sort of evocations, are described at large by Macrobius (d).

Evocation of
the tutelary
gods.

Some of the Heturian nations, alarmed at the conquest of Veii and Falerii, declare against Rome; but were conquered the next year. The consuls are seized with a contagious distemper, which at that time made great havock, and they resign their employments. After a short interregnum, it is agreed to elect military tribunes, that Rome might not remain without magistrates, if some of them were infected with the disease.

By a census taken this year, it appeared, that there were a hundred and fifty two thousand, five hundred and eighty three citizens, able to bear arms.

362.

Rome stood more in need than ever of her forces: she was upon the point of encountering enemies far more formidable than those she had hitherto engaged. But unfortunately, at this very juncture she lost the great Camillus, who, single, was worth a whole army. This illustrious Roman was obliged to yield to the hatred which the people had conceived against him, for his steadiness in opposing the

Camillus
banishes
himself.

(d) Saturnal. lib. 3. cap. 9.

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plebeian factions, and in maintaining the military discipline: being cited by the tribunes of the people, he goes, of his own accord, into banishment: and he is condemned, upon not appearing, under the pretence that he had converted some of the spoils of Veii to his own use. This sort of condemnation of the most illustrious citizens, so frequent at Rome, resembled the Athenian ostracism (e). Both were owing to an apprehension that citizens of distinguished merit should invade the public liberty. Scarce was Camillus departed, when ambassadors from the Gauls arrived at Rome, to demand satisfaction for an injury done them by the Romans.

The Celtæ (f), a Gallic nation, had settled themselves in Italy, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. They had opened themselves a passage through the Alps, made four different irruptions, and had founded Milan, Brescia, Como, with several other cities. And now lately they had made a fifth, under the command of their king Brennus; and at the instigation of an inhabitant of Clusium (g), named (h) Arunx, who would fain be revenged for an injury done him by one of his fellow citizens, they came and laid siege to this city. The Clusini applied for succours to the Romans; but the three brothers, of the Fabian family, who were sent as ambassadors to the Gauls, being offended at the haughty answer of their leader, and at the pride of those barbarians, put themselves at the head of the Clusini. Such was the breach of the law of nations, for which the Gallic ambassadors demanded satisfaction. The senate referred this affair to the people, who, far from punishing the Fabii, elected them all

Irruption of the Gauls.

Cause of the war with the Gauls.

(e) Ostracism was a law of the Athenians, in virtue of which, they condemned those, whose authority or influence gave them umbrage, to a ten years banishment, without confiscating their estates. It was called ostracism, because the manner of voting was by writing on shells the name of the person they intended to banish, who was condemned by a plurality of votes.

(f) The most ancient Greek authors bestow this name indifferently on the Gauls and Germans; those who have examined more nicely into the subject, give it only to the natives of Gaul; others include the Spaniards; thinking, with some appearance of reason, that the Celtæ had made an alliance with the Iberians, and that from thence came the name of Celtiberians. This is the opinion of Lucan, l. 4. Pharfal.

—*Profugique à gente vetusta
Gallorum Celtæ miscentes nomen Iberis.*

However, the name properly belongs only to the Gauls. In Cæsar's time, the Celtæ were in possession of all that country which extends from the Rhine as far as the ocean, between mount Vogesus, the rivers Marne and Seine, on one side; the Rhone, the mountains of the Cevennes, and the Garonne, on the other side. After Cæsar's time, this country was called *Gallia Celtica* or *Lugdunensis*.

(g) Clusium was a city of Etruria, situated near the *Palus Clusina*, now *Cbiana Palude*. Polybius says, it was three days journey from Rome, *αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥώμης τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Πομπηῆς*, lib. 2. c. 25. This town is now called *Cbiusi*, and is washed by the little river *Cbiana*, anciently *Clanis*, of which *Silius* makes mention, lib 8.

—*Et Clanis, et Rubico, et Senonum de nomine Senæ.*

(h) Arunx had been guardian to a young lucumo, who, as soon as he was of age, fell in love with his guardian's wife, and conveyed her away.

three

three military tribunes for the following year, to insult, as it were, the Gauls. This bravado cost the Romans very dear.

363.

The battle
of Allia,
between
Brennus and
the Romans.

Brennus advances, meets the Roman army near the river Allia (b), and obtains a complete victory. It was a general slaughter; the number, the size, and the armour of those foreigners, struck such a panic into the Romans, that they threw down their arms at the first onset, and betook themselves to flight. Brennus, amazed at his victory, marched slowly to Rome for fear of an ambuscade. He arrived the fourth day, and found the city without inhabitants; the youth had retired to the capitol, and the rest of the people to the neighbouring cities. Brennus saw only a few old men in the forum, who had devoted themselves to death, rather than fly from their country. The magnificence of their dress shewed them to be persons of distinction: some wore their pontifical habits, others their consular robes, others their triumphal ornaments, and they were all seated in curule chairs. This solemnity drew the attention of the barbarians, and began to inspire them with respect, when a soldier had the curiosity to touch the beard of one of those venerable sages, whose name was Papirius; the haughty Roman punished his boldness, by striking him on the head with his ivory staff. Immediately Papirius was killed, and with him the other old men; the city was likewise plundered and reduced to ashes.

Rome burnt
by the
Gauls.

The Gauls are repulsed with loss in an attack against the capitol: they change the siege of this citadel into a blockade; while one half of their army make incursions into the country, to pillage the inhabitants, and to raise contributions.

It is said, that when Camillus banished himself from Rome, he turned his eyes towards the capitol, and addressed his prayer to the gods, that if he was innocent, they would soon reduce the Romans to repent the loss of him; and his prayers were heard. A considerable party of the Gauls had plundered the neighbourhood of Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli, where Camillus resided. He seized this opportunity, and marching out of Ardea at the head of the youth of that city, he surprized the Gauls in their sleep, and cut them in pieces. How different this revenge from that of Coriolanus in the like case! The Romans were more sensible than ever of the merit of Camillus, and of the loss they had sustained in depriving themselves of so great a man. The senate convene the curiæ in the capitol; the act of condemnation against Camillus is repealed; and he is created dictator the second time.

Camillus
nominated
dictator.

(b) The learned seem to differ greatly about this river. But Livy has described it very exactly in these words; *Gallis velut tumultuario exercitu raptim dueto, aggre ad undecimum lapidem occursum est, qua flumen Allia, Crustumini montibus præalto defluens alveo, baud multum infra viam Tiberino amni miscetur*: from whence Holstenius concludes the Allia to be that rivulet, which runs into the Tiber between the farm of S. Columba and S. John, a little beyond Marcigliano.

While

While he was assembling the scattered remains of the battle of Allia, the Gauls perceived that a very steep rock, which led to the capitol, was unguarded; upon which they climbed up in the night, and had already reached the wall, when the geese, that were kept there in honour of Juno, occasioned an alarm by their cackling, and the beating of their wings. M. Manlius, a consular, Manlius de-
fend: the
capitol. awaked at this noise, and immediately repulsed the enemy. His chief reward was the surname of Capitulinus. The geese had likewise their recompence: a golden image of a goose was erected in memory of them, a kind of procession was instituted to their honour; and a flock of these birds was ever after maintained at the public expence, by the name of the *sacred geese*. No sooner had the Romans escaped this danger, but they were pressed by another. Provisions were become so scarce, that they began to think of capitulating. The tribune Sulpitius had agreed with the Gauls to pay them a sum of money, for which they were to raise the siege. During this transaction, Camillus comes up, breaks off the ignominious treaty, gives battle to the enemy among the ruins of Rome, and puts them to flight; after which he overtakes them in the Gabinian way, within Camillus
defeats the
Gauls. eight miles of Rome, and gives them a total overthrow.

364.

The senate continue Camillus in the office of dictator, that he might have time to oppose the factions of the tribunes, who were for abandoning Rome, and going to live at Veii. But he prevailed on the people to stay and rebuild the city. Private persons were allowed to take materials wherever they could find them. In less than a twelvemonth Rome rose out of its ashes; and Camillus was looked upon as its second founder. The continuation of his dictatorship was the cause that only subaltern officers were appointed this year. Before the holding of the comitia, he abdicated; and the next year military tribunes were chosen.

365.

If we may believe Festus, the poverty and want that were felt in Rome as soon as it was rebuilt, obliged the inhabitants to have recourse to a barbarous expedient. This was to throw over a bridge into the Tiber, all the old men that had passed their sixtieth year: from whence, he says, comes the expression *de pontani senes* (i), which became proverbial. But this is not at all probable.

One of the tribunes of the people having cited Q. Fabius to answer for his conduct in violating the law of nations, by putting himself at the head of the Clusini, at the time when he was sent ambassador to

(i) The name of *de pontani* was likewise given to those who were denied the privilege of voting in the *Campus Martius*: the prerogative century, or that which was first to give their voices, being separated from the rest of the people, came into an inclosed apartment, to which they gave the name of *septa* or *ovilia*, passing over the *pontes* or narrow boards, laid there for the occasion; so that *ponte dejici* is to be excluded from voting.

the Gauls; his trial was prevented by sudden death, which happened so seasonably, that it was thought to have been voluntary.

War with
the Æqui,
the Volsci,
and the
Hetrurians.

They are
defeated by
Camillus.

The Æqui, the Volsci, and the Hetrurians, enter into an alliance against the republic; and even the Latins and the Hernici (*k*), the ancient allies of Rome, suffer themselves to be dragged into this general confederacy of the neighbouring nations. In this emergency, the Romans had none but Camillus in whom they could confide; he is created dictator a third time, and soon subdues the several enemies of the republic. Camillus was arrived to so high a pitch of glory after this expedition, that some authors think he had three successive triumphs decreed him; but it is more probable that he had but one this time, which was his third. A great sum of money was raised from the sale of the captives, which enabled the republic to pay the Roman ladies for the jewels they had formerly contributed to make a present to Apollo. Three vases of gold, with Camillus's name inscribed on them, are consecrated in the temple of Juno.

366.

The capitol
repaired.

The military tribunes ravage the territory of the Æqui, to put it out of their power to revolt any more. Two cities in the lucumony of the Tarquinienſes are taken and demolished. The capitol is repaired, and strengthened with new works.

They resign before the time of holding the comitia, because some religious ceremony had been omitted at the time of their election: upon which an interregnum ensued.

367.

Dedication of the temple of the god Mars, which had been vowed during the war with the Gauls.

Four new tribes were added in favour of those among the Veientes, the Capenates, and the Falisci, who, during the last war, had joined with the Romans. These made in all twenty five tribes.

368.

Camillus
chosen mili-
tary tribune.

Defeats the
confederates.

Camillus was this year chosen one of the military tribunes. It had been customary to make him dictator, when the republic was in danger; and now his colleagues transferred the whole power of that office into his hands, without giving him the title. The Volsci, the Latins, the Hernici, and the Antiates, are defeated in a pitched battle. The Volsci shut themselves up in Satricum (*l*), which is taken by storm. Camillus afterwards recovers some towns from them, which they had lately wrested from the republic.

(*k*) A people of new Latium, eastward, between the Æqui, Volsci, and Marſi; their chief town was *Anagnia*, now *Anagni*.

(*l*) A town of Latium, of which no vestiges are remaining. Its various revolutions are mentioned by Livy, lib. 2. c. 39. lib. 6. c. 33, and lib. 7. c. 27.

369.

Disturbances raised by Manlius Capitolinus. This factious patrician had saved his country from ruin, with a view of attaining the sovereignty over it. But he did not disclose his ambitious designs, till Camillus's fourth tribuneship was expired; for he was afraid of that great man as a true patriot, and he hated him as his rival. He enters into the faction of the tribunes of the people, touching the distribution of lands, and takes all needy debtors under his protection. As intelligence came at the same time that the Volsci had taken up arms, and were supported by the Latins and the Hernici; A. Cornelius Cossus was named dictator. The Volsci are defeated, the dictator returns to Rome, and orders Manlius to be sent to prison. The senate set him at liberty soon after, because of the anger of the populace, who went into mourning, as in times of public calamity. But this was only giving a leader to the seditious populace.

Domestic disturbances.

The Volsci defeated.

370.

The conspiracy becomes public. Even the tribunes of the people, alarmed at the danger which threatened the state, summon Manlius, and impeach him before the comitia. The people being assembled several times, put off pronouncing sentence; for the sight of the capitol, which he had saved, was a strong plea in his favour. This Camillus perceived, and, by the authority which he held as military tribune for the fifth time, he removes the place of the comitia; upon which Manlius is condemned to death, and thrown headlong from the capitol. Every kind of glory attended Camillus; after he had been the deliverer and restorer of Rome, he was likewise the preserver of her liberty. The memory of Manlius was further persecuted by a prohibition that none of his family should ever bear the prænomen of Marcus, and that no patrician should dwell on the capitol, where his house stood.

Manlius condemned and thrown headlong from the capitol.

371.

Most of the Roman colonies revolt. A pestilence, with which Rome had been afflicted ever since the last year, hindered the war from being renewed. This scourge was considered by Manlius's friends, as a punishment from heaven against the authors of his death.

The Roman colonies revolt.

Commissioners appointed to make a division of the Pomptin territory (m) among the people, and to lead a colony to Nepet (n).

372.

The troops of the republic are sent against Velitræ, a Roman colony, which had revolted; and the Prænestini march to their assistance.

(m) This is the *Pomptinus Campus*, which Strabo, lib. 5. calls τὸ Πονατικὸν κῆρυον. It took its name from Sueffia Pometia, a considerable town of the Volsci.

(n) Some writers call it also Nepe, others Nepete, and Ptolemy Νεπέα; from thence *ager Nepefinus*, and *colonia Nepefsis*. It is now called *Nepi*, and is situated near the river *Porosolo* between Rome and Viterbo.

The battle of Velitræ. The Romans obtain a victory: and the battle being fought in the neighbourhood of Velitræ, the vanquished are obliged to shelter themselves within the walls of that city.

373.

The Volsci defeated.

Camillus is chosen military tribune the sixth time, in consequence of the new preparations of the Volsci, who, being joined by the Prænestini, had taken Satricum, where they committed great cruelties. Camillus, though advanced in years, had still as much prudence and courage as ever. He defeats the Volsci, after these people had obtained a small advantage over Fufius, his colleague, who engaged against his advice. Among the captives were found some of the inhabitants of Tusculum; upon which, Camillus marched against that city, and subdued it by his very presence. The Tusculans appear before him without arms, and make their submission to the senate; who grant them the privileges of Roman citizens.

374.

Domestic disturbances.

The battle of Allia.

Disturbances at Rome in consequence of the suit carried on by creditors against debtors; most of the plebeians having been rendered insolvent by the expences they incurred in rebuilding their houses. The Prænestini make incursions to the very gates of Rome; and yet the tribunes would suffer no levies. T. Quintius is named dictator. The battle of Allia (*n*), where the enemy was beaten, and their camp taken. This victory was followed by the surrender of Præneste, and of eight strong holds within its jurisdiction. The dictator triumphs at Rome, and resigns in twenty days. The statue of *Jupiter Imperator*, which he had brought with him from Præneste, was placed in the capitol, as an eternal monument of his glory.

The centuries chose three plebeians, among the military tribunes, for the following year.

375.

The Roman camps taken and plundered by the Volsci.

The two Manlii, who had been chosen to command the army, in preference to the plebeian tribunes, march against the joint forces of the Latins and the Volsci, and fall into an ambuscade. The two Roman camps are taken and plundered. This misfortune was followed by a revolt of the whole body of the Latins.

The three military tribunes, chosen from among the plebeians, suspend the domestic broils.

376.

This year was less quiet than the last; and the centuries had chosen six patrician military tribunes. The senate are obliged to make a decree, that no body shall be molested, either for debt, or for the payment of the usual taxes, during the campaign against the Volsci, who were again up in arms. The Romans ravaged the enemy's country, not being able to bring them to an engagement.

(*n*) See note (*k*), p. 26.

377.

The Latins join the Volsci. The confederates are defeated; and the terror spreads as far as Antium, a city of the Volsci, which surrenders to the Romans. The Latins, incensed at this desertion, fall upon Satricum, another town of the Volsci, and burn it to the ground: from thence they march to Tusculum, which they surprize; but are shut up in that city by the Roman army, and every man of them is put to the sword.

The Latins
and Volsci
defeated.

M. Fabius Ambustus lays the foundation of a new revolution; which caused the suppression of the military tribunate, and at length gained the plebeians admittance to the consular dignity. The jealousy which one of Fabius's daughters, married to a plebeian, had conceived against her eldest sister, married to a patrician, was the original of so unexpected a change, at a time when the people, loaded with debts, were oppressed more than ever by the nobility. Fabius, who was fond of his daughter, undertook to make her equal to her eldest sister, and he compassed his aim. It seemed, says father Catrou, as if it was to be the fate of Rome, that the great revolutions of that city should always be owing to women.

New dis-
turbances.

Fabius, to obtain his ends, procures the military tribuneship for his son-in-law, Licinius Stolo, and for another plebeian, named L. Sextius, a man in the flower of life, and who in merit was not inferior to Licinius. Immediately they proposed three new laws; one concerning debts, was, that the interest, already paid, should go towards discharging so much of the principal, and the remainder be paid off at three equal payments; the second, relating to lands, forbid any Roman citizen to possess more than five hundred acres; the third, regarding the consulate, ordained that the military tribunate should be abolished, and that two consuls should be annually chosen, and one of them be always a plebeian.

The patricians alarmed at this project, which tended to reduce their estates, and to abridge their privileges, have recourse to their ordinary expedient; which was to divide the tribunes of the people. Eight of the latter oppose the new laws, only by making use of the single word, *veto*, I forbid; but it was as easy to one party as to another to pronounce this word, and accordingly Licinius and Sextius made use of it in their turn. The time for the comitia being come, they opposed the election of military tribunes; a single *veto* suspended every resolution, and the republic fell into a kind of anarchy.

378. 379. 380. 381.

The patricians, for these four years, had no share in the government, Licinius and Sextius, who were always continued in the tribuneship, hindered the creation of any curule magistrates, none but plebeian officers being elected, that is, tribunes of the people and ædiles. Livy and Vopiscus mention an interregnum during these four years; but the matter seems very uncertain, even according to their own account.

382.

War with
the Veliter-
ni,

Licinius and Sextius consent to the nomination of military tribunes, in order to pursue the war with the Veliterni, who had laid siege to Tusculum. The enemy withdrew to their capital, where they were besieged in their turn. But as the siege of Velitræ could not be finished this campaign, military tribunes were chosen for the following year.

383.

M. Fabius Ambustus, that great friend of the plebeians, was one of the number. During his tribuneship, Licinius and Sextius dared to propose a fourth law, that decemviri should be chosen instead of duumviri, to preserve and interpret the Sibylline books, and one half of these decemviri should be plebeians. The most intelligent part of the people were extremely sensible of the great advantage, which accrued to the patricians from this privilege of interpreting the books of the Sibylls, as they always interpreted them in their own favour. However, nothing was determined as yet, and the siege of Velitræ advanced but slowly.

384.

The commons chuse other tribunes in the room of those, who had been against the new laws, proposed by Licinius and Sextius.

It is probable that the troops were returned from the siege of Velitræ, since new military tribunes were not appointed.

385.

Camillus is created dictator the fourth time: such were the last resources of the republic, the dictatorship and Camillus. No other advantage however was reaped from hence at present, except the dictator's ordering that the comitia, in which the laws of Sextius and Licinius were to be proposed, should be deferred to another time. Camillus laid down his office, from what motive historians differ. P. Manlius is appointed to succeed him, who chuses for his general of the horse, C. Licinius Stolo, a relation of the tribune of the same name. The occasion was favourable, the tribunes made use of it, and got the law passed, which related to the *division* of lands.

386.

This year the military tribuneship was revived for the last time.

Sextius and Licinius, who were always continued in office, obtain the passing of the two laws, in regard to debts, and to the creation of decemviri (o) for taking care of the Sibylline books. There remained only the law concerning the consulate, of most importance to the tribunes; but this was put off till the republic could be delivered from a new army of Gauls, who had advanced to the banks of the Anio. Camillus, though almost fourscore years old, was named dictator, in

Camillus
defeats the
Gauls on the
banks of the
Anio,

(o) This number continued till about the time of Sylla, when we meet with the *Quindecimviri*,

order

order to fight them: a glory which was really his due. He defeats the Gauls, and immediately after leads his victorious bands to the conquest of Velitræ. At his return to Rome, finding the minds of the inhabitants in an extraordinary ferment, he makes a vow to erect a temple to Concord, upon restoring the public tranquillity. The law relating to the consulate was passed at length, but with some restriction; it only mentioned that one of the two consuls might be chosen from among the people, whereas the tribunes insisted that one of the two should be always a plebeian. The consulate restored.

387.

Sextius gathered the first fruit of the opposition which the tribunes of the people had so long maintained against the patricians; he was elected consul together with L. Emilius. The senate refuse to confirm his election; upon which, new disputes arise between the two orders. Camillus, who had not as yet resigned the dictatorship, hits upon an expedient, which reconciles both parties. He proposes to separate the prætorian function from the consulate, so as to make them two distinct offices, on condition that the prætors should be always chosen from amongst the nobility.

Establishment of the prætorship (p). It seems that the name of prætor had been sometimes given to consuls; at least in an ancient law quoted by Livy, we find the expression *prætor maximus*, to signify the person invested with the first dignity in the state. The prætorship, as we see, was a branch cut off from the consulate. The prætor had the civil authority in his hands, was intrusted with maintaining and executing the laws, in short, with the administration of justice. He was also possessed of a military power; but in this he was subordinate to the consul, from whom he received orders, when they happened to be both in the same army. Spurius Furius, the son of Camillus, was the first invested with this dignity. A place is marked out for the temple of Concord, which Camillus had vowed. The senate decree the great games in thanksgiving for the restoration of the public tranquillity. The ædiles refuse to administer on this occasion. Establishment of the prætorship.
The great games.

(p) The prætor's name is derived a *præcedo*, signifying to go before, for which reason most of the old Latin commanders were stiled *prætores*. At first, only one was created; but in the year of the city 511, another was added; and then one of them administered justice among the citizens, with the title of *prætor urbanus*; while the other determined causes relating to foreigners, and was called *peregrinus*. Upon the conquest of Sicily and Sardinia in 520, two more prætors were added, to assist the consuls in the government of the provinces, and two more upon the entire reduction of Spain in 551. Sylla increased the number to eight, and Julius Cæsar to sixteen. When these magistrates were thus increased, the *prætor urbanus* took cognizance of civil causes, and the other of criminal; hence the latter had also the name of *questor*. There were likewise provincial prætors, who were intrusted with the civil and military command in the Roman provinces; but their office was annual.

Establishment of the *ædiles curules*.

Upon the refusal of the plebeian *ædiles*, the young patricians offered to execute the orders of the senate, relating to the great games. The senate readily embraced this opportunity of creating a new employment for those of their own body. Curule officers were such as had a right to be carried in an ivory chair (*q*), and to sit upon it in public assemblies. These officers were the consul, the censor, the dictator, the prætor, and the curule *ædile*. Cn. Quintius Capitolinus, and P. Cornelius Scipio, were the first invested with this authority; but it soon became common to both orders, as well as the prætorship. It is observable, that by the exercise of curule officers, the plebeians acquired the rank of nobility both for themselves and their descendants.

388.

Death of Camillus.

A sudden and unaccountable pestilence sweeps away great numbers at Rome. The most fatal stroke was the death of Camillus, which, notwithstanding his great age, was an infinite loss to the republic.

389.

Scenic shows.

As the plague still continued, several methods were used to appease the gods: first a *lectisternium* was ordered; afterwards the Romans instituted to their honour the *scenic shows* (*r*), so called because they were represented on a scene, that is, on a stage, whereas the great games were celebrated in the circus. The scenic shows were at that time a kind of comedies, intermixed with dances. But this did not remove the plague.

(*q*) *Sella curulis*; the name is commonly derived *à curru*, because they sat upon it as they rode in their chariots.

(*r*) The *ludi scenici*, so called from their being exhibited on a scene, that is, on a stage built in a shade, were divided into four species, satire, mimus, tragedy, and comedy. The first scenic performers were *Hetrurians*, in whose language *bisler* signified a player, and hence the Latin word *bistris*. These *bistriones* danced to the flute, but their dances were not accompanied with words. The Romans afterwards mimicked these dances, and intermixed jokes and raillery with them. This being agreeable to the people, some were tempted to compose verses for the stage; but the first speakers gave into the vicious taste of the *Fescennini*, a people of *Hetruria*, who, upon occasion of merriment, used to treat one another with a rustic kind of raillery. These (*Fescennines*) were succeeded by satires written in verse, set to the flute, and repeated with gestures. The word *satire* is derived from *satura*, full, which is supposed to relate to *lanx*, a platter; this kind of poem abounding with various matter. *Livius Andronicus*, about the year 514, turned the satires into regular plays, and then the farces were laid aside for some time; but were afterwards revived by the Roman youth, who acted them for their diversion, at the end of their serious pieces. These farces were free from obscenity, and were called *Atellane* from *Atella*, a town of the *Oscians* in *Campania*, where they were first invented; and they had also the name of *exodia*, or interludes. The profession of an actor was honourable among the Greeks; but it was otherwise in Rome, where a professed player could not belong to any tribe, or bear any civil or military office; though, if he excelled in his art, and behaved with proper conduct, he was sure of being treated with respect, as appears from the history of *Roscus*.

390.

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390.

They were obliged to have recourse to another expedient of a more extravagant nature, but consecrated in the minds of the people by inveterate superstition. L. Manlius Imperiosus was named dictator, to drive a nail (r) into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The Romans had borrowed from the Volturnenses (s) in Hetruria, the custom of reckoning their years by nails, which the consuls drove into this temple: and it is to be presumed, says father Catrou, that when a particular year had been remarkable for public calamities, they superstitiously believed, that the augurs who had consecrated the consuls, were unlucky; for which reason a dictator was named, to the end that by happier omens he might correct those of the consuls. The first thing he had to do, was to resume the function of driving the nail, called *clavus annalis*.

391.

The surname of *Imperiosus*, given to Manlius, perfectly suited his character: during his dictatorship, he had exercised great cruelties over the citizens, whom he wanted to enlist, under pretence of an expedition against the Hernici: but at length he was obliged to resign. M. Pomponius, tribune of the people, summons him before the comitia; yet he escapes this danger, by the courage and filial piety of his son, T. Manlius, whom he had long confined to the country, because of an impediment in his speech. This youth, hearing the danger his father was in, went privately to the tribune, and holding a poniard to his throat, obliged him to swear he would drop the prosecution. This action, though irregular in itself, was commended for its motive; young Manlius was created legionary tribune by the people, who began now to confer this military dignity, which had hitherto been the gift of consuls. There were six tribunes in every legion (t), which made

(r) This the Romans called *clavum pangere*; the annual ceremony of driving the nail was performed on the ides of September, when Livy says, that the *praetor maximus* drove it into the right side of the temple of Jupiter, near where the temple of Minerva stood; and by reason that *rara per ea tempora litera erant*, it served to mark the number of years: the law for preserving this custom was written in the temple of Minerva, because numbers were invented by that goddess.

(s) The Volturnenses were the inhabitants of *Volturni*, a city of Hetruria, now known by the name of *Bolsena*, and situate near the *Volturnensis lacus*, which Livy, lib. 27. mentions to have flown with blood. Juvenal, sat. 3. describes the situation of this city, — *positis nemorosa inter juga Volturni*. The Volturnenses used to drive their nail in the temple of Nortia, an Hetrurian Goddess.

(t) The word *legion* is derived from *legere*, to chuse, because they were composed of chosen men. A legion comprehended a certain number of horse and foot, and was divided into ten cohorts; in every cohort there were three *manipuli*, or bands of soldiers, and in every band two centuries, or *ordines*. The *turma*, or troops of horse, were divided, each into three centuries, so that there were sixty centuries, and thirty decuries in every legion. The infantry was commanded by six tribunes, with sixty centuries, one to each century. The decuries were commanded by thirty decurios, and by one officer, to whom they gave the name of prefect, and who was at the head of an intire *ala* or wing. In each company of foot they had sometimes four hundred

made in all twenty four; for they generally raised four legions every year, two for each consul. The people now claimed the privilege of nominating to six of those places.

Curtius
devotes
himself,

M. Curtius, a young patrician, throws himself, full armed, into a gulf, which had been formed all on a sudden in the midst of the forum. The augurs being consulted, in regard to this event, made answer, that the gulf would not close, till the Romans threw what they had

hundred and twenty, and sometimes six hundred men. In each turma or troop of horse, they had only thirty, viz. ten in each decury; but in the wing three or four hundred. The legions took the name from the order in which they were raised, as *prima, secunda, tertia*, &c. the first was superior to all the rest. The number of legions was different in different times; at first there were only four, which were equally divided between the two consuls; yet, in cases of necessity, we sometimes meet with no less than sixteen or eighteen, in Livy: in the second Punic war, there were twenty five; and in the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, they amounted to forty. The number of foot in a legion, Romulus fixed at three thousand; the common number afterwards in the times of the republic, was four thousand; in the second Punic war, it arose to five thousand; after this they sunk to four thousand, or four thousand two hundred, which was the number in Polybius's time. The foreign troops, under which we may comprize the *socii* and the auxiliaries, were not divided, as the citizens, into legions; but first into two great bodies, termed *ale* or *cornua*, and those again into companies. From their being disposed in such a manner, as to cover the two sides of the Roman legions, they were called *ale* or *wings*; and the officer that commanded them, was stiled *præfectus*. The Roman cavalry were always posted at the wings of the army, and fought sometimes on foot, and sometimes on horseback.

The Romans drew up their army, before an engagement, in three lines, distinguished by the names of *bastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*. The *bastati*, who composed the first line, were so called from the spear or javelin, *basta*, which they bore. The *principes*, who made the second line, were so denominated, according to Varro, because in former times they were placed in the foremost line, and began the attack; or because they were in the strength and vigour of their age. The *triarii* bore that name, because they formed the third line, and were commonly veterans, and the chief strength of the army. The *principes* were armed with swords, and the *triarii* with javelins called *pila*, from whence they likewise took the name of *pilani*. Besides these, the Romans had another sort of infantry filled *velites*, a *volando* or a *velocitate*, because they were light armed, and consequently fittest for all sorts of nimble exercise. These were generally *tiro's*, or young fellows, and seem to have hovered in loose order before the army. Every *manipulus* or company in a legion, was allowed two centurions or captains, one to each century. The *triarii*, or *pilani*, being esteemed the most honourable, had their centurions elected first; next to them the *principes*; and afterwards the *bastati*, whence they were called *primus* & *secundus pilus*, *primus* & *secundus princeps*, *primus* & *secundus bastatus*, and so on. The most honourable of the centurions was the *primipilus* who was the centurion of the right hand order of the first *manipulus* of the *triarii* or *pilani*. He had the care of the eagle, or chief standard of the legion. Besides the centurions, every *manipulus* had two *vexillarii*, or ensigns; and every centurion chose two *optiones* or *sucenturiones* for his lieutenants. Over the centurions were the tribunes, of whom there were six in every legion; their business was to decide all controversies in the army, to give the word to the watch, &c. Next to the tribunes were the *legati*, whose institution at first was not so much to command, as to advise; but, in process of time, they commanded in chief, under the general, and managed all affairs by his permission; their number is not certainly known; but it is probable there was one to every legion. The general's place was between the *triarii* and the *principes*, from whence he commanded the whole army.

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most valuable into it. Some historians pretend, that the chasm was filled up as soon as Curtius jumped into it; but Livy, a more judicious writer, mentions this as a very dubious affair. It is to be observed, that we meet in history with an event of much the same nature, which happened long before this, in Phrygia (†); a further proof that the Romans endeavoured to embellish their history with events borrowed from other nations.

The consul Genucius, falling into an ambuscade, is killed by the TheRomans Hernici, and his army routed. On the other hand, Appius Claudius defeated by the Hernici, being created dictator, obtains a signal victory over the enemy. Genucius was the first plebeian consul, that had the management of a war: and the patricians took great advantage of his ill success.

392.

But notwithstanding their clamours, C. Licinius Stolo was named consul the second time.

The war with the Hernici continues. The *Tiburtes* (u), being assisted by the Gauls, take up arms, and encamp on the banks of the Anio. T. Quintius Pennus is named dictator. A single combat between young T. Manlius, and a Gaul of a gigantic stature, who had Manlius challenged the Romans. The Gauls, discouraged at the death of Torquatus, their champion, abandon their camp, and retire into Campania (x). Manlius and his posterity got the surname of Torquatus, from a collar (*torquis*) which he tore from the dead body of his vanquished enemy.

393.

Advantages obtained over the Hernici and the Tiburtes. Servilius The Gauls Ahala, being created dictator, defeats the Gauls, who had advanced defeated.

(†) This story is taken from the treatise of parallels between the Romans and Greeks, falsely attributed to Plutarch. At Celenæ in Phrygia, there happened a terrible earthquake and eruption of water, that swallowed up a great number of people: Midas consulted the oracle, which gave him for answer, *that if he would cast into that gulf the most precious thing he had in the world, the earth would close again*. He threw in a heap of gold and silver; but this proving ineffectual, Anchyrus, the son of Midas, reflecting that the most precious thing in nature is the life and soul of Man, took leave of his father and of his wife Timothea, and mounting his horse, he leaped into the abyss. The earth immediately closed, and Midas raised a golden altar upon the place, and dedicated it to Jupiter Idæus.

(u) The *Tiburtes* were the inhabitants of Tibur, a very ancient town of Latium, situated on the river Anio, now Tevereone, sixteen miles from Rome, and, according to Horace, built by the Greeks. *Tibur Argæo positum calano*. Virgil calls it *superbum*, and Martial *altum*, Horace, lib. 1. od. 7. says that none of the Greek cities pleaseth him so much as *Domus Albunea resonantis, et præceptis Anio, et Tiburni lacus, et uda mobilibus pomaria rivis*. Hence it was then, and is still, a pleasant retirement for the Roman nobility. Its modern name is *Tivoli*.

(x) Campania was a province of Italy, extending from the Liris to the promontory of Minerva, called still *capo di Minerva*, bounded on the north east by Samnium, and on the south west by the country of the Hirpini. It was accounted the most fruitful and pleasant country in Italy, and is now called *Terra di lavoro*,

into

into the neighbourhood of Rome, and blocked up the gate *Collina* (y). After their defeat they retire to Tibur.

394.

The Tiburtes draw near to Rome, but are repulsed with loss.

395.

The Hernici subdued, The Hernici are subdued by the consul Plantius; but Fabius, his colleague, is not so successful against the Tarquinienfes. The Gauls making new incursions, the Romans are obliged to take the field again, and to name a dictator; this was Sulpitius Peticus: with the assistance of the Latins, who were now reconciled to the Romans, he puts the Gauls to flight.

Two new tribes are added to the former number, which made twenty seven in all.

Law against openly canvassing for votes, practised by the *novi homines*, or *upstarts*, who took a good deal of pains to obtain the consulship.

396.

The interest of money, which had been a long time arbitrary, was settled at one per cent. Licinius Stolo is condemned in a fine for a breach of the law, which he himself had made, forbidding any citizen to possess more than six acres of land.

Expedition against the Falisci and the Privernates (x); Privernum surrenders upon articles.

The tribunes of the people check an attempt of the consul Cn. Manlius, upon the constitution. He had assembled his troops by tribes, and made a law in the camp a thing unprecedented, and of very dangerous consequence; because there was no law, how pernicious soever, but a consul might get passed, under the influence of the absolute power, with which he was vested in the army. The tribunes forbid, upon pain of death, any magistrate to assemble the comitia out of Rome.

397.

War with the Falisci and the Tarquinienfes.

War with the Falisci and the Tarquinienfes. When both armies came in presence of each other, these people bethought themselves of a new stratagem; their priests advanced towards the Roman entrenchments with lighted torches in one hand, and with fillets of different colours, in imitation of serpents, in the other. This ridi-

(y) So called from the hills *Quirinalis* and *Viminalis*, which joined in this place. It went also by the name of *Salaria*, from the salt, which the Sabines used to bring in this way; of *Quirinalis* from the chapel of Romulus; of *Agonalis* from the ludi Agonenses which were represented here; and of *Salutaris* from the temple of Health in this neighbourhood.

(x) *Privernum* was a town of the Volscians, near the river Amasenus, now Baudino, about twelve miles from Terracina. It is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* 11. *Priverno, antiqua Metabus quum excederet urbe*; and by Silius, lib. 6. *Priverno, cunctis Latiae præsignis bonore*; the modern name is *Piperno*.

FOURTH CENTURY.

125

ulous apparatus, frightened the Romans at first; but they soon made the enemy pay dear for their stratagem. The consul Popilius, who commanded in this expedition, was a plebeian; upon the breaking out of the war with the Hetrurians, it belonged to him to name a dictator, because Fabius, his colleague, was employed against the Tiburtes. Popilius pitches upon another plebeian, whose name was C. Marcius Rutilus. The dictator defeats the Hetrurians on different occasions, kills a great number of them, and takes several thousand prisoners. He triumphs, by virtue of a decree of the people, notwithstanding the opposition of the senate.

398.

The plebeians cease for a time to have a share in the consulate, after they had possessed it twelve years in conjunction with the patricians.

The war with the Tiburtes and Tarquinienfes offers nothing remarkable.

399.

From the testimony of different historians, there is room to conjecture that there was a schism at Rome, and that one part of the people withdrawing from the comitia, chose plebeian consuls; but in the capitoline fasti, M. Fabius and T. Quintius, both patricians, are marked as consuls for this year.

Fabius subdues the Tiburtes; and Quintius defeats the Tarquinienfes in a bloody battle, which did not however prove decisive. He put all the prisoners to the sword, by way of reprisal, for the cruelty the Tarquinienfes had committed four years before, on upwards of three hundred Roman soldiers taken in an engagement. He saved however three hundred and fifty eight Tarquinienfes of the principal rank, to send to Rome, where, by order of the senate, they were first beaten with rods, and then beheaded.

The Romans conclude an alliance with the Samnites (a), who had sent an embassy to desire the friendship of the republic.

400.

T. Manlius Torquatus is created dictator, to command an army against the Cærites (b), in revenge for their having joined the Tarqui-

(a) The Samnites were a people of Italy, descended from the Sabines, inhabiting the inland part of Picenum, (which contains the further Abruzzo, and part of the marquisate [of Ancona] between the Frentani and the Campani. Their chief towns were Bovianum, Æsernia, Sapinum, Allifæ, Telesia, now Bojano, Isernia, Sepino, Allif, Telesæ.

(b) The Cærites were the inhabitants of Cære, a famous city of Hetruria, of which only the ruins were left in Strabo's time, Ἰχνη σάου μίνον. Though Cære is generally undecidable, yet we read in Virgil, *est ingens gelidum lucus prope Cæritis amnem*, Æn. 7. The citizens were called Cærites, the second syllable short, and Cærini, the second long; as also Cæritani. Near this town were the famous mineral waters called *Aqua Cæretana*. Its ancient name was *Agylla*, as we are informed by Dionysius and Strabo. It is now a small town near the Tuscan sea, known by the name of *Corvetti*. Some think that the word *cavimonia* is derived from this city, where outward forms were much observed,

nienfes

nienfes in ravaging the territory of Rome. Manlius Torquatus is the first Roman that was raised to the dictatorship before he had been consul.

The Cærtes have recourse to the clemency of the Romans; and are forgiven, in consideration that the town of Cære had given shelter to the vestals and pontifs, when Rome was taken by the Gauls. A truce is granted them for a hundred years; and the dictator resigns his office.

Disturb-
ances.
Interreg-
num,

The dispute about the consulate is revived; and the republic falls into an interregnum, the tribunes of the people opposing the comitia by centuries, till the patricians would consent to the election of a plebeian. At length C. Martius Rutilus, a plebeian, is chosen consul the second time.

PARTICULAR REMARKS.

AFTER the extinction of the regal dignity, the Romans saw nothing above them, except the gods, and the laws: but the laws of Rome being insufficient, as well in regard to government, as to individuals, there must necessarily have been a thousand disputes and divisions, before this part of civil polity could be rightly settled.

We have already observed, that the institution of the patrician dignity, and of the centuries, was extremely advantageous, inasmuch as they tended gradually to destroy the exorbitant power of the popular assemblies. The expulsion of the kings changed the face of this whole system; that which would have been productive of excellent effects, had the regal dignity subsisted, must have been attended with very ill consequences in a republic. The enormous privileges conferred on the patricians, and the absolute authority which they derived from the comitia by centuries, formed a real Aristocracy, the inconveniences of which were quickly felt, when it appeared how necessary it was for the people to have magistrates out of their own body to defend their liberties. "The tribunes who were entrusted with this noble employ, had at first, says the abbé de Mably, neither the external marks of magistracy, nor even of a tribunal. They sat in an humble posture before the senate-house; neither were they permitted to come in, till the consuls called them; and then their whole office consisted in opposing the decrees of that body, when they thought them prejudicial to the interests of the plebeians. But they soon usurped the privilege of convening the comitia, and assembling them by tribes, in matters wherein the people were directly concerned, such as the election of magistrates, or the prosecutions carried on against them, the appeal authorized by the Valerian law, and the enacting of general laws. This success of the tribunes changed the whole form of government; and when once the people recovered the exercise of that sovereignty, which they had enjoyed before the creation of centuries, Rome began to wear the face of a perfect republic." On this occasion,

the abbé de Mably observes the relations between this new government of Rome, and that which Lycurgus had established at Sparta, as also the advantages from thence resulting. On the one side, two consuls; on the other, two kings, who, under different names, did but exercise the same magistracy; subjects in time of peace, but all powerful at the head of their armies; from whence arose that expedition, which constitutes one of the characteristics of monarchy. In both republics, almost the whole administration was in the hands of the people; hence that zeal, that fire, that enthusiasm, which flow from democracy. At Rome, as well as at Sparta, a senate, and a number of magistrates were entrusted with the several branches of the public authority, of which the body of the people are incapable of making a prudent use; hence that perpetuity of the same spirit, which seems to be the characteristic of aristocracy; hence, in short, that mixt government, whose several branches, tempered by each other, could neither neglect their duty, nor abuse their authority. But the same author observes, that Rome was indebted for these advantages to a lucky combination of circumstances, whereas Sparta owed them to the wisest of the Greek legislators; so that the Romans did not borrow their fundamental laws from Greece.

It was not so in regard to the other institutions. Probably the Romans themselves were sensible that they were not sufficiently polished, for compiling a complete body of laws, since they sent deputies to borrow them of foreign nations. In vain would it be to observe, that the cause of this deputation, was that the plebeians did not chuse to leave the legislative power in the hands of the patricians; this objection will fall of itself, only by attending to facts. By the *Terentian law*, it had been ordained, that ten commissioners should be appointed to compile a body of laws; and these commissioners might be chosen from the order of plebeians, as well as from among the patricians. Besides, their power was limited to proposing; their regulations were not to have the force of law, till they had been laid before the public to be examined, and afterwards approved at an assembly of the people. Therefore the legislative power of the patricians was quite out of the question.

The Romans could not do better, on this occasion, than to have recourse to the Greeks, a nation more learned, and of course wiser and better than themselves; for the effect of the arts and sciences is not only to render mankind more happy, but likewise more virtuous. By enlarging the sphere of our taste and knowledge, they give us new wants, which are so many degrees of happiness when satisfied. Our wants cannot multiply, but the connexions and relations in human society must increase in the same proportion. As mankind become more dependent on each other, the stronger they unite: the more they expect from society, the greater privileges they grant it: and from this mutual intercourse, arise that politeness and humanity, which give birth to every social virtue. The Romans being destitute of the sciences and the arts, and of those virtues which flow from thence, were willing

willing at least to have good laws; for which, indeed, they had an urgent necessity. The laws, we must confess, cannot eradicate vice, but they can give a check to it; and in a society, where the generality of the members are not over virtuous, it is going a great way to oblige them to preserve appearances. Notwithstanding that there are but few remains of the Papirian code, or even of the decemviral laws, still it would be an easy matter to prove how greatly the latter surpassed the former. The nature of this work does not permit me to enter upon this parallel; those who have a mind for a disquisition of that kind, may consult the excellent history of Roman Jurisprudence, by M. Teraſſon. I must observe only, that the twelve tables contain many articles, which evidently partake of barbarism, though we may say they were borrowed from the Greeks, or at least, that the same, or nearly the same prevailed among this nation: which ought to be attributed to a certain austerity of manners, inseparable from republican governments, especially in their original state. But the Romans being more rigid, and less polished than the Greeks, improved upon the latter in the several institutions of this kind. Of this, among others, we find a very strong proof in the shocking despotism which fathers had over their children, and creditors over their debtors. Solon had made a prudent reformation at Athens, in regard to both these articles; he ordained, that no person whatever should have a power to sell his children into slavery, except in cases where they rendered themselves deserving of such cruel treatment: he had even repealed the privilege, by which creditors were empowered to confine their debtors in a private goal, and to load them with chains of a considerable weight, which should torture their whole body. The twelve tables not only rejected this reformation, but added something still more shocking against debtors, by ordaining that if a man was found insolvent, his creditors might, after the third market day, cut his body in pieces, and divide it amongst them. Yet have the laws of the twelve tables been extolled by all antiquity; and indeed, in many respects, they were worthy of admiration. May I be permitted to make a few remarks on such articles as appear to me most striking.

The Romans, in digesting a code, to be observed throughout their empire, gained an infinite advantage, that of establishing a body of laws, universal and uniform, like reason and truth which are one, which exercise their authority indiscriminately over all, and which ought to serve as a basis to all laws. The Papirian code was not only faulty in many respects, but, moreover, incomplete; and what was worst of all, it happened that at the time of the expulsion of the kings, the priests, in concert with the patricians, seized on the best part of this code, which did not appear till about a century and a half after the promulgation of the twelve tables. With reason therefore have several authors affirmed, that from the exile of the Tarquins to this promulgation, the Roman magistrates had no other rule for their decisions, than that natural equity by which mankind ought always to be directed. Had the Romans con-

tinued

continued in so wretched a state, their constitution would have been ever wavering, and extremely imperfect; each province, each city, each town of any note, would have endeavoured to preserve its laws and customs: the difference of circumstances, interests, passions, and private views of each magistrate, would have produced a chaos, unintelligible to men of sound sense, favourable to quibble and chicanery, and, in short, more deserving of contempt than respect. The Romans afterwards felt part of these inconveniencies. To produce good effects, there must be some effort, or exertion, in the cause; but abuses spring up of themselves under a thousand different shapes. The pretors and the ædiles having been obliged, when they entered upon their office, to publish an edict, declaring the manner in which they intended to administer justice, during the year of their magistracy, from thence some advantage arose at first; because the magistrates, while they interpreted the laws, frequently made useful amendments in them: but those edicts were afterwards multiplied to such a degree, that their number and variations contributed only to darken and confound the Roman jurisprudence. Rome, under the emperor Adrian, was amazed to see the arbitrary decisions of her magistrates revived, when she thought herself governed by fixt and invariable laws. Care was therefore taken to restore the constitution by the *perpetual edict*, which at the same time that it preserved what was good out of the great multitude of particular edicts, forbade the magistrates to make any more for the future; by which means the laws were restored to that precision and uniformity, from whence they derive their principal force.

In the twelve tables we find two laws, which were as a great blessing to the Romans, as the one and universal code. The first is, that if the parties do not come to an agreement, the judge shall hear the cause from sun-rise till noon. The second ordains, that in the afternoon the magistrate shall decide the cause in favour of that party he thinks in the right, and that all trial and dispute must be over at sunset. Thus, says M. Teraillon in his commentary on this law, *the same cause, how considerable soever, was to be heard and decided in one day*. It does not require much reflexion to see the utility of such laws. It is obvious, that to suffer many years delays, with great trouble, vexation and expence, in going through the several courts of judicature, would have been worse than the law-suit itself; and that it would have been far preferable to lose a cause immediately, than to gain it upon such conditions. Hence the Romans, directed in this respect by the Greeks, carefully avoided, especially in civil matters, all complicate proceedings and numerous delays, which generally turn out to the advantage of the knavish chicaner. True it is, that at first they carried this point too far. They were afterwards obliged to enlarge the time for giving judgment, when things were not ready for a hearing; as likewise to lengthen the time limited for throwing in an appeal: this, at first, was no more than two days; Justinian prolonged it to ten, a very moderate term; which is enough to convince us, that the delays used in causes

by particular magistrates were always very short; that the Romans were saving of their time in judicial processes; and that they did not depart from the most simple as well as the most expeditious forms of justice. Hence it is, that in the writings of the Romans, even of those who allowed themselves the greatest liberties, we do not meet with those satirical strokes against the bench, which, though wittily wrapped up, or couched in ludicrous allusions, do sometimes denote the cries and complaints of a whole nation.

Though we do not find in the fragments of the laws of the twelve tables, any rule that obliged the magistrates to explain the motives on which they supported their decrees, yet there is room to think they contained some regulation on this head. It seems, that the Roman magistrates were possessed of this valuable privilege, if we may judge by the monuments relating to these matters, which still remain. I think there are very strong hints, not to say proofs, of this in the 71st and 74th pieces of the collection inserted by M. Teraffon, at the end of his history of the Roman jurisprudence. Besides, it is certain that in case of an appeal, the judge of the inferior court was obliged to give a summary of the affair to the appellant, with the reasons of his decree, which the appellant laid before the superior judge. One can hardly imagine any thing more useful than this method of giving, together with the decrees, a particular account of the motives and circumstances by which the magistrates are determined. It ought to be considered as one of the most effectual means to avoid all ambiguity, and even all appearance of variation in law, and consequently to prevent a multitude of suits. The principles being in themselves invariable, there can be no other difference in the decisions, but that arising from different circumstances, which in fact do sometimes make a total change in the nature of affairs. But if the parties at law and the counsel are acquainted with the motive of the decrees, this difference is never productive of any bad effect; the decrees may vary, but the law continues invariable, like the principles on which it is founded. It must be acknowledged, moreover, that the method of explaining the motives for passing judgment, is the only way to gain the intire confidence of the public, because then there is no reason to apprehend that either solicitation or fraud will ever be able to prevail over equity and justice. It is impossible to conceive that the Romans should not have endeavoured to procure to themselves so great a blessing, by the laws of the twelve tables; for a people who make their own laws, have infinite advantages over those, who are indebted for them to custom, and to a variety of circumstances. The latter being obliged to take them in their present condition, are under a necessity of endeavouring to improve them singly; so that they never can arrive at perfection. On the contrary, the former being confined by no particular object, may direct their aim to the utmost sublimity.

Another advantage which no one surely will deny the laws of the twelve tables, is simplicity; and this ought to be the principal aim of all legislators. To attempt to guard against every possible case,

is confounding every thing, because we must needs fall into complication and disorder; in the matter of laws, small inconveniencies must be overlooked for the sake of great advantages. This admirable simplicity we shall find in the fragments of the decemviral laws; and Cicero, by giving us to understand that they were short, and not numerous, acquaints us at the same time that they were extremely simple: he says that they made but a small book, *libellus*, preferable however to all the libraries of philosophers.

Mentioning the institution of the *feciales*, we took notice, that, according to some authors, one of the privileges of those officers consisted in acting as mediators in disputes arising between individuals. Here we are obliged to observe, that we can neither find in the twelve tables, nor elsewhere, the least vestige of this practice, so that it is to be presumed it never existed: it would have been too beneficial to the Romans ever to drop it. In their customs we meet with something that seems to partake of this method of reconciliation. When one of the parties was disposed to make up matters, he could demand of the other, that the difference should be referred to arbitrators (c); he who made

(c) The Romans had three sort of judges, besides the prætor, who allowed or confirmed them, viz. *arbitri*, *recuperatores*, et *centumviri litibus judicandis*. The first, styled simply *judices*, were those above described by our author. The second were to decide the controversies about receiving or recovering lost or stolen goods. The third were the usual judges in private causes; three of them were taken out of each tribe, which made them a hundred and five, and at length they were increased to a hundred and eighty. The plaintiff and defendant were called *actor* and *reus*. The *procuratores* were the proctors or solicitors; the *advocati* or *patroni* were the counsellors; and their being retained by one party was called *mandatum*. In their proceedings, the first step was in *jus vocare*, the citing of a person into court. The second was *edere actionem*, which was proposing before the magistrate the action to the defendant. The third was *postulatio actionis*, which was requesting of the prætor, that it might be lawful for the plaintiff to enter his action. On the day of trial, the plaintiff proceeded to prefer the suit; and this was called *intendere actionem, vel litem*. When the *postulatio* was granted, the plaintiff obliged the defendant to give sureties for his appearance, which was termed *vadari reum*; and the defendant promised *vadium*, entered into a bond for his appearance, which was commonly the third day following. The parties always made oath they did not go to law with an intent to abuse one another, and this was the *juramentum calumniæ*. The arguing of the case was *disceptatio causæ*. Sentence was passed by a majority of the judges: the consequence of the sentence was either *in integrum restitutio*, that is, upon petition of the party to allow him another hearing; or *addictio*, that is, to deliver the party cast into his adversary's disposal, till satisfaction was made; or *judicium calumniæ*, which was an action brought for false accusation; or *judicium falsi*, which was an action against the judges for corruption.

Such was the method of proceeding in private causes; public judgments were in regard to actions that tended either mediately, or immediately to the ruin of the state. And here the *quaestor* made an inquiry into the crime; the accuser entered the name of the offender, which they called *nominis delatio*; the prætor appointed a day for the trial, which was *diem dicere*; the *judex quaestionis* managed the trial; the *judices selecti* gave their verdict like our juries; and their impanelling was called *sortitio judicum*. When the prætor sent them out to consult (*missabat judices in consilium*) he delivered to each of them three tablets covered with wax, one of absolution, marked A; the second of condemnation, marked C; the third of ampliation, or ad-

ROMAN ANNALS.

made this demand was obliged to abide by the sentence; on the contrary, the other could appeal, but was condemned in a fine, if it went against him. The laws of the twelve tables, ordain in several cases, that the magistrates shall appoint arbitrators to settle matters between the contending parties. These arbitrators were to begin with giving their advice; then if the obstinacy of the parties obliged them to it, they proceeded to give sentence; and the party who believed himself injured, had a right to appeal. The arbitrators thought their honour concerned in giving such counsels, or passing such judgments, as would be confirmed by the magistrates; and there is no doubt but by this method they had it in their power to stifle an infinite number of suits, which would have otherwise been the ruin of families, by fomenting hatred, anxiety, and division.

It would be hard if the Greeks and Romans were the only people for whom providence designed the possession of such advantages; nations more learned, more polished, more virtuous than they, have undoubtedly a right to those invaluable blessings. And, indeed, we have been pleased to see how eager some philosophical princes, in our times, have been to procure these blessings for their subjects; and still more pleased to see that the rest of Europe has applauded the example.

journalment of trial, marked N. L. *non liquet*. The jury threw what tablet they pleased into a proper number of urns or boxes, and the tablets being drawn, the prætor pronounced sentence by a majority. But we find that in public causes, judgment was sometimes passed by the whole people. The court days were filled *disfessi*, when it was lawful for the prætor to sit in judgment, and to say these three solemn words, *do, dico, addico*, I sit here to give laws, declare right, adjudge losses.

The punishments inflicted on offenders by the law, were of eight sorts, *damnum, vincula, verbera, talio, ignominia, exilium, servitus, mors*, a pecuniary mulct, imprisonment, retaliation, public shame, banishment, slavery, death. Banishment, or *exilium*, was not a direct punishment, but by consequence, by forbidding the condemned person the use of water and fire, *aque et ignis interdictio*. Under *mors*, or capital punishments, were included *percussio securi*, strangulation, *precipitatio de robre*, dejection *à rupe Tarpeia*, in *crucem actio*, and *projectio in profluentem*, beheading; strangling, which was performed in prison; throwing the criminal from the part of the prison called the *robrum*; or from the Tarpeian rock; crucifixion, performed generally on slaves; and drowning, proper to parricide, which was done by sewing the criminal up in a sack with a serpent, an ape, a dog, and a cock.

FIFTH CENTURY.

*Year of Rome 401.**Before Christ 353.*

TRANQUILLITY being restored, the consuls applied their thoughts towards terminating the disputes about debtors, which began to excite fresh disturbances: accordingly five commissioners were appointed for that end, who settled matters to the general satisfaction.

A report being spread, that the Hetrurians were all up in arms, Julius Iulus was created dictator; but the report proved false.

402.

The Consuls for this year were both patricians. The Tarquinienfes and Falisci submit, and obtain a truce of forty years.

C. Marcius Rutilus, the first plebeian that had ever been raised to the dictatorial dignity, was likewise the first of that order invested with the censorship; an office at that time important, and which grew much more so, because, according to Festus, the censors had then obtained the privilege of creating and degrading senators.

403.

The patricians could not hinder Popilius Lænas, a plebeian, from having share, this year, in the consulate, notwithstanding, that to guard against this blow, they had prevailed upon the consuls to name M. Fabius Ambustus to the dictatorship. The chagrin and jealousy of the patricians, were much increased by a signal victory which Popilius obtained over the Gauls, and where he received an honourable wound. L. Purius Camillus was created dictator, to preside at the election of the consuls, which Popilius was hindered from doing by his wounds, and his colleague Scipio by illness. The dictator procured the two new consuls to be chosen from the patrician order, and he himself was nominated to that office.

404.

Rome was not only obliged to fight against the Gauls, who had renewed their hostilities, but likewise against pirates from Greece, who infested the coasts of Italy; and the sudden desertion of the Latins in so critical a conjuncture, threw the republic into a very great dilemma. By the death of the consul Appius Claudius Crassus, the whole weight of the war fell upon Camillus. M. Valerius, a young man of three and twenty, fights a single combat with a champion of the Gauls, of gigantic stature, who had challenged the bravest of the Romans. The extraordinary interposition of heaven, says Livy, diminished, in some measure, the merit of Valerius's victory; for a raven, perching upon his helmet, and flying in the face of the giant, during the fight, blinded him with his wings, till the young Roman laid him dead on the spot. Hence he had the surname of Corvus, which was transmitted

K 3

to

The Gauls
defeated.

to his descendants. This victory of Valerius was, in some measure, a presage of that which Camillus obtained over the Gauls, the remains of whom retired to Apulia. Camillus advances towards the sea coast, in order to drive away the pirates, and nominates T. Manlius Torquatus dictator, to preside at the comitia. M. Valerius Corvus, though absent, is chosen consul at an age when he was not even qualified to have a place in the senate.

405.

The Greek pirates retired for want of fresh water, and other provisions to keep the sea.

The Romans had recourse to a *lestifernium*, in order to remove the plague.

Second treaty of alliance between Rome and Carthage.

406.

Interest of
money re-
duced.

The complaints of the people obliged the consuls to reduce the interest of money one half, that is, to half per cent. Debtors were likewise allowed the privilege of discharging the principal in four equal payments, from year to year.

407.

Valerius
Corvus takes
Satricum.

Valerius Corvus, consul the second time, is before hand with the Volsci and the Antiates, who were preparing to enter the Roman territory: he defeats them, takes *Satricum*, which the confederates had made their place of arms, and sets fire to it, after it had been sacked by his soldiers. Four thousand prisoners of war were sold, and the money, accruing from the sale, was deposited in the public treasury.

408.

The Volsci
conquered a
second time.

L. Furius is created dictator to fight the Aurunci. This petty nation, bordering on the Volsci, had dared to enter the lists with Rome; but the dictator made them fly. The Volsci are conquered a second time. The senate, in consequence of a vow made by the dictator, order a temple to be built on the capitol, and dedicated to *Juno Moneta*, so called from an important warning, which she is said to have given to the Romans. "In process of time, as father Catrou observes, the temple of *Juno Moneta* became a public mint; and thence the metal, which was stamped for the use of commerce, took the name of *moneta* (c)." 409.

(c) The Romans reckoned their money by *as*, *asses*, *sestertii* or *nummi*, *denarii*, *solidi* or *aurei*. The most ancient coin was the *as*, first stamped by Servius Tullius, with the image of *pecus*, or small cattle, whence it had the name of *pecunia*; it had afterwards the impress of a Janus, and on the reverse the *rostrum* of a ship; in the beginning it was *libralis*, or of a pound weight, and even after it was diminished, it retained the name of *libella*. They had no other money, till the year 484, when silver began to be coined. The *as* was so named *quasi as*, or brass, being of that metal; it first consisted of 1 lb. weight; but, at length, it came down to half an ounce;

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. Y. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
Publius Valerius Publicola.	401	353	<i>Appius Claudius Centumalus</i> , or <i>Centemmanus</i> , a Roman civilian, flourished towards the year of Rome 449.	<i>Kingdom of Judah.</i> Jaddua, son of Jonathan, is elected the sixth high priest since the deliverance, the year before Christ 344.
Caius Marcius Rutilus.				
Caius Sulpitius Peticus. 5 ^o .	402	352	This Appius, was the great grandson of Appius Claudius the decemvir. In private life he was famous for applying his time to the interpretation of the laws; and during his censorship, he immortalized his name, by erecting two monuments, one called the <i>via Appia</i> , and the other the fine aqueduct, known by the name of the <i>Claudian water</i> .	This high priest, by God's particular permission, appeared in a dream to Alexander, the great king of Macedonia, to whom he predicted his victories over the Persians. This vision happened in 334.
T. Quintius Pennus Cincinnatus.				
Marcus Popilius Lænas. 3 ^o .	403	351	<i>Aristotle</i> , a famous Greek philosopher, chief of the Peripatetics, born at Stagira in Macedonia, died in the hundred and fourteenth olympiad.	Alexander, having laid siege to Tyre, applied to Jaddua for a supply of provisions, but Jaddua refused to comply with his request, lest he should violate the treaty which the Jewish people had concluded with Darius, king of Persia. Alexander, irritated at this refusal, advances towards Jerusalem, with a full resolution to destroy this city. But Jaddua having gone out to meet him, together with his priests in their sacerdotal habits, this prince was surprised at seeing the very person who had appeared to him in his dream; and he revered the name of God, engraved on the gold plate which the high priest wore on his breast. Alexander went to Jerusalem in the spirit of peace, offered up sacrifices in the temple, granted new privileges to the Jews, and confirmed those
L. Cornelius Scipio.				
Lucius Furius Camillus.	404	350	It is well known that he was preceptor to Alexander the Great, and that his philosophical works, after having been in some measure idolized for several centuries, fell at length into contempt. But sometimes it is useful, and even glorious, to return the way we came. Aristotle's philosophy is read again, and we still find some parts of it worthy of being admired. His rhetorical works have had a never-fading reputation.	The
App. Claudius Crassus.				
Marcus Popilius Lænas. 4 ^o .	405	349	<i>Caius Fabius Pictor</i> lived the year of Rome 451.	K 4
M. Valerius Corvus.				
Caius Plautius Hypsæus.	406	348	Caius Fabius Pictor lived the year of Rome 451.	which
T. Manlius Imperator Torquatus.				
Marcus Valerius Corvus. 3 ^o .	407	347	Caius Fabius Pictor lived the year of Rome 451.	which
Caius Petilius Libo.				
Marcus Fabius Dorso.	408	346	Caius Fabius Pictor lived the year of Rome 451.	which
Servius Sulpitius Camerinus.				
Caius Martius Rutilus.	409	345	Caius Fabius Pictor lived the year of Rome 451.	which
T. Manlius Imperator Torquatus. 2 ^o .				
M. Valerius Corvus.	410	344	Caius Fabius Pictor lived the year of Rome 451.	which
A. Cornelius Cossus.				
Caius Martius Rutilus. 2 ^o .	411	343	Caius Fabius Pictor lived the year of Rome 451.	which
Q. Servilius Ahala.				
Caius Plautius Hypsæus. 2 ^o .	412	342	Caius Fabius Pictor lived the year of Rome 451.	which
L. Emilius Mamercinus.				
T. Manlius Imperator Torquatus. 3 ^o .	413	341	Caius Fabius Pictor lived the year of Rome 451.	which
Publius Decius Mus.				
T. Emilius Mamercinus.	414	340	Caius Fabius Pictor lived the year of Rome 451.	which
Q. Publilius Philo.				
L. Furius Camillus.	415	339	Caius Fabius Pictor lived the year of Rome 451.	which
Caius Mænius.				
C. Sulpitius Longus.	416	338	Caius Fabius Pictor lived the year of Rome 451.	which
Publilius Ælius Pæstus.				
Lucius Papirius Crassus.	417	337	Caius Fabius Pictor lived the year of Rome 451.	which
Cæso Dillius.				
Marcus				

409.

The new temple is dedicated by the consuls. P. Valerius Publicola is created dictator, to superintend the expiation of some pretended prodigies.

410.

Beginning of
the war with
the Sam-
nites.

Beginning of the war with the Samnites, a people inhabiting that part of Italy, which, at present, goes by the name of Abruzzo. The Campanians, having been vigorously attacked by the Samnites, were obliged to implore the assistance of the Romans, who at first refused to take up arms in their behalf, because of the alliance subsisting between the Samnites and their republic. The Campanian ambassadors, in order to determine the senate, agreed to surrender all Campania to the republic, as a Roman province, pursuant to the powers with which they had been invested. The Samnites refusing to withdraw their troops from Campania, a war commences on both sides with great fury. Valerius, in his third consulate, obtains two victories in Campania, over these new and formidable enemies, at the same time that his colleague, Cornelius, discomfits them on the confines of Samnium. The two consuls were honoured with a triumph, but they did not both receive the same commendations. Cornelius had imprudently marched his army into a valley, commanded by the enemy, from whence he was extricated by the address and courage of P. Decius Mus, a legionary tribune. Decius appeared at the triumph, wearing three crowns, which had been conferred upon him by the consul and the army; in short, his glory eclipsed that of the general.

The news of so many victories, engaged the Falisci to change the truce which they had concluded with the Romans, into a treaty of alliance. The Carthaginians sent to compliment the Romans on their success.

411.

The consul Marcius detects a conspiracy formed by the soldiers,

ounce; in value it was about three farthings of our money, and ten of them made a *denarius*. The subdivisions were *semissis* half the *as*, *triens* the third part, *quadrans* the fourth, by some called *triuncius* and *terencius*; and *sextans* the sixth part. The *sestertius* was a silver coin equal to the fourth part of a *denarius*. *Nummus*, when mentioned as a piece of money, was the same with the *sestertius*. The *denarius* was the chief silver coin among the Romans, in value of our money eight pence half-penny farthing; it was also called *bigatus* and *quadrigatus*, from bearing the impression of the *biga* and *quadriga*. The subdivisions of it were the *quinarius*, or half, called likewise *victoriatus* from the image of victory on it; and the *sestertius*, which has been mentioned already. The Roman gold coin was the *aureus*, which generally weighed double the *denarius*, and in our money was worth 17s. 1d. *ab. qua*. The sums in use among the Romans were chiefly three, the *sestertium*, the *libra*, and the *talent*. The *sestertium* contained a thousand *sestertii*, about 7 l. 16 s. and 3 d. of our money. The *libra* contained twelve ounces of silver, and was worth 3 l. The *talent* contained twenty four *sestertia*, and was worth 187 l. 10 s. In marking their coin, the *as*, because it contained at first a pound weight, was expressed by an L; as the *sestertius* contained in value two pounds of brass and a half, it was marked thus HS or LLS.

who

Marcus
vus. 4
M. Arri
Titus Ve
nus.
Spurius P
binus.
Lucius Pa
C. Paetili
A. Corn
20.
En. Domi
Marcus C
cellus.
C. Vale
Flaccus
Lucius Pa
20.
L. Plauti
L. Emili
nus. 2
Co. Plaut
P. Plauti
Publius C
pula.
L. Corneli
Quint. Po
20.
C. Paetili
L. Papiriu
Lucius F
lus. 2
Decius
Scaeva.
Papirius
withou
C. Sulpi
20.
Quintus
tains.
Q. Fabi
Aullius
L. Fulvius
T. Vetur
20.
Spurius P
binus.
Lucius Pa
Q. Publiu
Lucius P
40.

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Marcus Valerius Corvus. 4 ^o .	418	336	The surname of <i>Pictor</i> (painter) which he transmitted to posterity, is owing to his having painted in fresco, the inside of the temple of <i>Salus</i> , which was built at Rome by Brutus the dictator.	which had been granted to them by the Persian kings. They shewed him Daniel's prophecy, who had foretold that a Greek would conquer Persia. Sanballat, governor of Samaria for Darius, goes over to Alexander, who grants him leave to build a temple at Gazizim, like that of Jerusalem. Before Christ 332
M. Artillius Regulus.	419	335		
Titus Veturius Calvinus.	420	334	This was the first time that the elegant art of painting was known to have been employed in this city: it was communicated to the Romans by the Etruscans, who had received it of the Greeks.	Onias is chosen the seventh high priest after the deliverance, in 324
Sporius Posthumius Albinus.	421	333		
Lucius Papirius Curfor.	422	332	<i>Demoisbenes</i> , an Athenian orator, born towards the hundredth olympiad, died in the hundred and fourteenth. His education was neglected by his guardians, who had been entrusted with the care of him after the death of his father; but nature had given him most surprizing parts, and inspired him with a desire of improving them by study: at the age of seventeen, he pleaded against his guardians with the highest success. He soon became more formidable to the Macedonians, by his harangues, than the Athenian generals had been hitherto by their arms. At length, finding himself in danger of falling into Antipater's hands, who had sent some persons to seize him in the island of Calauria, the place of his retirement, he ended	Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, king of Egypt, takes Jerusalem by stratagem, entering it on the sabbath day, when the Jews durst not defend themselves out of respect to the festival. Before Christ 320
C. Pottilius Libo.	423	331		
A. Cornelius Cossus. 1 ^o .	424	330	him most surprizing parts, and inspired him with a desire of improving them by study: at the age of seventeen, he pleaded against his guardians with the highest success. He soon became more formidable to the Macedonians, by his harangues, than the Athenian generals had been hitherto by their arms. At length, finding himself in danger of falling into Antipater's hands, who had sent some persons to seize him in the island of Calauria, the place of his retirement, he ended	Simeon, son of Onias, is the eighth high priest, since the deliverance, 303.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.	425	329		
Marcus Claudius Marcellus.	426	328	Eleazar, brother of Simeon, the ninth high priest since the deliverance, 294	Manasseh, son of Jaddua, the tenth high priest since the deliverance, 262
C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.	427	327		
Lucius Papirius Crassus. 2 ^o .	428	326	About this time, Ptolemy Philadelphus, desirous of having the finest library in the world, caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy two interpreters, whom he invited from Jerusalem.	Kings
L. Plautius Venno.	429	325		
L. Emilius Mamercinus. 2 ^o .	430	324	Ptolemy Philadelphus, desirous of having the finest library in the world, caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy two interpreters, whom he invited from Jerusalem.	Kings
Cn. Plautius Decianus.	431	323		
P. Plautius Proculus.	432	322	Ptolemy Philadelphus, desirous of having the finest library in the world, caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy two interpreters, whom he invited from Jerusalem.	Kings
Publius Cornelius Scapula.	433	321		
L. Cornelius Lentulus.	434	320	Ptolemy Philadelphus, desirous of having the finest library in the world, caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy two interpreters, whom he invited from Jerusalem.	Kings
Quint. Publilius Philo. 1 ^o .				
C. Pottilius Libo. 2 ^o .			Ptolemy Philadelphus, desirous of having the finest library in the world, caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy two interpreters, whom he invited from Jerusalem.	Kings
L. Papirius Mugillanus.				
Lucius Furius Camillus. 2 ^o .			Ptolemy Philadelphus, desirous of having the finest library in the world, caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy two interpreters, whom he invited from Jerusalem.	Kings
Decius Junius Brutus Scaeva.				
Papirius is dictator, without consuls.			Ptolemy Philadelphus, desirous of having the finest library in the world, caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy two interpreters, whom he invited from Jerusalem.	Kings
C. Sulpitius Longus. 2 ^o .				
Quintus Aulius Cere- tans.			Ptolemy Philadelphus, desirous of having the finest library in the world, caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy two interpreters, whom he invited from Jerusalem.	Kings
Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.				
L. Fulvius Corvus.			Ptolemy Philadelphus, desirous of having the finest library in the world, caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy two interpreters, whom he invited from Jerusalem.	Kings
T. Veturius Calvinus. 2 ^o .				
Sporius Posthumius Albinus. 3 ^o .			Ptolemy Philadelphus, desirous of having the finest library in the world, caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy two interpreters, whom he invited from Jerusalem.	Kings
Lucius Papirius Curfor.				
Q. Publilius Philo. 3 ^o .			Ptolemy Philadelphus, desirous of having the finest library in the world, caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy two interpreters, whom he invited from Jerusalem.	Kings
Lucius Papirius Curfor. 4 ^o .				
Quint.				

who had wintered at Capua (c): pleased with the plenty and luxury of that capital of Campania, they had taken a resolution to seize it for themselves, and to reside there. The consul tries to break their measures, by sending away the ring-leaders to Rome under different pretences. The mutineers desert in great numbers, sufficient to form an army. Valerius Corvus is appointed dictator on this occasion; but instead of fighting the rebels, he comes to a parley, and prevails on them to submit. The people were assembled in comitia on this very account, and granted them a general pardon. It is said, that usury was then absolutely abolished at Rome, because it had been the chief pretext of the revolt; and, at the same time, several other laws were enacted in favour of the people.

412.

Privernum
revolts.

The Privernates make a sudden incursion, and ravage the territories of Norba and Setia (d), which were Roman colonies. Some of the other nations, bordering upon Rome, began likewise to stir; but they were quickly reduced by the consul Plautius. Æmilius, the other consul, marches an army into the territory of the Samnites, whom he found very quiet, not daring to appear in the field. Being thus withheld by fear, they sent deputies to Rome, and obtained the renewal of their alliance with the republic. The Latins break once more with Rome, and commit hostilities against the Samnites, with the assistance of the Campanians, who, on this occasion, shewed themselves more actuated with a desire of revenge against the Samnites, than with gratitude towards the Romans. The holding of the comitia is brought on before the usual time, in order to elect consuls capable of conducting this formidable war with honour. They chose Manlius Torquatus, and the famous P. Decius Mus, a plebeian.

413.

No consulate this long time had been so fruitful of signal events. The Romans conclude an alliance with Alexander king of Epirus, who

(c) *Capua* was a very ancient town of Campania, so called, (for its former name had been Vulturis) either from Capys, a Samnite general by whom it was taken, after it had been founded by the Etruscans; or from its spacious fields, *a campestris agro*, which seems to be Pliny's opinion; or from being the capital of the province, according to Strabo, who calls it *κεφαλὴν τῆς ὀντίας καὶ τῆς ἰταλικῆς τῆς ἰνδαυτοῦ, verè caput ut nomen sonat*. The beautiful situation of this city, and the fertility of the neighbouring soil, rendered it the seat of pleasure. It is now a village in the *terra di Iguero*, called *St. Maria di Capua*, distant about a mile from the new city.

(d) Norba and Setia were towns of Latium, eastward of Rome; the former was filled by Dionysius *ὡς ἀφανὲς πόλις, baud ignobilis urbs*, and is now called *Norcia*; the latter was famous for its excellent wine, as we find by Martial, lib. 4.

Nam quæ paludes delicata Pomptinæ

Ex arce clivi spectat uva Setini.

and by Silius, lib. 19. *Ipsius mensis seposita Lyæi-Setia*. It still retains the name of *Sezza*.

CON

Quint. An.
nos. 2^o

L. Plautius

M. Fossius

Quint. En.

bola.

C. Junius

bulcus.

Spurius N.

tilas.

Marcus P.

nas.

Lucius Papi.

3^o.

Q. Publius

C. Sulpitius

3^o.

M. Papius

Lucius Papi.

6^o.

C. Junius

bulcus.

Marcus Val.

mus.

Publius Dec.

Cains Junia

Boculcus.

Quintos En.

bola. 3^o.

Q. Fabius

Rullianus

C. Marcus

Papirius is a

ter, withbo

Q. Fabius

Rullianus

P. Decius M.

Ap. Claudius

Lucius Volo

Quint. Mar

mus.

P. Cornelius

Lucius Papi

gellus.

T. Minucius

nos.

For the latter

situation

M. Fulvius

P. Sulpicius

P. Sempronius

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Quint. Aulius Ceretanus, 2 ^o .			ended his days with poison, which he kept in a quill. Demosthenes was in his life time the prince of orators. Long after his death, Tully considered him as the first in every kind of eloquence.	<i>Kings of Egypt.</i> Nectanebis II. 350 Artaxerxes Ochus, 339 Artes, or Arsames, 336 Darius Codomannus, 332
L. Plautius Venno.	435	319		Alexander the Great conquers Egypt, and keeps possession of that kingdom till his death, which happened in 324
M. Fossius Flaccinator.			Diogenes, a Greek philosopher, born at Sinope, in the ninety first olympiad, died in the hundred and fourteenth.	After the death of Alexander, his generals divide his conquests among themselves. Egypt fell to Ptolemy the son of Lagos, who reigned till 285
Quint. Emilius Barbula.	436	318	He was the chief of the Cynics, without being the founder of that sect, for he had learnt it of Antisthenes. Though he was not a professed philosopher, he frequently gave excellent lessons in that branch of learning; witness his answer to Alexander, which every body must have heard. His works are lost; in all likelihood more would be learnt from them, than from a narrative of his conduct and behaviour. His life was one continued series of oddities, which would render those who attempted to imitate them, highly ridiculous.	Ptolemy Philadelphus, <i>Persian empire.</i> Artaxerxes Ochus, 339 Artes, or Arsames, 336 Darius, surnamed Codomannus, is defeated by Alexander at the battle of Arbela, the year before Christ 332
C. Junius Brutus Bulbus.				This prince is murdered in his flight by Bessus prince of Bactria. His death puts an end to the Persian empire.
Spurius Nautius Rutilus.	437	317		<i>Kings of Syria.</i> After the death of Alexander, Syria fell to Seleucus Nicanor, who died in 282
Marcus Popilius Lænas.				Antiochus Soter, 262
L. Lucius Papirius Curfor.	438	316		Antiochus II.
Q. Publius Philo. 4 ^o .				<i>Kings of Macedon.</i> Philip, 336
C. Sulpitius Longus.	439	315		Alexander the Great becomes sovereign of Asia in 331, and dies in 324
M. Patellus Libo.				Philip Arideus, 317
L. Lucius Papirius Curfor.	440	314		Alexander son of Roxana, 317
C. Junius Brutus Bulbus, 2 ^o .				Cassander, 298
Marcus Valerius Maximus.	441	313		Ph i
Publius Decius Mus.				
C. Cains Junius Brutus Boculeus, 3 ^o .	442	312		
Quintus Emilius Barbula, 2 ^o .				
Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, 2 ^o .	443	311		
C. Marcus Rutilus.				
Popilius is made dictator, without consuls.	444	310		
Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, 3 ^o .	445	309		
P. Decius Mus, 2 ^o .				
Ap. Claudius Cæcus.	446	308		
L. Lucius Volumnius.				
Quint. Marcus Tremulus.	447	307		
P. Cornelius Arvina.				
L. Lucius Posthumius Megellus.	448	306		
T. Minucius Augurinus.				
For the latter was substituted				
M. Fulvius Postus.				
P. Sulpicius Saverrio.	449	305		
P. Sempronius Sophus.				
Ser,				

was come into Italy at the invitation of the Tarentines (e) to assist them against the Brutians (f). "The king of Epirus, says father Catrou, "accepted of the invitation as readily, as if he had agreed with his "nephew Alexander, to conquer all the west, while the Macedonian "undertook the conquest of the east. This prince expected to meet "with as great a harvest of glory in Sicily, Italy, and Africa, as his "nephew found in Persia and the rest of Asia. But the projects of the "king of Epirus were not so successful, as those of the Macedonian "prince."

War against
the Latins.

The Latins send ambassadors to Rome, to signify to the senate, that they would lay down their arms, on condition that one of the two consuls should be always chosen from their nation, and that one half of the senate should be Latins, and the other half Romans. These proposals were rejected with disdain, and war was declared against the Latins with the usual formalities. The two armies were already in presence of each other, when young Manlius, son of the consul, accepted of a challenge to a single combat from one of the Latin chiefs, contrary to the orders of the generals. The young Roman, animated by the remembrance of a victory, which his father had obtained, on the like occasion, over a Gaul, attacks and vanquishes his enemy: then, flushed with victory, but stained with disobedience, he returns to the camp, where, by his father's orders, he is first crowned as a victor, and then punished with death. Battle of Veferis (g). The consul Decius, seeing the left wing, under his command, give way, devotes himself to the *dii manes* for the safety of the army, and then rides full speed into the thickest of the enemy's battalions, where he fell to the ground with numberless wounds. Care had been taken to inform the troops of this devotement, which was supposed to have been ordained by the gods; so that

Battle of
Veferis.

(e) The Tarentines were the inhabitants of Tarentum, a noble and ancient city of Calabria. The Greeks call it *Tarās* in the masculine, which has been imitated by Lucan, lib. 5. *Antiquusque Taras, secretaque litora Leuca*. It is said to have been built by the Lacedæmonians; hence Ovid, met. 15. *Lacedæmoniumque Tarentum*. Horace, lib. 1. od. 27. says it was sacred to Neptune, a temple having been built there to him by Phalantus. The Tarentines were much addicted to ease and luxury; therefore Horace calleth it *imbelle*, and *molle Tarentum*. It is still a large town, known by the name of *Taranto*.

(f) The Brutians were a people of Italy, who inhabited that peninsula, which extends from Lucania to the freights separating Sicily from Italy. The derivation of the word is uncertain. Their country was called *Bruttii* in the plural, *locus in Brutiis Crispinus oppugnare conatus*. Liv. lib. 27.

(g) Whether Veferis was a town, or only a river, is uncertain: we know only that it was situate at the foot of mount Vesuvius. Cluverius takes it to have been a town, because no other ancient author, except Aurelius Victor, calls it a river; but they all make use of the expression *ad Veferim*, *apud Veferim*: and besides, there is no river of any note in that part, except the *Sebetus*, the *Sarnus*, and *Vesivus*. However, one would think, that the authority of the abovementioned historians should decide the matter, since he says, in express terms, *positis apud Veferim fluvio castris*. Aur. vict. in Decio patre.

CON

Ser. Corn.

lus.

Locius Ge.

M. Livius

M. Emiliu

Fabius Mas

lorius Cor

ed dictat

consul.

Marcus V

rus. 5°.

Q. Apulei

M. Fulvius

T. Manlius

In the room

was subje

Marcus V

rus. 6°.

L. Corneli

Ca. Fulvius

lus.

Q. Fabius

Rullianus

P. Decius

Appius Cla

us. 2°.

L. Volumi

Q. Fabius

Rullianus

P. Decius

L. Posthum

lus. 1°.

M. Attilius

Locius Papi

Spinus Carv

mus.

Q. Fabius

Gaius.

H. Junius B

vi.

L. Posthum

lus. 3°.

C. Junius

Balbus.

Publius Cor

fus.

Marius Curi

tus.

M. Valerius

Corvinus.

Q. Cæcilius

FIFTH CENTURY.

141

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.	450	304	sect, as some have imagined. It has been proved, that the pleasure in which he placed the <i>summum bonum</i> , is that serenity of mind, which constantly attends the virtuous. He taught that the deity does not concern himself about matters here below, and that the soul is material and mortal. This doctrine of Epicurus, obtained greatly among the Romans; and Lucretius brought it into high repute by his beautiful poem on nature. There was wanting, a poet of equal abilities to enter the list with him; such a poet has made his appearance in our times, and overthrown his adversary.	Philip, 297 Antipater, 294 Demetrius, 287 Pyrrhus, 286 Lyfmachus, 281 Seleucus, 280 Ptolemy Ceraunus, 279 Meleager, 279 Antipater, 279 Sosthenes, 277
M. Livius Dexter.	451	303		Anarchy till towards the end of the year 276
M. Epilius Paulus.	452	302		Antigonus Gonatas.
<i>Pobius Maximus and Valerius Corvus are created dictators, without consuls.</i>				
Marcus Valerius Corvus. 5°.	453	301		<i>Kings of Sparta.</i> <i>Branch of Euristhenes the Proclidae.</i> Cleomenes II. 309 Arcus, 265 Acrotatus, Agis II. 264, 327
Q. Apuleius Panfa.	454	300		Arcus II. Eudamidas, 267 Leonidas, Archidamus III. expelled in 254 Eudamidas II.
M. Fulvius Peticus.				<i>Athen continues to be governed by perpetual archons.</i>
T. Manlius Torquatus.				<i>Kings of Pontus</i> Ariobarzanes, 336 Mithridates II. 301 Mithridates III. 265 Ariobarzanes H.
<i>In the room of the latter was substituted</i>				<i>Kings of Bittonia.</i> The succession of these kings, who were very powerful, is obscure and interrupted. Some authors reckon Dædalus, or Dydalus, the first king; and that he mounted the throne in the year 385 before Christ. Next to whom they place Botiras.
Marcus Valerius Corvus. 6°.	455	299		
L. Cornelius Scipio.	456	298		
C. Fulvius Centumalus.	457	297		
Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. 4°.	458	296		
P. Decius Mus.	459	295		
Appius Claudius Cæcus. 2°.	460	294		
L. Volurnius. 2°.	461	293		
Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. 5°.	462	292		
P. Decius Mus. 4°.	463	291		
L. Posthumius Megellus. 3°.	464	290		
M. Attilius Regulus.				
Lucius Papirius Carfor.				
Spurius Carvilius Maximus.				
Q. Fabius Maximus Cæpio.				
L. Junius Brutus Scævola.				
L. Posthumius Megellus. 3°.				
C. Junius Brutus Balbus.				
Publius Cornelius Rufinus.				
Manius Curius Dentatus.				
M. Valerius Maximus Cæcilius.				
Q. Cæcilius Noctua.				

Quint.

this

Bias

Battle of
Trifanum.

the consul's death filled them with admiration and fresh courage. In consequence hereof, the Romans obtained a complete victory; and made so great a slaughter of the Latins, that scarce a fourth part of them escaped. Yet they rallied, and were defeated a second time at Trifanum (*b*), a village between Sinuessæ (*i*) and (*k*) Minturnæ. So considerable was their loss, that all the Latins, and, after their example, the Campanians, submitted to the Romans.

414.

The Latins, dissatisfied with the Romans for having stripped them of part of their lands to be distributed among the soldiers, revolt once more. Publius attacks them, takes their camp, and is honoured with a triumph. His colleague Æmilius, demands the same honour, without having done any exploit to deserve it; the senate refusing to comply with his request, he joins with the plebeian party. Upon which, the fathers oblige him to name a dictator; and he appoints his colleague Publius. This magistrate, being of plebeian original, availed himself of his dictatorship, to make three laws contrary to the inclination of the senate. The first revived the old law, that the plebiscita should bind the senate, as well as the plebeians; in all probability it had not been put into execution. The second ordained that the senate should approve of the laws, before they were proposed to the comitia, and that the people should put the last hand to them. The third decreed that one of the two censors should be chosen from among the people. This last law was executed so exactly, that for upwards of two hundred years, a plebeian was always joined with a patrician in the censorship.

415.

All Latium
subdued.

All Latium and Campania are brought under subjection to the Romans; but some of their towns received the freedom of Roman citizens, on the footing of *municipia* (*l*). The republic conferred on both

(*b*) Yet it was nearer to Sinuessæ than Minturnæ, for Diodorus says this battle was fought *ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῆς Σινουσσῆς*.

(*i*) Sinuessæ was an ancient city of new Latium, on the borders of Campania, situate near the sea, and not far from the mouth of the river Liris. In the neighbourhood of this place were the baths called *Aquæ Sinuessanæ*, which, according to Pliny, lib. 31. were famous for curing barrenness in women, and madness in men, and Silius from thence calls this town *Sinuessæ tepens*. Tacitus, lib. 12. says that the emperor Claudius used these waters for the recovery of his health. The ruins of Sinuessæ, which have preserved the ancient name, are still to be seen near the village of *Bocca di Mandragone*. In this neighbourhood were the *mons Massicus* and the *Falernus ager*, famous for generous wines; the former is still called *monte Massico*.

(*k*) Minturnæ was a city of new Latium, situate on the river Liris, now called Garigliano, between Formiæ and Sinuessæ. Near this place were the *paludes Minturnenses*, or the great marshes, where Marius lay a long time hid, after he had been defeated by Sylla. Patereulus, lib. 2. calls this place *Marica palus*, because it had a grove sacred to this nymph. The ruins of Minturnæ are remaining, and known by the name of *la barca del Garigliano*.

(*l*) *Municipium* is from *municeps*, a person *qui capit munia*, one of a town, whose inhabitants were free of the city of Rome, and had a right to the privileges and offices thereof.

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Quint. Marcius Tremulus. 2°.	465	289	this celebrated orator, that he had a very great love for his country: for seeing it enslaved by Philip, king of Macedonia, he starved himself to death, at the age of ninety eight.	Bias mounts the throne in 378, and, after a reign of fifty years, dies in 328 Zypoetes, 281 Nicomedes I.
Publ. Cornelius Arvinus. 2°.				
M. Claudius Marcellus.	466	288		
C. Nautilus Rutilius.				
M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.	467	287		
C. Aemilius Paetus.				
C. Claudius Canina.	468	286	Plato, a Greek philosopher, chief of the Academics, born in the eighty seventh olympiad, died in the hundred and eighth.	
M. Aemilius Lepidus.				
C. Claudius Servilius Tucca.	469	285	Born with an excellent taste for every branch of polite learning, he applied himself successively to painting, poetry, and the mathematics; but his ardent love of philosophy made him relinquish all other pursuits, to apply himself to this entirely. Of all the heathen philosophers, Plato is the sublimest; his doctrine, in many things, bears such resemblance to that of Christianity, that most of the primitive fathers of the church were Platonic philosophers; several of the ancient heretics were also Platonists; but they adhered too strictly to their master's opinions. Plato's republic, is a work that does honour to his heart; there he supposes mankind such as they ought to be, not as they are.	
L. Cæcilius Metellus.				
P. Cornelius Dolabella Maximus.	470	284		
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.				
Q. Aemilius Papus.	471	283		
C. Fabric. Luscinus.				
L. Aemilius Barbula.	472	282		
Q. Marc. Philippus.				
P. Valerius Levinus.	473	281		
Tiberius Coruncanius Nepos.				
P. Sulpitius Saverrio.	474	280		
P. Decius Mus.				
C. Fabricius Luscinus.	475	279		
Q. Aemilius Papus. 2°.				
P. Corn. Rufinus. 2°.	476	278		
C. Junius Brutus Bulbus. 2°.				
Q. Fabius Maximus Gerges. 2°.	477	277		
C. Genucius Clepsina.				
L. Cornelius Lentulus.	478	276		
Manius Curius Dentatus. 2°.				
Servius Cornelius Merenda.	479	275		
Manius Curius Dentatus. 3°.				
C. Fabius Dorso Licinius.	480	274		
Cn. Claudius Canina. 2°.				
Lucius Papirius Cursor. 2°.	481	273	Publius Sempronius Sophus, a Roman civilian, consul in the year of Rome 449	

both consuls, not only the honour of a triumph, but that of two equestrian statues of brass, which were erected in the forum. Here it was that the pulpit stood, whence the Roman magistrates harangued the people; and the consul Mænius on this occasion adorned the pulpit with the brass peaks of the vessels taken from the *Antiates*; from *The rostra*, whence it was ever after called the *Rostra*.

416.

The prætorship is for the first time granted to a plebeian; this was Q. Publilius Philo, a person of note, and already honoured with the consular and dictatorial dignities. "The senate, says M. Rollin, not having been able to exclude the plebeians from the first offices of the state, did not think proper to give themselves unnecessary trouble in order to debar them from the prætorship."

A vestal, named Minucia, undergoes the usual punishment, for having violated the law of chastity.

417.

War with
the Sidicini
and Ausones.

War with the Sidicini and Ausones, for invading the country of the Aurunci, who a few years before had submitted to the republic. The Aurunci inhabited the towns of Fundi (m), Caieta (n), Formiæ (p), Minturnæ, Sueffa (q), and Aurunca (q). The little territory of the

thereof. The privileges whereby a Roman citizen was constituted such, were his having a right to possess a house in Rome, to give his suffrage in the comitia, and to stand candidate for any public employment. The municipal towns enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizens, by a particular grant from the senate and people, without being obliged to change their own form of government.

(m) Fundi still retains the name of *Fundi*; it was situate between Terracina and Formiæ, sixteen miles from the former, and thirteen from the latter. It is mentioned by Hor. sat. 1. 5. 34. *Fundos libentur linquimus*. Near this place was the *Cæcubus ager*, famous for its excellent wine.

(n) Caieta, still known by its ancient name, is now a strong town, and harbour in the kingdom of Naples. It is said to have been so called from *Æneas*'s nurse, who was buried there, according to Virgil, *Æn.* 7.

*Tu quoque litorebus nostris Ænea matris
Æternam moriens samam Caieta dedisti.*

(o) Formiæ was situated between Caieta and Minturnæ, and is said by Strabo to have been built by the Lacedæmonians, by whom it was called *Opulenti diu rî rîqun*, à portus opportunitate. It was the ancient seat of the *Lastrigones*, and was famous for its good wine, Hor. lib. 1. od. 20. and for Cicero's country seat, *Formigam prædium*, in that neighbourhood. The ruins of the place are still to be seen not far from the town of *Melfe*. As to *Minturnæ*, see p. 142.

(p) This town, which stood in Campania, was called *Sueffa Aurunca*, to distinguish it from *Sueffa Pometia* in Latium. It was the birth place of Lucilius the satyrist, and is mentioned by Silius without its cognomen, *destruagæ bellæ Sueffa*. In Cicero's time it was a *municipium*, and is now called *Sessa*.

(q) Aurunca was an ancient city of new Latium, said to have been built by Auson, the son of Ulysses and Calypso, from whom this territory was called Ausonia, which name was afterwards extended to the whole country from the Circum præmontorium to the streights of Sicily.

Sidicini

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus. 2°.			In the second law of the Digest, <i>de origine</i>
C. Quintius Claudius.	482	272	<i>Juris</i> , it is observed,
L. Genucius.			that the surname of
Cn. Cornelius Blasio.	483	271	<i>Sophus</i> , or <i>sage</i> , had
C. Genucius Clepsina. 2°.			been given to none be-
Caius Fabius Pictor.	484	270	fore Sempronius, and
Q. Ogulnius Gallus.			was enjoyed by nobody
P. Sempronius Sophus.	485	269	after him: his works
App. Claudius Crassus.			are all lost.
L. Julius Libo.	486	268	<i>Pyrrho</i> , a Greek
M. Attilius Regulus.			philosopher, flourished
Nun. Fabius Pictor.	487	267	in the hundred and
Decius Junius Pera.			twentieth olympiad.
Q. Fabius Maximus	488	266	Doubting, which
Gurgus. 3°.			seems to be the founda-
L. Mamilius Vitulus.			tion of all philoso-
Appius Claudius Can-	489	265	phy, was the very
dex.			thing that bewildered
M. Fulvius Flaccus.			the Pyrrhonists. Un-
M. Valerius Flaccus	490	264	der a pretence that we
Messala.			judge of things only
M. Otacilius Crassus.			by comparison, that is,
L. Posthumius Megel-	491	263	by the relations they
lus.			bear to each other and
Q. Mamilius Vitulus.			to ourselves, they estab-
Lucius Valerius Flac-	492	262	lished it as a maxim,
cos.			that nothing can be
T. Otacilius Crassus.			either good or bad in
Cn. Cornelius Scipio	493	261	itself.
Afinus.			
C. Duillius Nepos.			<i>Tiberius Cornutarius</i> ,
L. Cornelius Scipio.	494	260	a Roman civilian, con-
C. Aquilius Florus.			sul in the year of
A. Attilius Calati-	495	259	Rome 473
nus.			He was the first that
C. Sulpitius Patercu-			gave public lectures of
lus.			jurisprudence at Rome;
C. Attilius Regulus	496	258	but his works were
Serranus.			not extant even in
Cn. Cornelius Blasio.			Justinian's time.
L. Manlius Vulso.	497	257	
Quintus Cædicius.			<i>Zeno</i> , a Greek phi-
In the room of the latter			losopher, chief of the
was substituted			Stoics, died in the hun-
Marcus Attilius Re-			dred and twenty ninth
gulus. 2°.			olympiad.
Ser. Fulvius Pertinus	498	256	He made the <i>summum bonum</i> consist in
Nobilior.			living agreeably to na-
M. Emilius Paulus.			ture, and according to
Cn.			L the

Sidicini consisted of the towns of Teanum (r), Atina (s), and Fregellæ (t).

418.

Valerius Corvus defeats the Ausones, and dispossesses them of *Cales* (u), almost the only town they had then remaining, out of such a number of provinces heretofore subject to their dominion. Before the foundation of Rome, the Ausones were possessed of all that part of Italy which extended from the Straits of Sicily as far as the country of the Volsci; and sometimes all Italy went under the name of Ausonia.

419.

The Romans send a colony to *Cales*.

420.

To this year we may refer the reduction of the *Sidicini*.

421.

A false report being spread, that the Gauls were making new preparations of war against the Romans, Papirius Crassus is named dictator. The Romans conclude an alliance with Alexander, king of Epirus, who had made a second descent into Italy, at the request of the Tarentines. Two new tribes were added to the old ones, which rendered the number in all twenty nine.

422.

An epidemical distemper raged this year in Rome, when several ladies are said to have made use of this opportunity to dispatch their husbands by poison, which they mixed in the medicines prepared for the sick. It is mentioned also that one of their she-slaves, having discovered the horrid conspiracy to the senate, the guilty ladies all by agreement drank the potion of their own preparing, which served at the same time for their conviction and punishment. Historians observe, that hitherto there had been no notice taken of assassination by poison in the Roman laws, so contrary was it to their manners. The

(r) *Teanum* was a town of Campania, in the Appian way, and still known by the name of *Tiano*. It was called *Sidicinum*, to distinguish it from *Teanum Apulum* in Apulia.

(s) *Atina* was a town of the Volscians, on a ridge of the Apennines, near the river Melpis. Virgil takes notice of it, *Æn.* lib. 7. *Tela nova Atina potens, Tiburque superbum*. It is still called *Atino*.

(t) *Fregellæ* was a town of Latium upon the river Liris, above the conflux of the *Troilus*: by its revolt from the Romans, it was quite destroyed, and was only a village even in Strabo's time, οὐ μὲν καί μιν, πάλαι δὲ γέγονε ἀξιόλογος. Hence Silius, lib. 5. says, *hunc tristis luxera Fregellæ*. It is now a village called *Ponte Corvo*.

(u) *Cale*, or *Cales* in the plural, was a town of Campania, between *Tiano* and *Casilino*, seven miles from the latter. Strabo, lib. 5. calls it *πάλαι ἀξιόλογον, urbem memorabilem*. It was famous for its excellent wine, thence called *Calenum*, Hor. lib. 1. od. 20. *Cacubum, & praele domitam Caleno, tu bibes uvam*.

senate

FIFTH CENTURY.

147

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.
Cn. Cornelius Scipio A. Attilius Calatinus.	499	355	the use of right reason; and his successors stretching this doctrine, maintained, that with virtue a person might be happy even in the midst of torments. They likewise asserted the lawfulness of laying violent hands on themselves, after their master's example, who is said to have strangled himself after a fall.
Cn. Servilius Cæpio.	500	354	
C. Sempronius Blaesus.			

senate appointed a dictator to drive a nail into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; a ceremony which they formerly had recourse to in dangerous conjunctures.

423.

The consuls lay siege to Privernum, the inhabitants of which city, in conjunction with those of Fundi, had ravaged the territories of their neighbours, the allies of Rome.

The *Ædiles* caused portico's to be built at the entrance of the Circus, from whence the chariots were to start at the races; this place was called *Carceres*.

424.

Privernum
taken.

The taking of Privernum: the town is dismantled, but the inhabitants obtain the freedom of Roman citizens, for which they were indebted to one of their countrymen, who was taken prisoner in this war. Being asked in the senate-house, what punishment he thought his fellow citizens deserved? *that punishment*, answered he, *which is due to men, who think themselves worthy of liberty*. This answer, truly Roman, pleased the greatest part of the senators; and they were of opinion, that a people, whose only desire was liberty, and whose only object of fear was slavery, deserved to be Romans.

A colony is sent to Anxur.

425.

Not long after, another colony was sent to Fregellæ, a city heretofore belonging to the territory of the Sidicini, but which had been seized upon and dismantled by the Samnites. As the Romans had subdued the country of the Sidicini, they thought they had a right to possess themselves of Fregellæ. This step set the Samnites once more at variance with the republic.

War with
the Palæpo-
litans.

War declared against the Palæpolitans: these people depending on the assistance of the Samnites, had committed great hostilities on the territories of Capua and mount Falernus. Palæpolis (x) was a town situate in the neighbourhood of Neapolis, on the frontiers of Magna Græcia, which was the eastern part of Italy, extending from Tarentum as far as Naples, and inhabited by Greek colonies.

A plebeian, whose name was Flavius, ordered the flesh of the victims that had been offered up at his mother's funeral, to be distributed among the people. This distribution of raw flesh (*visceratio*) in process of time became very common.

(x) *Palæpolis* stood almost on the same spot as *Neapolis*, or the present city of Naples, and was doubtless a part of the ancient Parthenope, which changed its name by the arrival of a new colony. It was called Parthenope from one of the Syrens, who was buried here, and whose tomb was still to be seen in Strabo's time, *Παρθενόπος, ὅπου θάψαντες μνήμα τῶν Σειρήνων μάλιστα Παρθενόπος*, lib. 5. Velleius says it was a colony of the *Cumani* that built Naples, which before went by the name of Parthenope Vell. lib. 1. Ovid calls it, in *otia natare Parthenopen*, a character which it still retains, being the seat of pleasure and amusement.

426.

Publius forms the blockade of Palæpolis; while Cornelius, his colleague, leads his troops into the neighbourhood of Samnium, to watch the motions of the Samnites, who threatened a rupture. These expeditions having hindered the consuls from coming to Rome to preside at the elections, the republic was for some time fallen into an interregnum.

427.

The Samnites come to an open rupture with Rome; the new consuls enter Samnium, and make themselves masters of several cities.

War with
the Sam-
nites.

Publius had received the title of proconsul from the people, in order to continue the siege of Palæpolis: he takes this city by holding correspondence with the enemy; and was the first man that obtained a triumph, without being either consul or dictator. Neapolis concludes an alliance with the Romans; and the example is followed by the Apulians (a) and Lucanians (c). Tarentum, formerly a Greek colony, grown jealous of the rapid success of the Romans, seduces the Lucanians to renounce their alliance, and to join the Samnites. The Tarentines had lately lost a powerful protector, which was Alexander, king of Epirus.

Abolition of the law, by which creditors were empowered to seize on the persons of their insolvent debtors, and to lay them in irons: the base and cruel treatment shewn by a creditor to his debtor's son, who had voluntarily surrendered himself in the place of his father, gave occasion to this new regulation.

428.

The Vestini (a), a people originally of Sabinia, declare for the Samnites, but are defeated by the consul Brutus. Camillus, the other consul, who was to have the conduct of the war against the Samnites, falling dangerously ill, Papirius Cursor is created dictator, who appoints Q. Fabius Rullianus, his general of horse, the first of the Fabian family that merited the surname of *Maximus*. The dictator was withheld by a religious scruple, just as he appeared within sight of

The Vestini
defeated.

(a) The Apulians inhabited that part of Italy, which extended from the river Frento quite to the Straights, parting Italy from Greece. The country of Apulia was divided into three parts, viz. *Daunia*, lying between the Frento and the Aufidus, now L'Ofanto; *Peucetia*, extending from the Aufidus to the isthmus between Brundisium and Tarentum; and *Messapia*, called also Calabria and Iapygia, comprehending the peninsula.

(c) The Lucanians inhabited that part of Italy which lay between the Silarus and the Lous, now the Laino, the former parting it from the country of the Picentini, and the latter from that of the Bruttii. Lucania was divided from Peucetia by the river Sinnus, now the Brandano; and from Calabria by the upper part of the Sinus Tarentinus, or gulf of Tarento.

(u) Their country lay eastward of Picenum, and contained the following cities, *Arundus*, *Pinna*, and *Avia*, or *Avella*, now called *Civita di St. Angelo*, *Civita di Pavia*, and *Aquila*.

Q. Fabius
defeats the
Samnites.

the enemy, remembering that there had been some obscurity in the auspices before his departure: and therefore he returns to Rome to renew this ceremony. Fabius, during his absence, and contrary to his orders, gives battle to the enemy, and obtains a complete victory, being said to have slain twenty thousand on the spot. Notwithstanding the importance of this advantage, death would have been his reward, if the assembly of the Roman people, and the tribunes to whom Fabius appealed, had not interceded in favour of the young conqueror. Papirius, upon his return to the camp, was obliged to undergo the slights of his whole army, who had a great affection for Fabius; the soldiers but faintly contributed to the victory, which the general, by his ability and prudence, obtained, in some measure, in spite of them. Papirius is continued in the dictatorship.

Papirius
Cursor de-
feats the
Samnites.

Papirius de-
feats the
Samnites a
second time.

Papirius defeats the Samnites a second time, and reduces them to sue for peace; for which he refers them to the senate, after having obliged them to cloath all his troops. The senate grant them only a year's truce.

430.

The Samnites break the truce before the expiration of the year, and draw the Apulians over to their party; but the presence of the two armies, commanded by the consuls, prevent them from undertaking any thing.

431.

The Sam-
nites and
Apulians
defeated.

This year the enemy shewed more courage; for they ventured an engagement with the Romans, and were defeated, the Samnites first, and afterwards the Apulians. The loss of the Samnites was so considerable, that they imagined they should never recover it: and, therefore, to appease the Romans, they came to a resolution to deliver up to them one of the principal men of the nation, whose name was Brutulus, and who was looked upon as the author of the breach of the truce: but Brutulus laid violent hands upon himself, before he was brought to Rome. Notwithstanding this submissive step of the Samnites, peace was refused them, very likely because they would not submit to particular conditions, which the Romans insisted on. Livy attributes the whole glory of the abovementioned victory over the Samnites to the dictator A. Cornelius; but it is believed by others, that he was named dictator merely to preside at the games in the absence of the consuls, and in consequence of the prator's illness.

432.

The Caudine
forks.

The Samnites being reduced to despair, have recourse again to arms, under the conduct of Pontius, one of their ablest generals. The Roman army arriving at a place called the *Caudine forks* (u), in Samnium,

(u) *Furca Caudina* or *Caudina Furcula*, were so called from the neighbouring town of Caudium, in the Appian way, between Calatia and Beneventum. Holstenius says there

nium, imprudently descend into a valley surrounded on all sides with mountains and inaccessible rocks. The consuls, deceived by false intelligence, imagined that the Samnite army was laying siege to Luceria (x) in Apulia; upon which they made what haste they could to get through this defile, in order to come up with the enemy, when they found themselves on a sudden hemmed in on all sides. The Romans, being thus vanquished, without having it in their power to fight, are forced to submit to ignominious terms; Pontius obliges them to pass under the yoke; and six hundred knights are given as hostages, to secure the performance of the promise made by the consuls. So much ignominy threw the Romans into the same despair, as had formerly possessed the hearts of the Samnites. They proceeded to Capua, a city at that time in alliance with the republic, without seeming to be affected with the hospitality and kind assistance of the inhabitants. Silent and melancholy, they moved on to Rome, which they entered by night. The whole city, thunderstruck at this fatal news, had already gone into mourning; the shops and courts of justice were shut up, as in times of the heaviest calamities. The consuls, in pursuance of an order of the senate, appoint a dictator to proceed to the election of their successors.

433.

There had been no treaty in form with the Samnites, so that the Romans looked upon themselves as discharged from every sort of obligation, by delivering up the consuls and the other officers concerned in the convention to the Samnites. Even Posthumius himself, one of the consuls of the preceding year, had made this proposal, which was a stronger proof of his magnanimity, than of the sincerity of the Romans. The Samnites despised this low artifice, and sent back the officers that were offered to be delivered up to them.

Advice being brought that the Capuans were preparing for a revolt, C. Mænius, a plebeian, is immediately created dictator, with a commission to enquire into crimes against the state. The heads of the conspiracy lay violent hands upon themselves, to avoid a more severe death.

Disturbances at Rome, occasioned by the encroachments of the dictator, who, under pretence of executing his commission, wanted to inquire into the practice of the nobility in canvassing for offices: but the discontent arising from this behaviour, obliges him to resign. Cornelius Lentulus, being nominated in his place, takes L. Papirius,

there is a village in this place, which still retaineth the name of *Furchia*. Near *Caudium* stands mount *Taburnus*, mentioned by Virgil, *Geor.* 2.

juvat *Ismara* *Baccho*

Conferre, atque olea magnam vestire Taburnum.

(x) Luceria was a Roman colony, situate on the confines of the *Hirpini*. Strabo takes notice of the ancient offerings in the temple of *Minerva* in this city, *ἡ πόλις τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὰ τῆς ἐν Δυκρίᾳ πάλαι ἀναθήματα*. It is now called *Lucera deli-Pagani*, situate in the province of *Capitanata*, in the kingdom of *Naples*.

The Samnites defeated in the neighbourhood of Caudium.

one of the consuls of the year, for his general of the horse. These two generals were entrusted to wipe off the disgrace, which the Roman arms had received the preceding year from the Samnites; Corneilius obtains a complete victory over them in the neighbourhood of Caudium; Papirius defeats them on the other side, and compels them to pass under the yoke before Luceria, with Pontius at their head. Here the Samnite general had confined the six hundred knights, who had been surrendered as hostages by the Romans; but now they were delivered back, together with the town.

434.

Ferentum taken.

The taking of Ferentum (y), a town of Apulia, in alliance with the Samnites. Papirius subdues and chastises the inhabitants of Satricum, who, after the affair of the Caudine forks, had received a garrison of the enemy. So high was this general then in reputation for valour and abilities, that Livy is not afraid to say, he would have been a match for Alexander the Great, had this prince, after the conquest of Asia, turned his arms towards Europe.

435.

A two years truce granted to the Samnites.

The Samnites, humbled by so many misfortunes, apply for peace to the Romans: the senate moved with their tears, were inclined to comply with their request; but it could not be done without the resolution of the people, who alone were possessed of the right of making peace and war. The comitia granted them only a two years truce.

The towns of Teanum (x) and Canusium (a), in Apulia, surrender to the Romans, and give hostages.

Livy, mentioning the number of troops that Rome was able at this time to set on foot, makes them amount to two hundred and fifty thousand. In all likelihood, the above enumeration was made in this year's census, though the same author takes no notice of it.

(y) This city was situate on the confines of Lucania, and by some writers is called *Forentum*. We find it mentioned by Horace—*quicumque salusque Bastinos, & arum pingue tenent humilis Ferenti*. It still retains the name of Forenza.

(x) *Teanum* was a city of Apulia, called *Teanum Apulorum*, to distinguish it from the other in the Appian way, known by the name of Sidicinum. Strabo, lib. 6, says, that τὸ Ἀπουλον Τεῖνον, *Teanum Apulum*, is ἐν μεσογαίᾳ, in *Mediterraneo situm*. Its remains are still to be seen upon the banks of the Frento, now *Fornio*, sixteen miles from the mouth of that river, at a place called *Civitate* in the province of *Capitanata*.

(a) *Canusium* was a town of Apulia, situate on the right bank of the river *Aufidus*, now *Ofanto*. It was famous for its fine wool of a ruddy colour, whence *lana Canusina*, Mart. 14. 127. and *Canusinatus*, one that has clothes made of that wool, id. 9. 23. They spoke a sort of mixed language, partly Greek, and partly Latin. Hence Hor. *Canusini more bilinguis*. It is mentioned by Silius, lib. 10,

*Jam Latius Ise Canusina in moenia miles
Colligere corperat.*

Which shews it was not far from the famous village of *Cannæ*, where Hannibal gained so complete a victory over the Romans. This town is still called *Canosa*, and belongs to the province of Bari in the kingdom of Naples.

Two

FIFTH CENTURY.

159

Two new tribes are added to the old ones, which made the number in all thirty one.

This very year, a præfect, or governor (præfectus) was sent to Capua, at the request of the inhabitants, in order to pacify their intestine broils. The name of *præfectures* was given to towns that were not at liberty to act according to their old laws, viz. those by which they had been governed, before they became subject to Rome. They were directed by such laws only, as the præfect, who was sent yearly by the Romans, thought proper to prescribe (b). Of these præfects, some were chosen by the people of Rome, and others received their commission from the prætor.

436.

The inhabitants of Antium, in imitation of those of Capua, had recourse to the republic for laws; this colony, however, was not erected into a præfecture, it was only regulated, that it should be governed by its patrons. It was then the custom not only for families, but intire cities, to chuse patrons at Rome: and upon the enlargement of the empire, whole provinces used to put themselves under the protection of some potent senator,

437.

At the expiration of the truce, the Samnites have recourse again to arms, and are defeated by the dictator L. Æmilius.

The Samnites defeated.

438.

A dictator was likewise this year appointed to command the Roman armies. Q. Fabius nominates Aulus Cerretanus his master of the horse, who, in the very first engagement, slays the general of the Samnites, and is killed soon after himself, by this general's brother. In a second engagement, the dictator sets fire to a few tents, as if he intended to burn the camp, in order to deprive his men of any other resource than that of conquest: but his real intention was only to make a signal to some fresh troops which were marching from Rome, under the command of the new general of the horse; they arrived time enough to attack the enemy, and gained a complete victory.

The Samnites defeated.

439.

The consuls make themselves masters of Sora (c), the siege of which city had been commenced the preceding year: it was still in a condition to hold out a long time, because of its advantageous situation;

(b) These were generally places whose fidelity was suspected, or that had incurred the displeasure of the republic: their condition was the hardest of any of the people of Italy.

(c) Sora was a town of the Volscians, in Campania, situate upon the river Liris, above *Fregella*, and still known by its ancient name. Ptolemy mentions it as a Latin town; and Juvenal, sat. 3. commends it for the goodness of its accommodations:

Si potes avelli Circensibus, optima Sora,

aut Fabrateria domus, aut Frusinone paratur.

but

The Sam-
nites de-
feated near
Caudium.

but a deserter shewed the Romans a path leading to the citadel, so that the place was taken almost without resistance; and several other towns, as Aufona (*d*), Minturnæ, and Vescia (*e*), were taken in the same manner by surprize.

The Samnites, being drawn into the plains of Campania, in hopes of seeing the Campanians up in arms, were cut in pieces by the consul Sulpicius, and thirty thousand of them are said to have been left dead on the spot. The Campanians are overawed by the army of C. Marius, who was named dictator the second time.

440.

The Romans then were fond of creating dictators, from what motives it is uncertain; a conduct, which, as M. Rollin observes, tended, in some measure, to debase this magistracy, heretofore considered as the last resource in the most pressing emergencies of the state. The new dictator, C. Pætilius Libo, wrests Fregellæ from the Samnites, and thence proceeding to Campania, makes himself master of Nola (*f*), Atina (*g*), and Calatia (*h*), undergo the same fate.

This year happened an event, which shews how careful the Romans were to observe a proper decency in their religious worship. Appius Claudius, as curule ædile, having attempted to abridge the privileges of players on instruments, who attended the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies; those officers, whose number was prodigious, went into voluntary exile: but the people recalled them, annulled the ædile's decree, and granted them new privileges.

(*d*) *Aufona* was a town of the Aufones, mentioned by Livy, lib. 9. and by no other historian, *Aufona*, & *Minturnæ*, & *Vescia urbes erant*; there are no vestiges of it remaining, nor have we any account of its situation.

(*e*) *Vescia* was an ancient city of the Aufones, mentioned by Livy, lib. 9. In Byzantius's epitome it is called Βασίλια ὠλίας Αὐφώνων. Hence we have *Vescinus saltus* and *ager Vescinus* in Cic. Agrar. 2. In Hyginus's book *de limitibus* we meet with a description of *mons Vescini* above *Minturnæ*.

(*f*) *Nola* was a town of Campania, built, as some pretend, by the Chalcidenses, or as others, by the Tuscans. Here the first stand was made against Hannibal by Marcellus, and here Augustus died. It still retains its ancient name, and is famous for being the place where bells were first invented, or at least first used in churches.

(*g*) A city of the Volscians, situate on the river *Melpis*, and still called *Atina*. The second syllable is long, as appears from Virgil, *Æn.* 7.

Tela novant Atina potens, Tiburque superbum.

It was a *præfectura* before it became a colony under the Cæsars. Cic. pro Planc. *bicq. 2 præfectura Atinati.*

(*h*) A city of Campania, situate near the river *Vulturnus*, now *Volturno*, in the Applan way, between *Capua* and *Beneventum*. It is mentioned by Silius, lib. 8.

— nec parvis aberat Calatia moris.

The inhabitants were called *Calatini*; but its present name is *Gaietanus*.

Colonies

FIFTH CENTURY.

158

Colonies sent to Sueffa, Interamna (i), Casinum (4), and the isle of Pontia (4).

441.

A war at this time was apprehended with the Hetrurians, which gave occasion to the naming of C. Sulpicius Longus to the dictatorship; but the Hetrurians kept within their own limits.

The censor, Appius Claudius, who had served the office of ædile, began about this time the famous Appian road, leading from Rome to Capua; this, afterwards, served as a model of those boasted highways, which led from Rome, and were carried through the whole Roman empire. At the same time he caused an aqueduct to be built, in order to supply the city with more wholesome water than that of the Tiber, or that drawn from wells, which they had been hitherto obliged to make use of. Appius, like his ancestors, was a steady and enterprising man; but being more desirous of power than of glory, more ambitious of a great name than of a solid reputation, he ran into several innovations, which rendered him odious. He degraded a considerable number of ancient senators, to make room for the sons of freedmen, who were intirely at his disposal. Another innovation, which the Pagan historians pretend to have been punished by the gods, was his obliging the priests of Hercules to resign their office to public slaves; last of all, he persuaded his colleague to lay down, and kept possession of the censorship during the space of five years, notwithstanding that he was detested by the greatest part of the senate.

(i) *Interamna*, now, by corruption, *Teramo*, was a town situate in the *ager Picenus*, and country of the *Prætutii*, so called *quod inter duos amnes sita*, which two rivers were the *Matrinus* and the *Vomanius*. Near the mouth of the *Matrinus* stood the city of *Castrum novum*, now *Flaviano*, and the port of *Hadria*, which gave name to the Adriatic sea, and now called *Porto di Atri*. The river *Vomanius* still retains its name, *Vomano*. It is mentioned by Silius, lib. 8. *Statque humefata Vomano Hadria*. A little further on is the river *Aternus*, now called *Pescara*. There was another *Interamna* in Umbria.

(4) *Casinum* was a town of Campania in Italy, formerly a *municipium*, as we find by an ancient inscription in Gruterus. Some authors write the name of this place with a double *I*, which is contrary to the authority of Livy, and all ancient MSS: *Ut sit in agrum Casinatem ducat*, Liv. lib. 22. It is now called *Monte Casino*, famous for an ancient abbey of Benedictines.

(i) Concerning this island there are great disputes among the learned. Strabo, Ptolemy, Diodorus, have *Insula*, in the singular; Mela, Pliny, and Livy, make use of the plural, *Pontia*. Pliny expresses the situation, *adversum Formias Pontia*. Livy plainly declares it to be one island, *Vulsci Pontias insulam sitam in conspectu litoris sui insulam*, lib. 9. Cellarius is of opinion, that there were several of those islands, the largest of which was properly called *Pontia*, and still retains the name of *Pontia*; and that the adjacent islands from thence also were sometimes named *Pontia*. In Antoninus's Itinerary we find the following passage: *insula numero III. (or according to some copies IIII) Pontia, a Terracina, Stadia CCC.* This island was a Roman colony, famous, under the emperors, for being the place to which persons of rank were banished.

The new consuls cancel the list of senators, which had been made by Appius; this was an arbitrary proceeding, yet it met with the approbation of all honest men.

The people assembled in the comitia, assume the privilege of choosing sixteen legionary tribunes, leaving the consuls, or the dictator, to name the other eight: but this law was changed a little while after. Another regulation of greater importance was drawn up in the comitia, ordaining that the people should appoint two officers, called *duumviri*, to take upon them the care of equipping a fleet, and refitting the ships. The Romans seem to have hitherto had no other than trading vessels.

Brutus and Æmilius fight with equal success, the one against the Hetrurians, whom he obliges to raise the siege of Sutrium (m), a Roman colony; the other against the Samnites. The consequence of the latter victory, was the taking first of Cluvia (n), and then of Bovianum (o), an opulent city, which was given up to be plundered by the soldiers. From thence the Romans advanced to the forest of Averna (p) in Campania, whither the Samnites had conveyed all their cattle, with a design to draw the enemy into an ambuscade; and, indeed, the Roman legions were very near falling into new Caudine forks. Their valour, and the thirst of plunder, extricated them out of this difficulty; and twenty thousand Samnites were left dead upon the spot.

The Samnites defeated.

War with the Hetrurians.

443.

The Roman arms did not succeed in all places alike this year. Fabius obtained two victories over the Hetrurians, in the neighbourhood of Sutrium, though they were far superior to him in number: he killed sixty thousand, and had the glory of being the first that opened a passage for the Romans through the Ciminian forest (q), hitherto deemed impassable; and thereby he paved the way for the conquest of Hetruria. On the other hand, the Samnites gained two

(m) *Sutrium* was an ancient colony of the Romans in Hetruria, called by Livy *clausura Etruria*. It was greatly improved by Augustus, as we find by an ancient inscription in Gruterus, where it is called *Colonia Julia Sutria*. Its situation in the *via Clodia* is described by Antoninus: *Foro Cassii Sutrium M. P. XI. Baunas M. P. XII. Roman M. P. XXI.* It still retains the name of *Sutri*.

(n) *Cluvia* was a town of the Samnites, known only by its name in Livy, lib. 9: where he calls it *praefidium Romanum*.

(o) *Bovianum* was a town of the Samnites, which Livy calls *Pentrorum caput*. It was situate at the foot of the Apennine mountains, near the springs of the river *Tiferus*, now *Tiferno*, which runs into the gulph of Venice, not far from *Termini*. The Italians now call it *Boiano*.

(p) Virgil mentions this forest, *Æn.* 3. *Diviosque lacus, & Averna senantia silvas*. It is said to have been cut down by Agrippa, when he built the *portus Julius*.

(q) This is the *Ciminus mons* or *saltus*, in the neighbourhood of Viterbo; here was also a lake mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* 7. *Et Cimini cum monte lacus, lacusque Capenos*.

considerable

considerable advantages over the Romans. P. Cornelius having been entrusted with the command of a fleet, in order to make a descent upon the coast, was met by a party of the Samnites, who carried off his booty. The consul Marcius was likewise worsted in an engagement: upon hearing the news of these misfortunes, the senate chose Papirius to be appointed dictator.

444.

The republic looked upon this great general as alone sufficient to hold the reins of government during his dictatorship; in consequence of which no consuls were chosen. Fabius was continued in *Hetruria* with the title of proconsul, where he fought against the Umbrians, at that time in alliance with the *Hetrurians*, and routed them at the very first onset; after this, he obtained a victory in the neighbourhood of *Viterbo* (r), over the *Hetrurians* themselves, whom *Livy* mentions to have assembled a numerous army, and to have bound themselves by a sacred law. It is not well known what was meant by this sacred law: this however is certain, that it had so strong an influence on the minds of the *Hetrurians*, that not one of them gave ground, while they had to contend only with the Roman infantry. They cut the first and second line in pieces; so that the third, consisting of soldiers, called *Triarii*, were brought to the charge, and supported by the cavalry, who dismounted. At length the *Hetrurians* were obliged to fly in the utmost confusion, and the flower of their youth were cut in pieces.

Papirius has the same success against the Samnites. The battle of *Longula* (s) where he obtains a complete victory. This is the last time that Papirius (r) appeared on the stage.

445.

Fabius obtains some advantages over the Samnites, and their allies the *Marfi* (a) and *Peligni* (x). Then he marches to join his colleague *Decius*, who, after having obliged the *Hetrurians* to sue for a year's truce, was upon the point of coming to an engagement with the Umbrians. These people had formed a design of marching to Rome;

(r) A city of Tuscany; it was formerly called *Fanum Voltumnae*.

(s) A town on the frontiers of the *Volsci*, of which there are no remains.

(t) He was called *Curser* for his remarkable strength of body, and swiftness in running.

(a) The *Marfi* were a people of Italy, seated in an inland country, the *Peligni* and *Vestini* being between them and the Adriatic. On the other side the Apennines, they bordered on the countries of the *Sabini* and *Aequi*. They had only two cities, *Alba Fucina*, so called from the lake *Fucinus*, now *lago di Celano*, near which it stood; and *Marrubium*. The former still retains the ancient name of *Alba*: but the latter is now called *Morrea*.

(x) The *Peligni* were a people of Italy, inhabiting a small tract between the countries of the *Vestini* and *Marrucini* to the north, and the Apennines to the south. Their territory now maketh the hither Abruzzo in the kingdom of Naples: their chief cities were *Cosentinum*, now destroyed, and *Sulmo*, still called *Sutrinum*.

which

The Umbrians defeated.

which obliged Decius to make his army advance, in order to prevent their approaching that capital: on the other hand, Fabius falls upon the enemy, and obtains a complete victory. Little or no blood was spilt in this battle; almost the whole Umbrian army laid down their arms, and were made prisoners of war.

446.

The battle of Allifæ.

War with the Salernitines.

Further progress of Fabius in Samnium, where he continued to command as proconsul. He defeats the Samnites at Allifæ (s), on the banks of the Volturnus, takes their camp by capitulation, and obliges them to pass under the yoke. The allies of the Samnites are made slaves; and seven thousand of them are sold by auction. The consul Volturnus carries on the war with success against the Salernitines (x), a nation situate in the farthest part of Italy; while Appian, his colleague, staid at Rome, where he busied himself, according to custom, with domestic intrigues: and it is thought that he was then employed to digest the forms of processes, *legi actiones*, in order to compose a body of jurisprudence. His secretary, Cneus Flavius, laid hold of this opportunity to take a copy of the pontifical archives, the *fasti*, and the abovementioned forms of processes, which he afterwards published in his edileship. This was called the *Flavian code*, but is not come down to us.

447.

The Samnites intirely routed.

Thirty thousand Samnites are slain in battle: the consul Marcius obliges them to furnish the Roman armies with provisions for three months, to give them a year's pay, and to furnish each soldier with one habit. It has been observed, that after this consulate, the Romans always kept up the custom of carrying on war at the expence of the conquered enemy.

Livy makes mention of a third treaty, concluded about this time between Rome and Carthage.

448.

The Samnites lose two battles.

The Samnites lose two bloody battles, in one of which Manucius is killed. Nothing less than such a series of successes could have humbled those proud enemies of Rome, who, though always defeated, were never conquered, but seemed to derive new strength from their losses.

449.

They submit, and are admitted to a renewal of their alliance with the republic, as before the war.

(s) Allifæ was a town of Campania, on the left bank of the Volturnus, and still called Allif. Silius, lib. 8. has it in the singular number,

Allifæ, & Glanis continet semper Actore.

(x) The Salernitini inhabited the eastern part of Italy over against Epirus; their chief cities were Tarentum, Brundisium, and Hydrunt.

The consuls receive orders to march against the *Æqui*, and to cha-^{The *Æqui* subdued.}llenge them for having assisted the Samnites during the war: upon their approach, the enemy's army is dispersed. The Roman generals having divided their forces, in order to begin different sieges, took and destroyed forty one towns in fifty days. By these devastations, the whole nation of the *Æqui* was almost exterminated. The *Marrucini* (a), *Marfi*, *Peligni*, and *Frentani* (b) send deputies to Rome to sue for peace, which is granted them.

This year Fabius, whom we have seen honoured with so many victories, was censor. In imitation of king Servius Tullius, he re-organized into the four city tribes, the freedmen, and the meanest of the populace, who had been dispersed among all the tribes, where they constantly formed a plurality of votes. This reformation was so agreeable to the republic, that Fabius acquired thereby the surname of *Maximus*, which was transmitted to his descendants.

He is said also to have instituted the solemn review of the Roman knights, which was made every year, on the fifteenth of July, by the consuls. These same knights had been long entranced with the custom of celebrating the *Lupercalia* (c), a ludicrous and indecent festival.

A colony of four thousand men is sent to Sora, and another of six thousand to Alba (d), a town situated in the country of the *Marfi*.

This same town of Alba overawed the whole territory of the *Æqui*, who bore it so impatiently, that they had recourse again to arms. Janus Brutus being appointed dictator, marches against these people, and subdues them in eight days.

(a) The *Marrucini* were a people of Italy, inhabiting a small tract of country between the *Vesini* and the *Peligni*; they had but one city, *Teate*, now *Chieti*. Silius, lib. 8, calls it *Magnumque Teate*.

(b) The *Frentani* inhabited the *Frentana regio*, a country of Italy, on the sea coast next to the *Marrucini*, betwixt the rivers *Tifernus* and *Aternus* in hither *Abruzzo*. It took its name from the river *Frente*, now *Fortore*.

(c) The *Lupercalia* were a festival established by Evander, in honour of Pan, the god of shepherds, called in Greek *λύκιστος*, from *λύκος*, a wolf, in Latin *lupus*, because his chief employment was to protect the sheep against those beasts: it was celebrated the fifteenth day before the kalends of March. Some think with Pletarch, that the *Lupercalia* were instituted in honour of the wolf, that suckled Romulus and Remus. The *Luperci* were the most ancient order of priests: there were two companies of them, the *Fabiani* and the *Quintiliani*, so called from two of their chief priests: one was for Romulus, and the other for Remus. Dio mentions a third, called *Julii*, instituted in honour of Julius Caesar. The day of the celebration of their festival was anciently named *Februus*, at which time they ran naked about the streets, lashing all they met in their procession.

(d) Situate on the lake *Fucinus*, whence it was called *Alba Fucensis* or *Fornina*; and the inhabitants were siled *Albanes*. It still retains its old name.

Brutus, during his dictatorship, performed the ceremony of consecrating the temple of *health*, which he had built on the *mons Quirinalis* in consequence of a vow.

War with
the Mar-
si and Hetru-
rians.

453. War with the Mar-
si and the Hetru-
rians, who are soon reduced by
Fabius Maximus and Valerius Corvus: these two were successively
created dictators, and continued in office the whole year.

Plebeian
pontifices.

453. Two tribunes of the people, both of the name of Ogulnius, insist on the plebeians being admitted to the pontificate, and to the college of Augurs; the only two offices remaining, which the people did not share with the patricians. This contest between the two orders was carried on with a warmth proportioned to the importance of the object. Appius Claudius was at the head of the patricians, and Decius Mus was a zealous defender of the plebeians; but the latter prevailed. The people convened in tribes, admit the Ogulnian law, which added four new pontifices to the four of ancient creation, and five new augurs to the former four. The first plebeian pontifices, were Decius Mus, Sempronius Sophus, C. Marcius Rutilus, and M. Livius Denther: the first augurs were C. Genucius, P. Ælius Patus, M. Minucius Fessus, C. Marcius, and T. Pubilius: this regulation continued till the dictatorship of Sylla.

Valerius Corvus, at that time in his fifth consulate, revived the law which allowed of appeals to the people; a law made by Valerius Publicola, one of his ancestors, restored afterwards by another Valerius, and insensibly grown obsolete. It is observable, that this law denounced no punishment against the transgressors; it only mentioned, that *to act otherwise, would be acting wrong*. Where is the man, says Livy, that would make such a menace now in earnest?

The Æqui begin to raise new disturbances.

454. The consul Fulvius makes himself master of Nequinum, afterwards called Narnia (e), a town in Umbria, the siege of which had been undertaken the preceding year. The Romans had no other war upon their hands at that time. The celebrated Fabius, having heard they were going to chuse him consul, sends to desire the centuries to reserve their votes for another occasion, when there would be more glory to acquire.

The inhabitants of Picenum (f) conclude an alliance with the re-

(e) It is so called from the river *Nar*, that runs by it; and it still retains the name of Narni. Silius describes its situation, which is upon a rock, *Hispellum, & duro monti per saxa recumbens*—*Narnia*, lib. 8.

(f) Picenum was a district of Italy, situate between the *Æfi* and the *Alturnus*, now Pescara, extending from the Adriatic to the Apennines, where it joined Umbria; and beyond them, reaching to the country of the Sabini. It now includes the further Abruzzo, with some part of the marquisate of Ancona,

public.

public. The Hetrurians had taken up arms, without waiting for the expiration of the truce concluded with the republic; the consul Manlius received orders to chastise them, but being killed by a fall from his horse, Valerius Corvus was appointed to succeed him. The enemy not daring to meet him in the field, he lays waste their whole country. After this expedition, Valerius retired from business: he had been raised one and twenty times to curule offices, an extraordinary honour which no Roman ever enjoyed before or after him; and he died upwards of a hundred years old.

Curius Dentatus, tribune of the people, obliges the senate to confirm the custom of always joining a plebeian with a patrician in the consulate.

Two tribes are added to the former ones, by which means they increase to thirty three.

455.

Fabius defeats the Hetrurians, and afterwards the Samnites, who had broke with Rome, by waging war against the Lucanians, her allies. The battle against the Samnites was fought in the neighbourhood of Bovianum, which fell a cheap prize to the conqueror, and soon after *Aufidena* (g) was also taken. Livy gives the glory of the Hetrurian expedition to the consul Scipio; but he is contradicted by the *Fasti Capitolini*.

The Hetrurians and Samnites defeated.

A colony is sent to *Carfale* (h), among the *Æqui*. Fabius being chosen consul against his will the fourth time, desires the people to give him Decius Mus for his colleague, and obtains his request without difficulty.

456.

The republic stood in need of these two great men, being at the eve of a war with the two most potent nations in her neighbourhood, that were making extraordinary preparations for this campaign: but the Hetrurians having come to a resolution to ask for peace, the whole force of the republic was directed against the Samnites. The Apulians would have joined the latter before they came to an engagement, if the consul Decius, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Maleventum (i), (afterwards called Beneventum) had not attacked their army, and put them to flight: so that he may be said to have greatly contributed to the victory which Fabius obtained over the Samnites. The two consular armies ravage Samnium five months together. At

The Samnites defeated.

(g) *Aufidena* was a town of the Samnites, now *Alfidena*, in the hither Abruzzo. It stood on the river *Sagrus*, now *Il Sangro*, which, according to Strabo, lib. 5. divides the Frentani from the Peligni, ὁ Ζάγρος ἐνὸς αἵματος ὁρίζων τὰς φρεττανὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πελινγίων.

(h) *Carfale* was a town of Italy, between Tuder and Spolegium, now Todi and Spoleto, nine miles from Narnia, and twenty one from Mevania, now Bevagna, as Hoffmann has calculated. Strabo calls it *Καρφύλαι*. It is now in ruins.

(i) It was built by Diomedes; the name of *Maleventum*, as Procopius, lib. 1. Goth. observes, was owing to the unwholesome winds that blow there; upon its being made a Roman colony, it changed its name for that of Beneventum, which it still retains.

their return, they are continued in command six months, with the title of proconsuls.

457.

Fabius spends the six months of his proconsulship in awing the Lucanians, who had taken up arms, and were ready to join the Samnites. Decius, assisted by the consul Voluminius, takes from the Samnites the important cities of Murgantia (4), Romulea (5), and Ferentinum, where he seizes on a considerable booty. The terror of the Roman arms makes the Samnites fly; they take shelter among the Hetrurians, and raise another storm against the republic. Ap- pius enters Hetruria at the head of two legions, besides two thousand auxiliaries; and in the beginning meets with some repulses.

The Sam-
nites and
Hetrurians
defeated.

His colleague having joined him with two fresh legions, they defeat the confederates: Voluminius returns to his own province, in order to oppose the Samnites, who, contrary to all expectation, had raised a new army, and were ravaging Campania: but he cuts them in pieces, and recovers all the spoil they had taken. This victory raised the spirits of the senate, who had been alarmed at a report, that while the Samnites were acting in Campania, the confederates would again take up arms in Hetruria: that the Umbrians were going to break with Rome; and that the Gauls were strongly solicited to declare war against the republic. At Rome all civil affairs were suspended, nor did the suspension cease, till the news of Voluminius's last victory; and then public prayers were ordained in honour to this general.

The republic sends two colonies to cover Campania, one to the mouth of the Liris, which was called Minturnæ; the other to a town known by the name of Sinope, which was said to have been built by the Greeks, and then changed its name to that of Sinuessa. Livy, as M. Rollin observes, making mention of these two cities long before, gives them these very names which they did not bear till a great while after.

Aula Virginia, wife of the consul Voluminius, erects a temple to *plebeian chastity*, in imitation of the sanctuary long before established at Rome in honour of *patrician chastity*, where the wives of the nobility alone had a right to enter, and to perform the function of priestesses.

458.

War with
the Hetrur-
rians, Sam-
nites, Um-
brians, and
Gauls.
Battle of
Sentinum.

Certain advice being received, of a confederacy among the Hetrurians, the Samnites, the Umbrians, and the Gauls; the republic conferred the consulate on Q. Fabius and Decius Mus, her two ablest generals. The battle of Sentinum (m), in Umbria, where the Ro-

(4) *Murgantia* was a city of Samnium, situate on the river Tamara, near the Apennine. Livy calls it *valida urbs*; but there are no remains of it at present.

(5) *Romulea* in Antoninus's Itinerary is also called *Subromula*; but of neither this town, nor of Ferentinum, are there any vestiges remaining.

(m) It is situate at the foot of the Apennine, not far from *Helvillum*, and still retains the name of *Sentinus*. Livy mentions in *Sentinus agro*,

mans

mans had only to deal with the Gauls and the Samnites; for the Hetrurians and Umbrians were employed against the *proprators* Fulvius and Posthumius, who were making a diversion in Hetruria, in pursuance of Fabius's order: yet the enemy's army was greatly superior to the Romans. The consul Decius, seeing the left wing give way, where he commanded against the Gauls, devotes himself to death, in imitation of his father; and his death turned the fortune of the day. In the right wing, Fabius, as well by his prudence as by his valour, gained the whole advantage: knowing that the Samnites were formidable only at the first onset, he received them with all the coolness becoming his age and experience; and when he perceived that they had spent their strength, he ordered his troops, which were almost fresh, to attack the enemy briskly; this they accordingly did, and obtained an easy victory. It is reckoned, that five and twenty thousand of the confederates were left dead on the spot, and eight thousand taken prisoners: among the former was Egnatius, general of the Samnites: the Romans, on their side, lost only nine thousand two hundred men. This is looked upon as the most signal victory hitherto obtained by the Romans. Fabius, the conqueror of four the most formidable nations in Italy, had not yet ended this glorious campaign; while he was triumphing at Rome, the Hetrurians raised a new army, with the assistance of the Perusini (a). He leads his troops again to Hetruria, and gains another victory: thus ended the last consulate of this hero, who did not cease to conquer, till age had disabled him from bearing arms.

Signal victory over the Samnites and Gauls.

The Hetrurians defeated.

In Samnium, Volumnius was left to command the army, with the title of proconsul: having driven the enemy to the foot of mount Tifernus (b), he defeated them in a pitched battle. This was only a prelude to a much greater victory; the Samnites having divided themselves into two bodies, came and ravaged the territories of the Roman allies. Appius Claudius, this year's prætor, put himself at the head of the army, which had been commanded by Decius; and he on one side, with Volumnius on the other, hemmed the enemy in so close, that they were obliged to unite their whole force in the *Campi Stellati*; this is a plain situated in Campania, between the Volturnus and the Sarno (c), where it forms a kind of valley surrounded with mountains. There they fought a most bloody battle; but the Romans at length prevailed, having killed sixteen thousand three hundred of the enemy, and taken two thousand seven hundred prisoners.

The Samnites defeated.

The Samnites again defeated.

(a) The *Perusini* were the inhabitants of *Perusia*, now *Perugia*, a city of Hetruria, in the midway between Rome and Florence. Livy calls it *Urbs Validissima*, lib. 10. Near it was the famous lake *Trafimennus*, so fatal to the Romans, in the second Punic war.

(b) It seems there was a mountain, a town, and a river that all went by this name. Pliny, lib. 13. mentions *Tifernus amnis*; Livy, lib. 10. take notice that the Samnites were driven in *Tifernum montem*; and lib. 9. he says, *quum Tifernum Posthumus petisset, ad Tifernum pugnatum*, where he means a town.

(c) Now called *Sarno*.

At Rome, Fabius Gurgēs, curule ædile, son of the great Fabius, caused several women, who had been convicted of adultery, to be fined by a decree of the people; and with the money he erected a temple to Venus.

459.

The Samnites had now waged war with the Romans these forty years, and always to their disadvantage; yet they were not discouraged. But the historian who relates their transactions, and the reader, who constantly finds the same object before him, must surely be tired. For, as Livy observes, *Quinam sit ille, quem non pigeat longinquitatis bellorum scribendo legendoque, quæ gerentes non fatigaverunt?* (Lib. 10. §. 31.)

The Samnites twice defeated.

The two consuls are ordered to penetrate into Samnium; but Posthumius falling sick, Attilius takes the command of the army upon himself; and is very near being surprized in his camp, on the confines of Campania. His colleague is dispatched with another army to his assistance; upon which the enemy retire with precipitation, and are pursued by the consuls. Posthumius takes Milionia (q) by storm, and possesses himself of Triventum (r), which the enemy had abandoned, together with the neighbouring country. Perceiving there was no further glory to be acquired in those parts, he marched into Hetruria, and compelled the lucumonies of Volsinii, Perugia, and Arretium (s), to sue for peace: but they obtained only a truce of forty years. On the other hand, Attilius gains two victories over the Samnites, and obliges them to pass under the yoke. Before he set out upon this expedition, Volumnius had performed the dedication of the temple of Victory, which was built to fulfil a vow.

By the list of the people taken this year, it appeared that there were two hundred and seventy thousand citizens able to bear arms. This lustrum was followed by a new list of senators, drawn up by the censors. Q. Fabius Maximus, that illustrious old man, was placed at their head, with the title of *prince of the senate*. Fabius Ambustus, his father, had enjoyed the same honour, and it was afterwards conferred on his son Fabius Gurgēs; which historians mention as a very extraordinary distinction. The title of *prince of the senate* was bestowed upon that person, whom the censors ranked first in the list of senators: it was not an honour for life; but, in all probability, used to be granted at every new election of censors.

(q) The learned are not agreed whether this town was in Samnium or in the country of the Marfi. There are no vestiges of it remaining.

(r) Triventum or Triventium and Treventum was a town of the Samnites, now called Trivento, situate on the river Trinius, now Trigno, which Pliny, lib. 3. calls *flumen partuosum*. The same author calls the inhabitants *Treventinates*.

(s) In ancient inscriptions we always find it with *re*, Arretium. It was a city of Hetruria, now called *Arezzo*, situate near the rivers Arnus and Clanis. Silius mentions it, lib. 5.

Arreti muros, Coris nunc diruat arcem.

460.

Battle of Aquilonia (i), fought against the Samnites by L. Papirius Cursor, heir to the name and valour of the great Papirius. The battle of Aquilonia.

The Romans proved victorious, to their very great honour. They had to deal with upwards of forty thousand Samnites, one half of whom had devoted themselves to Jupiter, with horrid imprecations, and most awful ceremonies. This part of the Samnite army, was called the *legio linteata*, or the *linen legion*, because of the canopy, or covering of linen in the camp, where they bound themselves by oath. *Legio linteata.* There the priest had collected every thing capable of heightening that solemn terror, with which the minds of people are seized in performing the rites of religion: such as altars smoaking with incense, reeking with blood, and covered with yet trembling victims: centurions ranged in order, in profound silence, and with drawn swords: a pontiff, venerable by his age and garb, who administered to the soldiers the most solemn oath, whereby they desired that the curses of the gods might fall upon them, their family, and their whole race, if they turned their backs in battle, or if they did not instantly kill those who should attempt to fly. Every one that hesitated to pronounce these horrid imprecations, was immediately stabbed; and his carcass being tumbled pell-mell at the foot of the altar, served to increase the horror of the lugubrious ceremony. To those men who had thus devoted themselves, they gave magnificent bucklers, and helmets adorned with stately crests, that they might be distinguished from the rest, which was the very thing that occasioned the ruin of the Samnites. Papirius being informed by deserters, of what had passed in the enemy's camp, fell with his whole force on that remarkable corps, and as soon as he obliged them to give way, the rest were easily put to flight. The taking of Aquilonia, was a consequence of this victory. At the same time, the consul Carvilius stormed the important city of Cominium (u), the siege of which had been undertaken at the opening of the campaign. These two cities were delivered up to be plundered by the soldiers.

The consuls having afterwards separated their forces in order to form sieges, advice was brought that the Hetrurians threatened once more to invade the republic, and had been joined by the Falisci, the ancient allies of Rome. This was a new scene of glory to Carvilius, to whose lot it fell to have the conduct of the Hetrurian war. Papirius performs the dedication of a new temple, which his father had vowed to the god Quirinus. Upon this temple was fixed a sun-dial (x), the first sun-dial at Rome.

(i) A city of the *Hirpini* in Italy, upon the borders of Apulia, near the river *Aufidus*, and now called *La Cedeigna*. Pliny calls the inhabitants *Aquiloni*, which Cluverius takes to be an abbreviation for *Aquilonienses*.

(u) Some place this city in Samnium, but it more properly belongs to the country of Hirpini, because Livy places it near to Aquilonia.

(x) Before this time, the Romans marked only the rising and setting of the sun, but latterly, they observed also the hour of noon, by proclaiming it was mid-day, when

first that had been ever seen at Rome. Carvilius also built the temple of Fortune. The curule ædiles made a law, which permitted the citizens, that had been honoured with military crowns, to be present at the public shows with this mark of distinction on their heads; and to conquerors, to appear on the same occasions with palms in their hands.

461.

This year did not prove so favourable to the republic: the plague raged with such violence at Rome, that her enemies were encouraged to commit new hostilities; when it quickly appeared that she wanted generals capable of maintaining the glory of the preceding consuls. Indeed Brutus Scæva, with the assistance of Carvilius, who had been appointed his lieutenant, did pretty well against the Hetrurians and the Falisci: but on the other hand, Fabius Gurgæ, having undertaken to give battle to the Samnites before all his troops were assembled, received a considerable check: so that he would have been deprived of the command of the army, if the celebrated Fabius had not offered to be lieutenant to his own son. This gave a new turn to affairs; the Samnites were defeated, and lost upwards of twenty thousand men. Fortune was not satisfied that the young Fabius should be indebted to his father for restoring his reputation; the old man had also the happiness to save his son's life in the engagement.

Fabius Gurgæ defeated by the Samnites.

The Samnites defeated.

Posthumius Megellus, being appointed to preside at the comitia, in quality of interrex, because of the absence of the consuls, got himself to be elected to the consulate: there had never been an instance of so open a violation of the laws, except in the case of the audacious Appius Claudius.

462.

Posthumius incurs the hatred of the senate and the people by his tyrannical government: they refuse him triumphal honours, though he had taken two important cities, Cominium and Venusium (*), from the Samnites. A considerable colony was sent to this last town; but the management of it was entrusted to commissaries, contrary to the usual custom of granting this honour to the general, who had conquered the place. On the contrary, Fabius Gurgæ, who remained in Samnium with the title of proconsul, returns triumphant to Rome, attended by his father, who had acted as his lieutenant. No doubt but this triumph was granted as much to honour the father's virtue, as the

When the sun shone between the *rostra* and the house appointed for the reception of ambassadors; in consequence of the invention of the clepsydra, or water-clock, which followed soon after, they were enabled to compute the hours of the night.

(*) A city of Apulia, the birth place of Horace the poet, in the road to Tarentum and Hydrunt. Its being on the frontiers of Lucania, made some people place it in that province, which Horace alludes to, lib. 2. sat. 1.

sequor hunc, Lutatius an Apulus, anceps,

Nam Venusinus erat finem sub utrumque colonus.

It was also called *Venusia*; but the modern name is *Vesula*.

son's

son's bravery. The famous Pontius Herennius, general of the Samnites, taken in the last battle, is beheaded at Rome: it seems that his only crime was his having had the glory to make the Roman army pass under the yoke at the Caudine forks. A temple is erected in the island of the Tiber to the god *Æsculapius*, because of the arrival of the serpent from Epidaurus, which had been sent for to Rome the beginning of this year, by the advice of the interpreters of the Sibylline books. This famous serpent was nothing more than a large snake, which the priests of the temple of *Æsculapius*, at Epidaurus in Peloponnesus, had taken care to tame, and which they had taught to hide itself under the pedestal of the statue of this god of health. A great many marvellous things were told of the above serpent, which the people readily believed, and they even persuaded themselves that they were indebted to him for the cessation of the pestilence. "But this was not the first time, says father Catrou, that snakes had been taken out of the temple of Epidaurus: already had the Sicyonians removed one to their town in a chariot; and a woman, called Nicagora, drove it. Thus did the knavery of the Greeks furnish *Æsculapius's* to those people, who would suffer themselves to be imposed upon; and thus did they impose upon the Romans."

Temple of
Æsculapius.

463.

Posthumius being brought to a trial by two tribunes of the people, is condemned to pay a considerable fine. The principal crime alleged against him, was his having employed two thousand legionary soldiers to grub up his lands, before he made them set out upon the expedition against Samnium.

The two consuls meet with great success against the Samnites. Curius is empowered to regulate the conditions of peace, which the Samnites were at length obliged to sue for. The consul Curius was one of those Romans, whose contempt of riches reflects such lustre on the early ages of the republic. The Samnite ambassadors found him sitting on a poor wooden seat near the fire, like a peasant, and dressing a few roots for his dinner. The occasion induced them to offer him rich presents, in order to obtain an advantageous composition: all the answer he made them, was, *that he did not chuse to have gold himself, but to command those that had plenty of it.* Such was at that time the standing character of the Roman citizens, as we may judge by a speech concerning them, attributed to Pontius. *Were the Romans to be swayed by interest, said this Samnite general, I should long since have put a stop to the rapidity of their conquests.*

Alliance
with the
Samnites.

The reduction of the Sabines soon followed the peace concluded with the Samnites. Curius had also the glory of it, and received, the same year, the honour of two triumphs, which no general before him had ever enjoyed. The Sabines obtained the privilege of Roman citizenship, but without the right of suffrage.

The Sabine
reduced.

M 4

464

464.

A new tribunal is erected at Rome, to take cognizance of criminal causes. The three officers in this commission, were to be elected yearly at the comitia by tribes. They were styled *triumviri capitales*; because they were charged with the care of executing the laws against criminals: from their sentence lay no appeal; but they could inflict no other than pecuniary fines.

This year three cities received those sorts of garrisons, which the Romans styled colonies; *Castrum* (y), a city in Picenum; *Adria*, which is said to have given name to the Adriatic; and *Sena* (z), situate in the territory of the Galli Senones.

At this time there was a census of the people in Rome, when the number of citizens, able to bear arms, amounted to two hundred and seventy three thousand.

465.

The debtors
murmur
against the
usurers.

Domestic broils on the account of debtors. They had taken rise towards the expiration of the last consulate; but they grew to an excessive height under this, in consequence of an attempt, made by a patrician of the name of Plotius, upon the chastity of young Veturius, son of the consul of the same name. This man kept Veturius in servitude, till he could discharge, by his labour, a sum borrowed at very high interest, to pay the expences of his father's funeral. One day Veturius appeared in the forum, when uncovering his back and breast, he shewed the people his body all torn with stripes, and stained with blood. So moving a scene threw the spectators into the utmost rage. We have already had occasion to observe, that peace with foreign enemies was ever productive of intestine broils at Rome; and that the principal revolutions of this city had their rise from the love of chastity: the same reflexions offer themselves here again.

466.

Secession of
the people.

Secession of the people to the Janiculum. They were greatly incensed, that after sending Plotius to prison, the senate had contented themselves with setting those at liberty, who had been confined for debt, without reviving the law made on the like occasion, which prohibited the reducing of insolvent debtors to slavery; a law superseded by the authority of the patricians. Q. Hortensius, being appointed dictator, to appease these troubles, draws up two laws in favour of the people; but they were only a revival of those made in 414 of Rome, and which, as we have just now mentioned, had been disregarded by the patricians. These were, first, that every member of the commonwealth should be equally bound to observe the decrees made by the ple-

(y) Concerning *Castrum* and *Adria*, see note (i), p. 155.

(z) *Sena* or *Senogallia*, now *Sinigaglia*, a town of Umbria on the river *Misus*, now *Nigola*. It is said to have been built by the Galli Senones, a people of the ancient race of the Celts, from whom it hath its name.

beian assemblies; the second, proposed by the tribune Manius, that the senate should previously give their approbation and consent to all laws that were to be made at the assemblies of the people.

Death of Hortensius. The republic never as yet had been so unfortunate as to see a dictator die before the expiration of his office. In his room was chosen Q. Fabius Maximus, who, at a very advanced age, was still at the head of the senate. He published two laws, which evidently threw the balance of power into the hands of the plebeians. The people being satisfied, return to Rome, without making any further demands in regard to creditors.

467, 468.

These two years the peace of the republic was neither interrupted by intestine divisions, nor by foreign wars.

469.

This calm was quickly succeeded by a violent storm. The Senones, who had laid quiet ever since their defeat, where Decius so generously devoted himself to death, were now engaged in the siege of Aretium, a city of Hetruria, under the protection of the Romans. Lucius, supposed to have been the consul L. Cæcilius Metellus, was dispatched with an army to the assistance of the Aretini; but happened to be killed in an engagement with the enemy, and thirteen thousand Romans were left dead on the spot. At the same time, news came that the deputies of the republic to the Gauls had been inhumanly massacred. In this conjuncture, the command of the army properly belonged to Servilius, the other consul; but as he was then employed against the Lucanians, the republic had recourse to the famous Curius Dentatus. This general sets out with fresh levies, and taking advantage of the absence of the Senones, who lay before Aretium, he enters their country, and lays it waste with fire and sword. Some authors make this expedition a year later, and attribute it to the consul Dolabella.

470.

The Senones raise the siege of Aretium, and march strait to Rome, with sanguine expectations of taking that capital, as their ancestors had formerly done after setting out from Clusium. But they met with a very different reception; for the consul Domitius gave them a total overthrow. The Boii (a), another branch of the Gauls, having joined the remainder of the Senones and the Hetrurians, whom they had pressed to take up arms, are overthrown on the banks of the *Vadimonis lacus* (b), in Hetruria, by the consul Dolabella. These same people were defeated a second time the next year; so that there scarce

(a) A people of Celtic Gaul, who settled in that part of Gallia Cisalpina, now called *Romandiola* or *Romagna*; their capital town was *Bononia*, now *Bologna*.

(b) Now called *Lago di Bassanella* or *Bassano*; it is celebrated by the two Plinies, and by Seneca, for its floating islands,

remained

remained the least vestige of the name of the Senones, a nation not long before so powerful, and formidable even to the Romans themselves.

Confederate
army of
Samnites,
&c. defeated.

The Samnites having revolted once more, joined the Lucanians and Brutians, in order to lay siege to Thurium (c), formerly Sybaris, a Greek city, situate on the gulf of Tarentum, and in alliance with the Romans. The latter had already defended it against the attempts of the Lucanians, and now they did it a second time with the same success. Fabricius beats the confederate army under the walls of the town, and scales their camp. Such an enterprize would have been very difficult, if the able consul had not made use of an artifice to make the Romans believe that Mars, the god of war, had come to their assistance.

War with
the Taren-
tines, and
king Pyr-
rhus.

The Tarentines, alarmed to see the Romans so near them, seize on a very bad pretence, to throw off the mask, and to break with the republic. Those effeminate people being assembled, as usual, at some public shows that were exhibited at a magnificent theatre near the port, suddenly there appeared ten Roman galleys, which put in for refreshments. The Tarentines, having long conceived a secret enmity against Rome, imagined, or pretended to imagine, that these galleys were come with an ill design. Hence they fell upon the Roman fleet, sunk four of the vessels, and took a fifth; the rest escaped, and carried the news of this treatment to Rome. Transported by the same fury, the Tarentines laid siege to Thurium, and made themselves masters of that city.

All the accounts recorded by fame, concerning the luxury and debauchery of the Tarentines, seem to have been evidently confirmed by their behaviour to the Feciales, whom the Romans sent to demand satisfaction for the insult offered to the republic and her allies. The Roman ambassadors were introduced to the theatre; where, crowned with garlands, surrounded with prostitute women, and intoxicated with wine, the inhabitants of Tarentum used generally to hold their assemblies, and to give audience. This assembly was remarkable for such members, as Philocharis, author of the hostility committed against the Romans, who, by his debauched life, had merited the surname of *Thais*, a famous courtesan; and Philonides, an infamous buffoon, who had carried his insolence so far as to urinate upon the robe of L. Posthumius Megellus, a person honoured with several consulates, and head of the deputation. This shameful action, committed before the whole multitude, was applauded by a shout of universal joy.

(c) This town was called *Thurium*, *Tburia*, and *Tburii* in the plural. *Sybaris* being sunk in luxury, was destroyed by the Crotonienses; but it was rebuilt by the Athenians, and some other Greeks, not exactly upon the same spot, but very near, and took its second name from a spring in that place, called *Gargyle*. Coins struck here are now very uncommon, with the word *OPYION*. This town now lies in ruins, unless a village, called *La terra Brodagotto*, hath arisen from its ashes.

and by immoderate laughter. *Laugh on*, said the prudent old man, *your laughter will be soon changed into tears; your blood must wash and purify this garment.* The ambassadors withdrew, without receiving any other answer, but loud shouts and contumelies.

472.

Under any other circumstances, the Romans would not have hesitated a moment to demand satisfaction for so base an affront; but at that time the republic had a multitude of enemies upon her hands; and it might have been dangerous to increase their number. The affair was debated several days in the senate, without coming to any resolution, the votes being equally divided. The decision was therefore referred to the people, who unanimously declared for war. Æmilius, who had already begun his march into Samnium, received a countermand, and was sent against the Tarentines, over whom he obtained a victory, before the arrival of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, whom they had invited to their assistance.

Marcius triumphs over the Hetrurians.

473.

Pyrrhus lands at Tarentum, after having been tost in a violent storm: for the natural restlessness, and extreme ambition of this prince, would not permit him to defer his embarkation to the spring. He was descended from Achilles, related to Alexander of Epirus, and a great admirer of Alexander of Macedon, whom he would have perfectly resembled, had his valour been joined to more judgment. Undoubtedly it would have been better for him, had he followed the counsel of his friend Cyneas, or not trusted too much to the ambiguous answer of the oracle of Delphi. The beautiful saying of Cyneas, on this occasion, is well known. Pyrrhus, having one day communicated to him the vast projects which he had already formed in his imagination, and which were no less than to subdue all Italy, Sicily, Carthage, and Greece; he added further: *then, my friend, we'll laugh, and enjoy ourselves; but, Sir,* answered Cyneas, *what binds you from laughing and enjoying yourself at present?* Every body must have heard of the ambiguous answer, which, if we believe Ennius, was made to Pyrrhus, upon consulting the oracle of Delphi in regard to his Italian expedition: *an te, Eacida, Romanos vincere posse.* These amphibological answers were usually uttered by oracles, and we may easily guess for what reason.

Battle of Heraclea (d), where the king of Epirus had the advantage over the consul Lævinus, and remained master of the field of battle. Heraclea.

(d) *Heraclea* was a town of Magna Græcia, in Italy, near the mouth of the river *Arno*, on the right bank, built, as Strabo thinks, by the Tarentines; and Livy calls it *Tarentinorum colonia*, lib. 8. This place is now in ruins, and called *Policoro*. Three miles from hence stood the town of *Siris*, a Trojan colony, at the mouth of a river of the same name; it was formerly the *triumum*, or *navale Heracleitarum*.

This

This prince had some elephants in his army, that had been trained to war: the very sight, the smell, and the strange noise of those animals, frightened the Roman horses, and threw their army into great confusion. The battle was bloody, and the number of slain was almost equal on both sides. After the action, Pyrrhus was heard to say, *Alas! if I gain such another, I shall be obliged to return to Epirus almost alone.* For he had lost thirteen thousand men, which was one half of his army. Having been joined by the Samnites, Lucanians, and Messapians (e), he intended to employ them in taking Naples and Capua, and afterwards to lay siege to Rome. But he was disappointed. The consul Lævinus, with a reinforcement of two legions, had entered Capua; and the keeping of these troops in that neighbourhood, proved a check to the Neapolitans. Pyrrhus, however, advanced as far as Præneste; there from the top of an hill, he saw the city of Rome, and gave up all hopes of being able to take it.

Upon his return to Tarentum, he received an embassy from the senate, to treat of ransoming the prisoners: the high opinion he had conceived of the Romans, was greatly increased on this occasion. Neither caresses, menaces, rich presents, nor even an offer of the fourth part of Epirus, could corrupt the integrity of Fabricius, whom Pyrrhus tempted to betray the republic. Rome at that time could boast of several great men; such as the Fabricius's, the Curius Dentatus's, the Coruncanius's, who were her firm support in those tempestuous times. These great men were plebeians; an order that in general furnished the greatest number of extraordinary men, because having less opulence, they had preserved their frugality and temperance, the source of so many other great virtues. Pyrrhus delivers up two hundred prisoners without ransom, and deputed Cynæas to make proposals of peace to the senate, which are rejected: they acquaint the ambassador, that they will enter into no treaty of peace with his master, till he withdrew from Italy. "The Romans, says M. de Montesquieu, would never make peace, but when they were victorious: and, indeed, of what use would it be to conclude an ignominious treaty with one nation, in order to attack another? From this principle, they used always to rise in their demands, in proportion to their ill success; by which means, they surprised their conquerors, and laid themselves under a stronger necessity of coming off victorious."

The consul Coruncanius, and the proconsul Æmilius, triumph, one over the Hetrurians, who from that time were never able to wage war with the republic in a national body; and the other over the Salentines, who had concluded an alliance with Tarentum. The great levies made this year, in order to set three armies on foot, obliged the republic, for the first time, to enlist that class of citizens, who

(e) The Messapians inhabited the peninsula of Calabria or Iapygia, viz. that part of Italy now called the province of Otranto.

composed the last century, and were called *Proletarii*, because they were looked upon as incapable of any other employment than that of peopling the state. In the list taken this year, they reckoned seventy eight thousand two hundred and twenty two citizens, fit to bear arms; and this lustrum was closed by a plebeian censor, an honour reserved for patricians, ever since the plebeians had been admitted to share the office of censors, which was sixty eight years.

474.

During the winter, Pyrrhus is said to have formed a design of throwing a bridge over the sea, between Hydruntum (f), and Apollonia (g), in order to facilitate the passage of his troops from Epirus into Italy. A scheme of this nature is sufficient to characterize this prince, and to shew the fertility of his brain, in regard to chimerical projects.

The second battle with king Pyrrhus near Asculum (h), in Apulia. Battle of Asculum. The success was so doubtful, that the accounts of historians are different, and even contradictory to each other. All that we know for certain, is, that the slaughter was very great in both armies, since neither the Romans, nor Epirotes, undertook any thing further the remainder of this year. In this engagement was killed the consul P. Decius, a name already celebrated by the devotement of his father and grandfather, whose example he followed on this occasion, according to Cicero. if we can give credit to another account, the devotement of this consul was so much the more glorious, as Pyrrhus had acquainted him, that if he intended to devote himself, he should find the Epirotes upon their guard, not to kill him, but to take him alive, and put him to the most cruel tortures.

In this battle of Asculum, the Romans, in imitation of the Gauls, began to make use of chariots, armed with long points of iron in the shape of forks, and filled with soldiers carrying fire-brands, which they were to throw at the elephants, in order to frighten them, and to set fire to the wooden towers upon their backs.

475.

The king of Epirus, after leaving a garrison at Tarentum, sets sail for Sicily, in order to assist the Syracusians, who were attacked by the Carthaginians.

(f) The capital of the Salentini, famous for its commodious harbour, from whence there was a short passage to Apollonia in Greece. The Greeks called it *Hydrus*, in which they have been sometimes followed by the Latins, thus Cic. lib. 16. *epist. die postero ad Hydruntem pervenimus*; and Lucan, lib. 5. *quas avius Hydrus*. It is still a good town, with a convenient harbour, and strong castle, and goes by the name of *Otranto*.

(g) A town of Macedon, on the *ora Illyricana*, sixty furlongs from the sea, and ten from the river *Asus*. It was famous for learning, at the time of Julius Cæsar, who sent his nephew, Octavius, to perform his studies here.

(h) It is called *Asculum Apulum*, to distinguish it from *Asculum Picenum*; the former is now known by the name of *Ascoli di Satriano*; and the other by that of *Ascoli* only.

Carthaginians.

Carthaginians. As his Italian conquests did not go on so easily as he could wish, he would fain try whether that of Sicily was more practicable. Besides, he was not one that would let slip an opportunity of being revenged of the Carthaginians; who had lately concluded a new treaty with the Romans, after offering to assist them with a hundred and twenty ships, commanded by Mago their general. Before his departure, Pyrrhus had another opportunity of admiring the virtue of the great Fabricius. This prince's physician had made an offer to the Roman general, to take off his master by poison, for a sum of money; but Fabricius generously disclosed the traitor to Pyrrhus. On the other hand, the king of Epirus, not to be behind hand in generosity, released without ransom all the Roman prisoners; they were received, but discharged, and an equal number of Samnite and Tarentine prisoners were sent in their stead. The Romans set very slight upon a soldier, that would submit to be taken prisoner, so long as he had arms to defend himself; they never entered into a treaty to ransom their prisoners; if there was an exception after the battle of Heraclea, it was because the prisoners taken that day, were, as we have already observed, more unfortunate than guilty.

The Tarentines defeated.

Pyrrhus's absence proved fatal to the Tarentines, and the confederates, who are beaten by Fabricius.

476.

The two consuls turned their arms against the Samnites, who had taken refuge among their mountains, from whence the Romans endeavoured to dislodge them, but were repulsed with loss.

They were more successful against the Brutii, from whom they took *Croto* (i). The Locri (k), among whom Pyrrhus had left his third son Alexander, surrendered themselves to the republic, after massacring all the Epirots in garrison.

477.

The Samnites, &c. defeated.

The advantages of the Romans were greater this year, under the conduct of the consul Fabius; by whom the Samnites, the Lucanians, and the Brutii, were successively subdued. The Tarentines recal Pyrrhus, who had been two years in Sicily, where he had made a considerable progress: but the Sicilians, disgusted at his tyrannical administration, were glad to get rid of him, and he quickly lost those towns that had espoused his cause. His fleet was defeated in the straits of Sicily, by the Carthaginians. Out of two hundred galleys, he brought but

Pyrrhus returns to Italy.

(i) *Croto* or *Croton*, now *Crotone*, a city of Italy, in the territory of the Brutii. The inhabitants were called *Crotoniatae* and *Crotoniensis*. The air hereabouts was very wholesome and temperate, whence the proverb, *Crotona saluberrima*.

(k) The *Locri* or *Locrenses* were a people who inhabited the eastern coast of the country of the Brutii. Their chief town was also called *Locri*, (*haud procul ab urbe Locris abest*, Liv. lib. 29.) situate near the promontory of *Zephyrium*, from whence they were denominated *Locri Epizephyrii*.

twelve back with him to Italy. He passed through the country of the Locri, and plundered the temple of Proserpine of immense treasure. The pagan historians consider the tempest, which destroyed the rest of his fleet, and all the other misfortunes which afterwards befel that prince, as a divine punishment.

P. Cornelius Rabinus, being named dictator, drives a nail into the sanctuary of Minerva, in order to put a stop to the plague, which made great ravages in that capital, and particularly exerted its malignity against the fruit of pregnant women. St. Austin says humorously, upon this subject, that *probably the serpent of Epidaurus had offered his service to the Romans as a physician, and not as a man-midwife.*

The vestal Sextia is put to death for being guilty of incontinency.

478.

Insurrection at Rome in consequence of the new levies. Curius Dentatus causes the first man that refuses to enlist, to be sold as a slave. This severity of the prudent consul, hindered the insurrection from spreading, and was afterwards imitated by succeeding consuls, with the same success. Curius said, that the republic had no need of a disobedient citizen.

Battle of Beneventum, which proved decisive against Pyrrhus and his allies: by this victory, almost all Italy was reduced under the power of the Romans: they were obliged for it to Curius, who, with twenty thousand men, overthrew the king of Epirus, with above eighty thousand.

This prince, ashamed of his defeat, was obliged to deceive his allies: he made them believe, that he would pass over to Greece, in order to bring them fresh succours: but he forgot them as soon as he left Italy, and two or three years after, he was killed at Argos (1), whither he had undertaken a rash expedition. One of the greatest advantages the Romans gained from the victory near Beneventum, was to learn to entrench, and to encamp. They received excellent instructions from the disposition of Pyrrhus's camp, taken after the battle, which they admired and imitated. "It is remarkable, says M. de Montesquieu, that the Romans rose to universal empire, chiefly by this method; in fighting successively against all nations, they ever changed their own usages and customs, as soon as they met with a better."

The two consuls received the honour of a triumph, but the glory of Lentulus was effaced by that of his colleague. Lentulus had been victorious over the Samnites and Lucanians only, a people whom the Romans had been long accustomed to conquer: but Curius had foiled a powerful king, the descendant of Achilles, and rival of Alexander the Great. The novelty of so many objects that appeared at his triumph, added greatly to its splendor. The Epirots, Thessalians, and Macedonians, loaded with irons, walked in the victor's train: and

(1) A famous city of Peloponnesus, in Greece.

before his chariot was carried the pomp of Eastern spoil, as vessels of gold and silver, statues, pictures, purple carpets, and the several instruments of Greek luxury found in Pyrrhus's camp. But nothing raised the admiration of the spectators so much as the four elephants that remained out of the eight taken in battle. These proud animals, says Florus, seemed to be sensible of their captivity; with towers on their backs, and their heads stooping, they moved in a slow solemn pace in the train of the Roman cavalry, by whom they were overcome.

Cornelius Rufinus was struck out of the list of senators, by the censors Fabricius and Æmilius Papus; whose motive for so sensible an affront to a person that had been twice honoured with the consulate, and once with the dictatorship, was their having found ten pound weight of plate in his house. This appeared immoderate luxury, at a time when Curius eat out of wooden utensils, and when all the silver that Fabricius and his colleague were masters of, was only, the former a little salt-cellar, the foot of which was of horn; the latter a small plate, which had belonged to his ancestors, and which he made use of only to present his offerings to the gods.

A census, by which there appeared to be in Rome two hundred and seventy one thousand two hundred and twenty four citizens fit to bear arms.

479.

The Tarentines revolt against Milo, whom Pyrrhus had left in that city with a good garrison; and they oblige him to retire into the citadel. Curius having been raised to the consulate a third time, neglected to besiege Tarentum, in expectation that the inhabitants would destroy one another by their own divisions.

480.

The Samnites defeated.

The Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians, appeared again in the field this year; but this revolt terminated in honouring the consul Claudius Canina with a triumph.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sends ambassadors to the republic, desiring to be admitted among her friends and allies. The Romans in return send four ambassadors to Egypt, who gained the applause both of senate and people, for their generous behaviour in depositing Ptolemy's presents in the public treasury: but the quaestors were ordered to restore those presents to them.

Two colonies were sent, one to *Cosa* (b), a town situate on the Tyrrhenian sea: the other to *Pastum* (c), anciently *Posidonia* in Lucania.

481.

(b) Some call it *Cossa*, Virgil gives it the name of *Cosæ*, in the plural. *Quique urbem liquere Cosas*, Æneid. 10. It stood not far from the sea, and had a good harbour, which in the maritime itinerary is stiled *portus Hercules*. On this spot stands now the town of *Ausidonia*, and within side the lake lies Orbitello.

(c) A city of Lucania; it took its Greek name from *Ποσειδών*, Neptune, which Paterculus,

481.

Intire reduction of the Samnites. This advantage was well worth all the pains it had cost the Romans, and facilitated the conquest of the rest of Italy. The Lucanians and Brutians submit. The Tarentines, seeing the Roman legions advance in order to chastise them, implored the assistance of the Carthaginians, who arrived before this city with a good fleet, and blocked up the port, under the pretence of defending the town against the Epirots.

Intire reduction of the Samnites.

The consul Papirius enters into a seasonable treaty with Milo, who persuades the town to surrender, on condition that the Tarentines shall have their lives saved, and not be plundered. The republic was satisfied with depriving them of their arms and ships, besides dismantling their city, and making it tributary to Rome: It was not customary to proceed with such rigour against conquered nations; only a part of their lands used to be confiscated. Several authors have looked upon the attempt of the Carthaginians against Tarentum, as the original cause of the rupture between their republic and that of Rome.

Tarentum surrenders.

Curius, this year's censor, employed the amount of the booty taken from the enemy, in building a magnificent aqueduct, to convey the waters of the river Anio into the city. Papirius, in memory of the reduction of the Tarentines, erects a temple to the god *Consus*, that is; to Neptune.

482.

A Roman legion, having made themselves masters of Rhegium (c) by treachery, after massacring or expelling the inhabitants, who had put themselves under the protection of the republic at the time of the war with Pyrrhus, the consul Genucius received orders to attack this city. The siege was long, because those unhappy legionaries, apprehensive of the punishment they deserved, defended themselves most vigorously, despair supplying the place of courage. Genucius in danger of miscarrying in his enterprize for want of provisions, is generously assisted by Hiero, a Sicilian prince. At the taking of the town there were only three hundred of the legion remaining; who were sent prisoners to Rome, and condemned, by a decree of the senate, to be beheaded, after being first beaten with rods.

483.

This year the Fasti Capitolini mention a triumph of the consul

The Sarnates defeated.

Paterculus, lib. 1. renders by *Neptunia*. It was famous for roses twice a year, in May and September, *biferi rosaria Pesti*, Virg. Georg. 4. That it was a city of note, appears by the medals we have still remaining, with this inscription, *ΠΕΡΙΘΑΝΕΡΟΣ*. It is now a village known by the name of *Pesti*.

(c) A city of Italy, in the territory of the Brutii, and of such antiquity, that it is thought to have taken its name from *phryna*, *frango*, because Sicily was, according to tradition, severed here from Italy. The town is still called *Raggio*, and is situate on the promontory over against Sicily.

N

Genu-

481.

Quique a good spot

which erculus,

Genucius over the Sarfinates (*d*), a people of Umbria. But the particulars of this war are not known.

484.

Silver money coined at Rome.

The Romans begin to coin silver money; hitherto they had coined none but pieces of brass; it is true, they had been long acquainted with gold and silver specie, but it was imported from abroad.

485.

Picenum conquered.

War with the Picentes. As the two armies were ready to engage, a sudden earthquake terrified the Romans. In so critical a conjuncture, the consul Sempronius had recourse to an expedient, which had been often crowned with success. He made a vow at the head of the legions, to build a temple to the goddess *Tellus*; and upon his persuading them that he had brought this deity over to their interest, they became invincible. The Picentes are subdued.

The right of suffrage is granted to the Sabines, who before had only that of citizenship.

Colonies sent to Ariminum (*e*) and Beneventum.

486.

The Salentines subdued.

To complete the conquest of Italy, nothing more was wanting than to subdue the Salentines: the Romans coveting that country on account of its convenient harbours, the principal of which was Brundisium (*f*). War is declared against them, under pretence of their having granted succours to Pyrrhus: Brundisium is taken.

487.

All Italy conquered.

This year's consuls completed the reduction of the Salentines, and the Umbrians, the latter having once more ventured to shake off the Roman yoke. The consuls were honoured each with two triumphs; a singular distinction granted to two men, under whose auspices the republic, at length, became mistress of all Italy (*g*). The same

(*d*) The town of *Sarfina*, from whence they took their name, stood on the left bank of the *Sapis*, now *Savio*, and was famous for being the birth place of the comic poet, *Plautus*. *Silius*, lib. 8. calls it *Sarfina dives lactis*. The town and name of *Sarfina* still remain.

(*e*) *Ariminum* was a city of Umbria, at the mouth of the river *Ariminus*, and not far from the *Rubicon*. It is now called *Rimini*; and the bridge still standing there, is supposed to have been built by the ancient Romans. The quantity of this word we find in *Lucan*, lib. 1. vet. 231. *Vicinumque minus inuadit Ariminum, ut ignes*.

(*f*) It is called *Brindisium* and *Brentesium*, a city famous for the passage from hence to Greece, longer indeed than that from *Hydruntum*, but safer. It is also remarkable for the *Appian way*, which ended here, *quo desinit Italia tellus*. *Silius*, lib. 8. It is still known by the name of *Brindisi*.

(*g*) That is from the most distant part of *Hetruria* to the *Ionian sea*, and from the *Tyrrhenian sea* to the *Adriatic*. Those nations were not all favoured with the same privileges, some had no laws but what they received from Rome; others preserved their old laws and customs; some were tributary, and others allies, and were obliged to furnish the Romans with troops at their own expence. Some had the rights of Roman citizens, and their soldiers were incorporated in the legions; others had likewise the liberty to vote in the elections made in the *Campus Martius*.

of her arms was already spread to distant regions; and most of the foreign states began to court her alliance.

The inhabitants of Apollonia, a town situate between Illyria and Macedonia, were the first that sent ambassadors, to the Romans. Some young senators, having insulted these ambassadors in disputing with them, were delivered up to the Apollonians by an order of the senate.

488.

The Romans receive another embassy from the Volturnenses (g), a people of Hetruria at that time subject to the republic, like the rest of Italy. They came to implore the assistance of the senate against their freedmen, who, by degrees, had attained to the first offices in the state, and were now committing all manner of violences in Volturni against the most reputable citizens of both sexes. Though the senate had an extraordinary meeting at a private house, to give audience to these ambassadors, yet the freedmen had intelligence of what was transacting: the consul Fabius finding them upon their guard, was obliged to fight them, before he could lay siege to the town; and the enemy made a sally, in which he was killed. This expedition was terminated the next year under the command of M. Fulvius, one of the consuls. All those who had acted any part in the villany, were put to death; the city was raised; and the ancient citizens were transplanted to another place.

War with
the freed-
men of
Volturni.

Establishment of the four provincial quæstors for Italy; these made eight in all, reckoning the two quæstors for the city, and the two military quæstors: they were all chosen annually in comitia by tribes, and drew lots for their departments.

C. Marcius Rutulus is continued against his will in the censorship; but at his earnest remonstrances a law is revived, forbidding any person to hold the censorship a second time.

The number of citizens able to bear arms, amounted at this time to two hundred ninety two thousand two hundred and twenty four, as appears by the census made this year. In regard to which, it is proper to observe, that of the Roman allies, those only were included in this list, who had received the rights of Roman citizenship, because those only could be incorporated in the legions.

M. and D. Junius Brutus, upon their father's death, introduced the custom of gladiatorian combats (h), a bloody spectacle, but well adapted to the warlike disposition of the Romans.

Gladiators
introduced.

Execution of the vestal Caparania for incontinency.

489.

(g) They took their name from the town of *Volturni*, otherwise called *Volturni* and *Volturnum*, and at present *Bolsena*, in Hetruria. It stood at the upper end of the lake of the same name, towards the north. Juven. sat. 3. mentions its situation, *postis nemorosa inter juga Volturni*.

(h) These shows were sometimes exhibited at the expence of private persons, to make themselves popular, and because they were freely bestowed, they were called *munus gladiatorum*. Afterwards it became customary for all the principal magistrates to entertain the people with the like spectacles. The custom was derived from the

opinion

First Punic
war.

Beginning of the first *Punic war*.

Carthage is well known to have been a Tyrian colony, founded on the coast of Africa, by Dido, or Elifa, many years before the foundation of Rome. It is pretended, that the Carthaginians were only masters at first of as much ground as an ox's hide, cut into the smallest shreds, could encompass: for such was the agreement made with the Lybians, of whom they purchased this ground; and from this incident, the city is said to have been originally called *Byrsa*. Be that as it may, it is beyond all doubt that the beginnings of this city were very weak, but that by her trade and skill in navigation, she rose to so high a pitch of power, that at the time we are mentioning, she had greatly extended her dominion in Africa, while she gave laws to part of Spain, to the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and aimed at the sovereignty of Sicily, great part of which she had already subdued. Messina (*i*) was at that time besieged by Hiero, king of Syracuse; and Rome and Carthage were contending which should relieve that city, or rather become mistress thereof, under pretence of relieving it.

opinion of the heathens, that the effusion of human blood would appease the ghosts of the deceased, for which reason they bought captives and slaves to be sacrificed at the obsequies. These were called *busuarii*; but afterwards those shows were represented not only at tombs, but in the circus, and the amphitheatre. The condition of gladiators was usually servile; and untoward servants were frequently sold to the *lanista*, or *fencing masters*, who let them out for money at a show. Yet freemen sometimes offered themselves for this sport, and were stiled *auctorati*.

The several kinds of gladiators were the *retiarii*, who went with a net to cast over their adversary; the *secutores*, who pursued the *retiarius*, when he happened to fail in casting his net; the *myrmillones*, who fought completely armed; the *Thracæ*, slaves armed after the manner of that fierce nation; the *Samnites*, so called from being armed after the fashion of that country; the *pinnirapi*, who being matched with the Samnites, used to catch at the crest of their helmet, which was adorned with *pinna*, or peacocks plumes; the *essedarii*, such as engaged one another out of chariots, called *essedæ*; the *andabata*, or *ἀναβάται*, *ascensores*, viz. *equorum*, such as fought hood-winked on horseback, and therefore *andabatarum more pugnare*, is to combat blindfold.

The setting up the bills for these shows in public places was called *munus pronunciare* or *proponere*; and the *libelli* or bills were sometimes termed *edicta*. The stage on which they fought was called *arena*, because strewed with sand to soak up the blood. They were matched by pairs, which was termed *paria componere*. Their weapons were of two sorts, some with which they only shewed feats of activity, before they fell to it in earnest, and were called *lusoria tela*, as the *rudes* and blunted swords, and the skirmishing was stiled *præludum* or *ventilatio*; others *decretoria*, with which they fought for life or death. When the party was worsted, he submitted his arms, yet it depended upon the pleasure of the people to save his life; their favour they expressed *vertendo pollicem*, by turning up the thumb; and the contrary *primendo pollicem*, by turning down the thumb: this discharge was called *missio*. The conquerors were sometimes rewarded with money, but most commonly with a wand called *rudis*, and with a cap called *pilleus*, both tokens of liberty; and the *rudarii*, for so they were afterwards stiled, hung up their arms in the temple of Hercules.

(i) A city of Sicily, near the promontory Pelorus, now called Messina.

These

These two ambitious republics were friends, so long as it was not their interest to be at variance: Sicily lay convenient for them both, and proved the bone of contention between them.

Claudius, a legionary tribune, goes over privately to Messana, and disposes the inhabitants to receive Appius Claudius, the consul, who soon after arrives unexpectedly, defeats Hiero, now joined by the Carthaginians, and obliges him to retire to Syracuse. This encourages the consul to attack the Carthaginians in their camp, which was too well defended, on one side by the sea, on the other by impracticable morasses, through which there was only one narrow road, and that stopped up by a strong wall: he is repulsed; but the Carthaginians being so imprudent as to pursue him into the plain, they experienced what Roman bravery could do in the open field. This was the first advantage the Romans gained out of Italy, at a time when they hardly knew how to build a ship; the vessel, on board of which Appius so dexterously passed over into Sicily, was a boat unskillfully built, *caudex*, from whence he took his surname.

The Romans defeat the Carthaginians.

490.

The two consuls transport their legions into Sicily, where they obtain great advantages over the Syracusians and the Carthaginians: seventy seven towns submit to the Romans, with whom Hiero concludes a peace, which lasted all the rest of his reign; and for fifty years the republic had not a more faithful ally.

The Romans reduce several places in Sicily.

By the expedition to Messana, the consul Valerius obtained the surname of *Messana*, which descended to his posterity, and in process of time was changed to that of *Messala*. This consul had taken at Catana (†) an horizontal sun-dial, a thing altogether new to the Romans; it was carried at his triumph, and afterwards erected in the forum, near the rostra. It is further observed, that Valerius was the first that caused a representation of his victory to be hung up in the forum, and that this became afterwards a standing practice.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus is created dictator, to drive a nail into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on the account of a plague, which made great havock at Rome.

New colonies sent to Æsernia (†), Firmum (m), and Castrum (n), towns belonging to the kingdom of Naples.

491.

Two legions seemed to be sufficient for the service of the current

(†) A town of Sicily, at the foot of mount Ætna, now called *Catania*.

(†) A city of the Samnites in Italy, not far from the *Vulturnus*, and now called *Isernia*.

(m) This city of Picenum is not in the kingdom of Naples, but marquissate of Ancona, and is now called *Fermo*.

(n) This city was also called *Castrum novum*, and stood upon the borders of the *Prætutii*. Pliny places it near the river *Batinum*, the modern *Tondino*. It is now called *S. Marinella*, and does not stand in the kingdom of Naples, but in the ecclesiastical state, near *Corneto*.

Agrigentum
taken.

Hanno de-
feated.

year, because the republic depended on the Sicilians; and indeed upwards of a hundred thousand of the inhabitants of this island listed under the Roman banners. Agrigentum (n) is taken, after a siege of seven months. The Carthaginians had spared no pains to relieve this city, which they had made their magazine of arms and provisions. Hanno landed from Carthage with an army of fifty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and sixty elephants; but he was defeated.

492.

Punica fides.

Hanno
recalled.

Hanno soon met with another cause of chagrin. The Carthaginians being rather a trading than military nation, had hardly any other troops than foreign mercenaries, Africans, Spaniards, Ligurians, and Gauls. Unless these troops were regularly paid, there was no depending upon them. Such was the situation of the Carthaginian general; he owed a few months pay to the Gauls, the most mutinous of them all, so that they had already threatened to go over to the Romans. In order to get rid of them, he promised they should have the plunder of the town of Entella (o), where he pretended to hold a secret correspondence; and, at the same time, a person went by his orders to give notice to the consuls of the particular hour in which the Gauls were to make themselves masters of the place. The consuls availed themselves of the intelligence; troops were stationed properly to fall upon the Gauls, who were all put to the sword; and this seems to justify the proverb of *Punica fides*, *Punic faith*, applied to the Carthaginians.

Another incident that happened at this time, shews plainly the character of the Carthaginians; this was their recalling Hanno, though they could not charge him with having been deficient either in valour or prudence; but want of success was always a crime in their eye. Hanno must have thought himself very fortunate to be condemned only in a considerable fine; for it was the usual fate of generals, on whom fortune had frowned, to meet with a halter at Carthage, in return for all their services.

All the inland towns in Sicily submit to the Romans; but the Carthaginians make themselves masters of those on the sea coast. By land the superiority was beyond all dispute on the side of the former; by sea it was with the latter.

493.

The Ro-
mans equip
a fleet.

In order to dispute the empire of the sea, the Romans built a fleet of an hundred galleys with five benches of rowers, and twenty with three. In two months time, the timber was cut in the forest, and brought to the sea side; and the fleet was ready: one would have imagined, says Florus, that the gods had all of a sudden metamorphosed the trees into galleys, in favour of the Romans. True it is

(n) A city on the hill Agragas in Sicily, now called *Girgenti*.

(o) A town of Sicily in the valley of Mazara; the ruins of which upon the river *Grimissus* are still extant.

that

that their fleet experienced the effects of such great hurry, and of their ignorance in maritime affairs; for their galleys were so unwieldy, as to be altogether improper for that light working, which constituted the whole skill of naval engagements in those days. In order to supply this defect, they invented a machine, which was afterwards called *corvus*; it was erected on the prow of the ship, with an intent to grapple the galleys, and to make a kind of draw-bridge, in order to come at the enemy; so that the Romans had thereby the advantage of finding land in some measure in the middle of the sea. The *corvus* of the Romans at sea.

Sea fight near the coast of Mylæ (p), gained by the consul Duilius, his colleague. Cornelius, to whose lot the command of the fleet was fallen, had been lately taken by treachery, with seven of his ships. Hannibal (not the celebrated son of Hamilcar) commanded the Carthaginian fleet: as soon as he saw the Romans grapple the seventh galley in which he himself commanded, he made his escape in his kiff, and left the fleet, consisting of a hundred and thirty galleys, to the mercy of the enemy: one and thirty were taken, fourteen sunk to the bottom, and the rest dispersed: three thousand of the Carthaginians were killed, and seven thousand taken prisoners. The consequence of this victory, was the raising the siege of Segesta (q), and the taking of Macella (r).

Naval triumph granted to Duilius; medals were struck in memory of his expedition; and a column (s) was erected to his honour, which subsists to this very day, having been found in the last century.

494.

Since the departure of Duilius, the Carthaginians had recovered a superiority in Sicily. The expeditions of Aquilius, his successor, only stopped their progress.

Cornelius Scipio makes an attempt upon the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, great part of which he subdues. Corsica and Sardinia conquered.

Conspiracy at Rome among the soldiers (mostly Samnites) whom the provinces of Italy had furnished for the fleet, that is, to row on board the galleys. They were joined by three thousand slaves; but the plot being discovered to the senate by a Samnite officer, is nipped in its bud. Conspiracy at Rome.

495.

Aquilius remains in Sicily with the title of proconsul, where he must have behaved very well, since he was judged deserving of triumphal honours.

(p) A sea port in Sicily, now called *Milazzo*.

(q) A town in Sicily, said to have been built by *Æneas*, and the same with Virgil's *Acasta*, *urbem appellabant permissio nomine Acastam*, *Æn.* 5. from *Acasta* came *Segesta*.

(r) A town of Sicily, situate between the rivers *Hypsä* and *Crimisus*, and mentioned among Duilius's exploits in the fragment of the *columna rostrata*.

(s) This is the famous *columna rostrata*, so called from the beaks of ships fastened to it, and still to be seen in the capitol at Rome.

The taking of Myfistratum by the consul A. Atilius. As he was leading his army to besiege Camarina (s), he was surrounded in a valley like that of the Caudine forks. Calpurnius Flamma, with three hundred chosen men, who were determined to stand by him, saved the Roman army by true heroic bravery; all his companions were slain, and he alone was found still breathing, but covered with wounds, under a heap of dead bodies; yet he recovered, and was rewarded with a crown of *gramen* (t). The taking of Camarina, Sittana, and Erbesfuss: but Atilius miscarries before Lipara (u). Sulpicius beats Hannibal by sea, and is successful in Sardinia. This second defeat cost the Carthaginian general his life; he is tried in a tumultuous manner, and crucified by his own soldiers.

496.

The Romans defeat the Carthaginians at sea.

The command of the Carthaginian fleet is given to Hamilcar, who before had been general of the land forces in Sicily, and whom we must not confound with the father of the celebrated Hannibal. This admiral comes to an engagement with the consul Atilius Regulus, and the Romans obtain the victory. The surname of *Serranus*, which the above consul began at that time to bear, was owing to the following circumstance, that the persons appointed to acquaint him with the news of his election, found him busy in sowing his lands, an employment which the highest persons in the Roman republic did not then think beneath their dignity.

Proconsuls created.

In Sicily almost the whole glory of the campaign was obtained by A. Atilius, who had orders to continue there at the head of the army with the title of proconsul. This custom, as father Catrou observes, was introduced about this time among the Romans: as they no longer waged war in the neighbourhood of their capital, they did not think it right to remove those generals who were employed out of Italy, upon expeditions that required some time to execute; to remove them, I say, from their employments exactly at the expiration of the year. The office of consul was not prolonged; but the command of the army was continued to the same generals, under the name of proconsuls.

Renewal of the *Feria Latinae* on account of some pretended prodigies; and Q. Ogulnius is created dictator, to preside at the ceremony.

497.

Corfica, Sardinia, and Sicily, being almost intirely subdued, the

(s) Now in ruins, and called *Terre di Camerana*. In this neighbourhood is the famous *palus Camarina*, from whence came the proverb, *Camarinam ne moveas*.

(t) The coronets given as rewards to military merit, were the *corona civica*, of oaken boughs, for saving the life of a Roman citizen; the *muralis*, for scaling the walls of a city; the *castrensis*, or *vallis*, for forcing the enemy's entrenchments; the *navalis*, for behaving valourously at sea; the *obsidionalis*, given by the soldiers to the general, upon raising the siege of a place, and made like that of Calpurnius of grass; the *triumphalis*, made with wreaths of laurel, for generals that had the honour of a triumph.

(u) An island near Sicily, the chief of the *Æolian*: it still retains the name of *Lipari*.

ambi-

ambition of the Romans increased with their success, till at length it knew no bounds; so that they resolved to carry the war into Africa. Their fleet consisted of three hundred and thirty sail; and the Carthaginians had three hundred and forty. The famous sea-fight off Ecnomus (x), near Heraclea, on the coast of Sicily, in which Regulus and Manlius obtain a complete victory over Hamilcar and Hanno, taking sixty four of their galleys, and sinking above thirty. The Romans immediately proceed to Africa, and seize on Clupea (y), intending to make it their magazine of arms and provisions: this city was situated to the east of Carthage, not far from cape Hermia (z). The consuls could not proceed any further without fresh orders from the senate.

These orders were, that Manlius should return to Rome, that Regulus should continue the war in Africa, even after the expiration of his consulship, with the title of proconsul, and that he should reserve such a number of soldiers and ships for this expedition, as he thought proper. He kept only forty vessels, with a proportionable number of troops; which alone sufficiently shewed how worthy he was of the confidence of the senate. He gained a victory by land, which was soon followed by the surrender of two hundred towns, among which was Tunetum (a), a considerable city, taken in sight of the Carthaginians, and distant only three or four leagues from the capital. The Carthaginians sue for peace; Regulus would grant them none, but upon such conditions as were intolerable. His rapid success had rendered him haughty and intractable, and now it made him rash and imprudent.

A brave Lacedæmonian officer, by name Xantippus, arrived at Carthage, with a reinforcement of Greek troops; and this was the man destined to subdue the conqueror of the Carthaginians. He observed to them that their late overthrow was owing to themselves, because they had fought upon a spot of ground, where their cavalry, in which alone they were superior to the Romans, had not room to act. He promised to repair this mistake, and accordingly he posted himself in a plain where the elephants and Carthaginian horse might be of service to them. Regulus followed him, imagining himself invincible; but he was taken prisoner, together with five hundred Romans, the companions of his misfortunes. Xantippus, foreseeing that the Carthaginians would never forgive him for the service he had done them, withdrew himself privately to his own country.

498.

The consuls set sail with a new fleet of three hundred and fifty galleys; but the badness of the weather obliges them to put into Cossara, an island belonging to the Carthaginians, which they take

(x) A mountain of Sicily.

(y) So called from its being formed in the shape of a shield. The Greek writers give it the name of *Aspis*. In *Clypei speciem curvatis turrib. Aspis*. Sil. lib. 3.

(z) Or Cape Mercury, now Cape Bona.

(a) Tunetum, or *Tunes*, *etis*, the city of Tunis.

in

in their way. Upon their arrival in Africa, they obtain two great victories, one by sea, near cape Hermea, the other by land, not far from Clupea, which the Carthaginians wanted to recover: notwithstanding these advantages, the consuls determined to abandon Africa, so greatly had the country been ravaged by Regulus. The Roman fleet set sail, laden with immense riches, which were all swallowed up by the sea. The most violent storm that had been known for a long time, surprised the consuls on the coast of Sicily, where they were employed in taking a few maritime towns, contrary to the opinion of their pilots. This fine fleet was composed of about four hundred vessels, out of which not above fourscore returned to the ports of Italy.

499.

The war was carried on this year with fresh fury in Sicily, which began once more to attract the attention of the Carthaginians, and the Romans; but the latter obtained the advantage. For they had fitted out a new fleet of two hundred and fifty galleys; and made themselves masters of Panormus (b), the capital of Sicily.

Panormus
taken.

500.

The consuls made a descent upon Africa, with a fleet of two hundred and sixty sail. The spoils they took in that country, were again swallowed up by the sea; for a storm, as terrible as the former, overtook them off cape Palinurus (c), and sunk a hundred and sixty of their galleys.

The republic renounces the empire of the seas; though it was not usual for her to be dejected upon such a disappointment; on the contrary, it was her custom to bear up more firmly against unprosperous strokes of fortune; so that the Romans never appeared more assuming than when unsuccessful. But here superstition was concerned; for they believed the gods did not approve of their design. The senate passed a decree, forbidding more than sixty ships to be equipped for the future; and that these should be employed intirely in guarding the coast of Italy, and transporting troops to Sicily.

PARTICULAR REMARKS.

THE reduction of Veii had opened a road to conquests of a far different nature. "The senate, as M. de Montesquieu observes, having found means to allow the troops a regular stipend, the siege of Veii was undertaken, and lasted ten years. Then it was that a new manner of waging war appeared among the Romans; their successes became more signal, and more important: they made a better use of their victories, they formed greater con-

(b) So called from *παν* and *ορμος*, because its harbour gave reception to ships of all nations: its present name is *Palermo*.

(c) A promontory of Lucania, now called *Cape di Palinurus*. See Palinurus's story, in Virgil.

" quests,

"quests, and they sent out more colonies; in short, the taking of "Veii was a kind of revolution." And, indeed, the Romans were become masters of all Italy, at the close of this century: but though they had acquired more power, they were far from being more happy.

It is a most melancholy reflection, that those brave warriors, covered with glory and wounds, and worn out with the fatigues of a long campaign, should, at their return from their conquests, find themselves under the necessity of repairing, with heavy hearts, to the public forum, and of petitioning for a distribution of lands and corn, or for the abolition of their debts. This poverty, which they honoured in public, was shunned, was detested in private. Those who gloried in it the most, were not the most to be pitied, because their birth and dignities procured them the necessaries of life; and as they were greatly respected in consequence of this outward shew of poverty, they were supplied by that means with all manner of superfluities. "Let who will admire the poverty of Fabricius, says M. de St. Evremont, I commend his prudence, and find he judged extremely well in having but one silver salt-cellar, in order to have such interest with the republic, as to expel from the senate a person who had been twice consul, had obtained a triumph, and been dictator, merely for being found to have a little more money than himself." So far were most of the Romans from reaping any such advantage from their poverty, that, on the contrary, they experienced all the miseries that generally attend it; and their hardships were so much the greater, as it was impossible, at that time, to relieve them. Which way could they avoid a scarcity in a state that was too populous, considering the smallness of its circumference, and that had voluntarily deprived itself of helps, which the arts and commerce afford in the like cases? Was it possible for them to give lands to all the soldiers? Those they had taken from the enemy were hardly sufficient to maintain the inhabitants. Could they make an act of insolvency? Perhaps it would have been an injustice; and without doubt it would have been bad policy, for it would have utterly destroyed all means or hopes of borrowing in distress. All these points must therefore have been a perpetual source of discord and division.

The public was richer in proportion than individuals. Horace, speaking of the first ages of Rome, says, that the private people were poor, and the government rich: *privatus illis erat census brevis, commune magnum*. The government had resources, which private people had not. We ought to look upon their conquests, as one of their chief resources; but I cannot join issue with the author of a treatise on the Roman revenue, when he says: "that war is now become an abyss, which swallows up all the riches of a state; whereas, it was heretofore a mine, from whence the Romans derived their chief treasure; that this is a truth, supported by an infinite number of examples; and that it is founded on the following principle of political wisdom, " which

" which requires that the revenue of a state should arise from the same cause as the necessity of spending it; and that war, being a voracious monster, should devour its own substance, and drink up its own blood." It seems to me, that this manner of acquiring and increasing the public demesne, the Romans had in common with all other nations; and that it cannot be considered as any particular policy of that republic: it seems also, that the republic at that time of day was very far from deriving any such vast emoluments from her conquests: the greatest part of the petty nations she had subdued, were almost as warlike, as barbarous, and as poor as the Romans themselves.

I really believe, that the chief treasures of the republic consisted then in the admirable regulation, which Servius Tullius had made in the revenue. Nothing can be more beautiful, than that distribution of the citizens into different classes, to which they were admitted either by rotation, or on account of birth and dignity, or in consequence of possessions and wealth. Such a plan, well attended to, might be said to contain a perfect system, not only in regard to government, as we have observed above, but moreover in respect to the revenue. This merits some further consideration.

All imposts, of what nature or form soever, must needs fall on two different objects, namely, landed estates, and industry. These two sorts of property are, indeed, the only goods that mankind possess; the one is susceptible of a tax on possessions, and the other of a poll-tax. So long as the Romans were without commerce, and almost without arts, they could hardly impose any other than a tax on possessions. In this respect, they still followed the plan of Servius Tullius; which proved so convenient, that it subsisted as long as the empire. We find under the Roman emperors, that the tax on possessions was levied so generally, and with such exactness, in regard to the quantity and quality of lands, that no estates were exempted from it. Neither condition, age, children, nor sex, were any excuse: even the imperial lands and houses, as well as those belonging to the church, were subject alike to be taxed. The emperors Gratian, Valens, and Arcadius, revoked all the immunities that had been granted before their time, with strict prohibitions not to impetrate any for the future, nor to forge any false ones, upon pain of being consigned to the flames. These assessments, or imposts, were called *indictiones*; and when the necessities of the government required, they made a re-assessment, or an addition to the tax, which was called *superindictum*. The arrears of both taxes admitted of no prescription; in default of payment, they sold the estate, and the exchequer took the precedence of all other creditors. But indulgences were granted; the towns and provinces compounded sometimes, and paid it in three terms, the first of September, the first of January, and the first of May; there was also great care taken to prevent any embezzlement. Whenever the assessors of the taxes exempted any person through partiality or favour, the estates so indulged were confiscated, and they themselves underwent a fine of four times the sum.

sum. If the imposts they laid were too heavy, they were condemned to restore double, or even four times the sum, and even to capital punishment, in case of a relapse.

Happy would it have been for the Romans, had they preserved the institution of Servius Tullius in full force; but having unluckily lost sight of that unity of tax, which the above prince proposed, they did not stick to that original impost; but estates were charged with a multitude of other duties. Some were obliged to supply the military magazines every year with a certain quantity of corn, as also to provide carriages for that purpose; others were to find quarters for the soldiers and the magistrates: no house whatever was exempted from making and carrying the ammunition bread. They laid duties on victuals, dress, forage, horses, leather; a great many towns were obliged to furnish horses and coaches on the roads, for the service of the magistrates and the governors. They even laid taxes on lands for the erecting of public buildings, &c. But would it not have been more natural, since the necessities of the state so required, to have been satisfied with raising the original land-tax? The Romans would then have preserved the same simplicity in their revenues as in their laws; but as the multiplicity of duties was necessarily attended with an immense variety of laws, contraventions of those laws were become more frequent, in proportion as the knowledge of them grew more difficult, and their application less certain. As the regulations concerning the revenue had not the simplicity of the civil laws, they were not attended with half the advantage that was expected from them; for those regulations themselves were alone sufficient to produce an infinite number of disputes and law suits.

But the Romans deviated still more from the institution of Servius Tullius, when they came to tax industry. It is sometimes easy to conquer a people; and still more easy, when once they are conquered, to strip them of their property: but it is not so easy to enjoy that industry by which those people acquired their property, and by which they are capable of obtaining a new supply. For this purpose the Romans had recourse to personal imposts, or poll-taxes, which were generally raised in the conquered countries on people of all ranks and age, with some small difference according to circumstances of time and place: but these contributions, though frequently excessive in themselves, were not sufficient by half to answer the necessities of the republic. The greatest part of the revenue went to enrich the military people, or the officers employed in collecting it: the assessments were arbitrary, and such as could tend only to the discouragement of industry. The people paid immense sums, while the government received but very little; the provinces were ruined; but the public coffers were not filled; therefore they were obliged to have recourse to other expedients. Taxes on consumption, and on necessities and conveniences of life, were multiplied in all parts, even in the heart of Italy, and in Rome itself. The gates of cities, the mouths of harbours, the high-ways, and bridges, were like so many turnpikes, where

where the people were all obliged to pay toll : even the very source of industry was cut off, by taking possession of the mines and salt-pits, and by granting to particular persons an exclusive right of selling certain commodities or merchandize, for which they paid a duty called *jus monopolii*, the right of monopoly. At length, under the emperors, they went so far as to lay a tax upon every thing, be it ever so mean in nature, upon usurers, beggars, courtizans, upon those who made a trade in the prostitution of both sexes, a capitation tax upon all sorts of persons, *nomine stercoris et urinae*, &c.

When Caligula, in order to swell the number of contraventions and confiscations, forbid the fixing of his edicts to the new duties, he committed an injustice that answered no manner of purpose. The imposts had been so greatly multiplied for a long time before, and were of such a complicate nature, that it would have been a study by itself only to learn their names. The people being subject to the heavy yoke of publicans and farmers of the revenue, lived in continual restraint and alarm. The Roman state, once free and triumphant, seemed more like to a country invaded by barbarians, and laid under contribution by an enemy.

And yet how easy would it have been to avoid all these evils ! For this end, no more was requisite than to follow exactly the plan of Servius Tullius, which taken in its full extent, naturally comprehended the tax upon industry.

We are to remember, that by the institution of this wise and politic prince, 1°. the citizens were divided into different classes, the first of which was filled by the senators, patricians, and knights ; the second, by those who were next in fortune and riches to the foregoing, and so on. 2°. The first class bore the greatest weight of the expences of government, the second bore less, the third still less, and so on by gradation. 3°. All those classes had a share in the government, and of course, in all distinctions in the same proportion ; that is, private people contributed in proportion to the advantages they derived from society. Now I take upon me to say, that if the Romans could have divested themselves of that military spirit, which was the cause of their setting a value upon no other riches than those acquired by plunder, this institution was of such a nature, as must have raised a very considerable revenue to the republic, almost without encumbering or restraining individuals ; which is doubtless the greatest advantage that can be expected from political regulations of the revenue.

Every government will enjoy the largest possible revenue, whenever it is sure, 1°. that the individuals are as rich as they possibly can be ; 2°. that they all contribute exactly, according to the extent of their abilities ; 3°. that the state reaps the benefit of the sums contributed, or at least the greatest part of those sums.

Let us suppose, for a moment, that excepting the patricians, and all those who deserved well of their country, the citizens were no longer suffered to enter the different classes we have been speaking of, otherwise than in proportion to the tax that each man voluntarily laid upon himself,

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himself, in registering his name in such or such a list: let us suppose that at the same time all duties were abolished, except the tax on possessions, which ought to be very moderate, and of its own nature is attended with very little trouble or expence in collecting, and not much subject to arbitrary assessments; and then let us see what will be the consequence.

Industry will be immediately encouraged, because it is no longer constrained nor undervalued: it is no longer constrained, because all monopolies are abolished; is no longer undervalued, because it may lead to honours, and give admittance to the most honoured classes. The people of course will in a very little time be as rich as possible, considering the circumstances they are under. I do not mean to speak of riches acquired by conquest; for a people thus enriched, ought to be compared to a gang of banditti; if they grow rich, it is but for a moment. Industry alone has within itself a perpetual source of wealth, because the advantages it confers on mankind, are inexhaustible.

At the same time that the citizens grow rich by their labour, they will endeavour to get themselves registered in the list of those who contribute most to the government; both their honour and interest being equally concerned. Their honour calls upon them, because this is the way to preferment; their interest requires it, because it is only in proportion to their contribution, that they will be able to reap the benefit of their labour. If they will not submit to the tax, they must sink into the very last class, free indeed from all contributions, but at the same time possessed of no privilege; and as they do not pay their quota to the government, they may, with good reason, be subjected to the meanest drudgery, such as working upon the high roads, and personal service in attending the army, &c. Let it not then be imagined that they will in the least refuse to submit to the above tax; this would be having a very imperfect knowledge of human nature. Is there any man whatsoever that would refuse to pay annually a very moderate sum, in order to partake of the rights and privileges, in short, all the advantages of society, in proportion to his fortune? I say a very moderate sum; and of this all the world may be convinced by a most simple calculation (c). Besides, every citizen receives such advantages from society, that he is induced to love it, and to contribute chearfully towards the public expence; when he does it reluctantly, it is not the duty that offends him, but the enormous disproportion between what he contributes, and what the government receives.

(c) Supposing only six millions of contributors, at the rate of fifty livres, one with another, the state would receive a revenue of three millions, without including the product of the tax on possessions. And yet this contribution is nothing at all, if we compare it to what has been always paid in countries and times remarkable for the most moderate duties: nay, it would become almost insensible, were the terms of payment sufficiently multiplied.

There would be no manner of danger of this in the present supposition; and this is the third advantage of the institution we are now examining. If we consider the immense sums that must have been absorbed, on the one hand, by the profits of the publicans, and farmers of the revenue, &c. profits ever proportioned to the extreme rapaciousness with which they are charged by all historians; on the other, by the necessary expence of collecting, of executions, fines, confiscations, all which sums must exceed the original tax, and be so much loss, both to the person that paid them, and to the treasury that from thence received no benefit. If we consider likewise the extorsions, outrages and depredations, that must have necessarily followed from so strange a multiplicity of duties, as those we have been describing, we shall easily perceive how advantageous it would have been to the Romans to have confined themselves to a tax, that would have come almost intire into the treasury, and passed immediately as it were from private hands into those of the public. This is what they might have done by reducing the revenue to a single impost, as well in regard to possessions, as persons, agreeably to the views of King Servius. But unluckily they deviated from this point, and had reason afterward to acknowledge the truth of an observation made by a modern writer (*d*), that in matter of imposts, two and two do not always make four, for very often they make no more than one.

There remains but one thing to prove, namely, that beside the advantage of procuring the largest possible revenue to the government, the above institution should likewise have that of laying but a very light burden, and no manner of constraint upon individuals. But is there any occasion to prove this, after what has been said? It is obvious, that no man could complain of a burden, which he had laid upon himself for his own benefit, and which he might diminish whenever he pleased, by reducing his contribution, and descending to an inferior class. It is equally evident, that in this supposition, there is an end of all constraint, not only in regard to taxes, but to social intercourse, and to the use of that natural right, and invaluable blessing, called liberty. I add further, that if this plan had been adopted by the Romans, their republic would have become the model of a perfect government, where the first honours ought to be reserved for high birth, valour, and signal services done to one's country; the second for labour, wit, and industry.

I might now demonstrate, that the system of king Servius would have been absolutely as simple in practice, as it was noble and sublime in theory: I might even shew, that though the Romans in process of time lost almost the very idea of it, yet there remained some

(*d*) Dean Swift made this remark on the custom-house duties, to shew that by encreasing the duties on merchandize, the consumption thereof is diminished in the same proportion; and thus it frequently happens, that when they reckoned to receive four, they received but one. I use this proposition in another sense, which is equally true.

impression of it in their manners. In order to this, I need only to observe, that to attain the degree of a Roman knight, it was sufficient to possess a certain share of property; that those senators who were no longer possessed of the fortunes requisite for persons of their rank, were subject to be struck out of the list; that at the time of making the census, the citizens entered into different classes, in proportion to the declaration they gave in of their effects, and the estimate of the censors, &c. But these are particulars foreign from the nature of this work; I must therefore confine myself to the plan originally laid down, and only sketch the principal outlines.

I have but one more word to add; which will sufficiently evince, that Servius's institution properly understood, would have been attended with as beneficial consequences in regard to war, as to the revenue. I shall therefore observe with M. de Montesquieu, "that the constitution of Rome was founded on this principle, that none should be enlisted as soldiers, but such as were men of sufficient property to answer for their conduct to the republic (c)." Whence we must conclude, that of all systems, that of Servius Tullius would have been the best adapted for multiplying the number of citizens, capable of doing honour to the military service.

(c) The Spirit of Laws, book 11. chap. 12.



SIXTH CENTURY.

Year of Rome 501.

Before Christ 253.

Lipara
taken.

THE Romans make themselves masters of *Himeræ* (e) in Sicily, and of Lipara, a town situate in a small island of the same name, bordering upon Sicily. The siege of those two places had been attempted before, but without success. Almost all the inhabitants of Lipara were put to the sword, because the town had been taken by storm; but it has been observed in praise of the Romans, that they not only spared but conferred particular favours on the family of Timastheus, who one hundred and forty years before had done them some considerable service.

By a census taken this year, there appeared to be in Rome two hundred and ninety seven thousand, seven hundred and ninety seven men fit to bear arms. The censors, who took this list, were remarkable for their severity. Thirteen senators were expelled the house, and four hundred Roman knights were degraded to the lower class of all, *ararii facti*; the latter for having disobeyed the orders of their general, a crime which was never pardoned at Rome. And this very year, Q. Calpurnius, a legionary tribune, was beaten with rods, and reduced to the state of a common soldier, for acting contrary to the orders of the consul Aurelius.

A plebeian
made ponti-
fex maxi-
mus.

The dignity of *pontifex maximus* is conferred for the first time on a plebeian, and the only reason that can be given for so extraordinary a revolution, was the singular virtue of the person invested with that dignity, which was Tib. Coruncanius. As the *pontifex maximus* was supreme judge and arbitrator of all points of religion, we may easily imagine how great an authority he must have had among so religious a people as the Romans.

502.

The consuls stood upon the defensive in Sicily; their whole attention being taken up in depriving Adrubal, the new Carthaginian general, of every means of attacking them. This timid conduct was a necessary consequence of the weak condition, to which the Roman navy had been reduced by a decree of the senate. The conscript fathers saw the inconveniency, and gave orders for immediately fitting out a fleet, able to cope with the Carthaginians.

503.

Battle of
Panormus.

Battle of Panormus gained by the proconsul Metellus: the enemy lost twenty thousand men, and all their elephants to the number of one hundred and forty. The consuls immediately invested Lily-

(e) A town situate at the mouth of a river of the same name; it is now called *Terni*.
H T X I 2 O braum,

Regulus sent
to Rome to
treat of a
peace.

He returns
to Carthage,
and is put to
a cruel
death.

bæum (*f*), the strongest place the Carthaginians possessed in Sicily. The latter, disheartened by so many miscarriages, began to sue for peace. The famous Regulus, whom they still held in rigorous confinement, is sent to Rome along with their ambassadors, in order to make proposals of peace, and to desire an exchange of prisoners. The Carthaginians reckoned that he would make use of this opportunity to recover his liberty: and who would not have been of that opinion? But when Regulus was admitted to the senate, he made a speech to prove that it was not the interest of the republic, either to conclude a peace, or to exchange prisoners. He foresaw the tortures that were reserved for him at Carthage, in consequence of this behaviour; but he was animated with a noble ambition of wiping off the infamy of his defeat, by sacrificing his life for the welfare of the republic. The Carthaginians were so provoked as to invent new torments for him; they cut off his eye-lids, and in this condition, they exposed him several days to the scorching heat of the sun; after this, they shut him up in a kind of chest stuck with nails, having their points inwards, in which condition they let him die with hunger and pain. By way of reprisal, the Roman senate delivered up the chief of the Carthaginian prisoners to Marcia, Regulus's widow, who made them suffer the same torments.

The Carthaginians get into the harbour of Lilybæum with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, in spite of the Romans, whose fleet lay at the mouth. Himilco, governor of the town, sallied out, and set fire to their engines: upon which, they were obliged to change their siege into a blockade, and would have been forced to raise it for want of provisions, had not Hiero, that faithful ally of the republic, sent them a timely supply.

504.

The battle
of Drepanum.

Sea-fight off Drepanum (*g*), within six leagues of Lilybæum, in which Adherbal defeats the consul Claudius. Out of a hundred and twenty gallies, that composed the Roman fleet, the consul brought back but thirty, which saved themselves by flight; the rest were either sunk or taken by the enemy. Claudius had all the failings, without any of the good qualities of his ancestors; during his consulate, he behaved with presumption, temerity, and irreligion. The augurs having acquainted him before the engagement, that the gods did not seem to approve of his resolution, because the sacred chicken refused to feed: *well*, said he, throwing them in the sea, *if they will not eat, let them drink*. The senate obliges him to name a dictator, and he, out of desision, as it were, appoints his client, Claudius Glycias, a man of base extraction, who is immediately forced to abdicate, and M. Attilius

(*f*) It had a very good harbour, and was situate near a promontory of the same name, now called *Capo di Marfatta*.

(*g*) A town of Sicily, so called from *δρεπανον*, *fala*, because of its being bent like a falchion; its present name is *Trapani*.

SIXTH CENTURY.

197

CONSULS.	T. of Rome.	T. bef. Y. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Spurius Carvilius Maximus.			Cato (Marcus) son of the preceding, died before his father.	mong those who were put to death, particular notice is taken of Eleazar, a venerable old man, and seven brothers, who suffered martyrdom, together with their mother.
Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus.	520	234	He wrote some commentaries on the civil law.	The taking of Jerusalem happened the year 170
M. Pomponius Matho.			Ennius (Quintus) born at Rudia (e) a town in Calabria, the year of Rome 515, died at seventy years of age.	Judas Maccabæus, son of Mattathias, of the family of the Aslamonæans, is chosen commander of all the forces of the Jewish nation, 166
M. Emilius Lepidus.	521	233	By his reputation he acquired the freedom of Rome. And in the opinion of Lucretius, he is the first among the Latins that obtained an immortal crown on mount Parnassus.	With the assistance of his brothers, John, Simon, Eleazar, and Jonathan, he restores the affairs of the Jews, 164
M. Fablicius Malleolus.			— <i>primus amæno</i> <i>Detulit ex Helicone</i> <i>perenni fronde coronam,</i> <i>Per gentes Italas.</i>	Jonathan succeeds his brother Judas Maccabæus, in 161
Marc. Pomponius Matho. 2 ^o .	522	232	He wrote only the annals of the republic in verse, the victories of the elder Scipio Africanus, and some satyres.	<i>Kings of Egypt.</i> Ptolemy Philadelphus, 246
Caius Papirius Maso.			Livius Andronicus, the first among the Latins, that applied himself to poetry.	Ptolemy Evergetes, 221
M. Emilius Barbula.	523	231	It is said that he was the slave of Livius Salinator, who gave him his name together with his liberty, in recompence for the care he had taken in the education of his daughters; for it was customary with the	Ptolemy Philopator, 204
Marcus Junius Pera.				Ptolemy Epiphanes, 180
Lucius Posthumus Albinus. 2 ^o .	524	230		Ptolemy Philometor, <i>Kings of Syria,</i>
Cneus Fulvius Centumalus.				Antiochus II. surnamed <i>the god (Bæc)</i> 247
Spurius Carvilius Maximus. 2 ^o .	525	229		Seleucus II. surnamed <i>Callinicus,</i> 217
Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus. 2 ^o .				Seleucus III. surnamed <i>Ceraurus,</i> 224
P. Valerius Flaccus.	526	228		Antiochus the Great, 187
M. Attilius Regulus.				Seleucus IV, surnamed <i>Philopator,</i> 176
M. Valerius Messala.	527	227		Antiochus Epiphanes, 165
L. Apollonius Fullo.				Antiochus Eupator, under the guardianship of Lyfias, till the year 162
L. Emilius Papus.	528	226		
C. Attilius Regulus.				
T. Manlius Torquatus. 2 ^o .	529	225		
Quint. Fulvius Flaccus. 2 ^o .				
C. Flaminius Nepos.	530	224		
P. Furius Philus.				
Cneus Cornelius Scipio Calvinus.	531	223		
M. Claudius Marcellus.				
P. Cornelius Scipio Afina.	532	222		
T. Minucius Rufus.				
L. Veturius Philo.	533	221		
C. Lutatius Catulus.				
<i>In the room of these two consuls were substituted</i>				
M. Emilius Lepidus.				
Marcus Valerius Lævinus.				
M. Livius Salinator.	534	220	(e) Silius says of it, <i>nunc Rudia solo memorabile nomen alumus: it is now called Carovigna.</i>	
L. Emilius Paulus.				
P. Cornelius Scipio.	535	219		
Tiberius			O 3	Ro-

Calatinus is substituted in his place. This was the first dictator that ever exercised his office out of Italy. As a mark of respect for the supreme dignity, with which Glycias had been invested with form, the senate gave him leave to wear the robe bordered with purple, both in the theatre and the circus. Historians do not mention what punishment was inflicted on Claudius.

The Roman
fleet de-
stroyed.

The conduct of his colleague Junius was not more prudent: he suffered, through his own fault, one of the finest fleets that the Romans had hitherto fitted out, to be entirely destroyed: the Roman ships were dashed by a tempest against the rocks, among which the consul had taken shelter, to avoid coming to an engagement with Adherbal. Hereupon the Romans once more renounce all naval armaments.

The siege of Lilybæum did not advance much this year; the reason is obvious.

505.

Things continued upon the same foot this year; the Romans saw they had to deal with the ablest captain that Carthage had hitherto produced; this was Hamilcar, father of the celebrated Hannibal, whose military merit was surpassed only by that of his son.

It is supposed, that much about this time they began to admit plebeian virgins into the college of vestals; this was a consequence of the advantage the plebeians had lately obtained, of having a *pontifex maximus* chosen out of their order.

506.

The republic permits her subjects to fit out private ships of war, and grants them all the plunder upon their cruize; by which means the enemy is distressed without exhausting the public treasury, which was too much emptied already. It was somewhat recruited by the ransom, which the Carthaginians paid for a great number of prisoners; the rest were exchanged, man for man, for Roman captives. The siege of Lilybæum, where Metellus commanded, continues in the same state, and Fabius begins that of Drepanum.

New colonies settled, the one at Æsulum (b) in Hetruria, the other at Alifum (i) in Umbria.

A census was taken this year, when it appeared, that there were only two hundred and fifty one thousand two hundred and twenty two citizens able to bear arms: this diminution was owing to the war and the many shipwrecks.

(b) Æsulum and Æsula was a town of Latium, and not Hetruria, situate on a hill between Tibur and Praeneste, and mentioned by Horace, lib. 3. od. 29.

Ne semper udum Tibur, St. Æsula, declivæ contemplaris arcam.

Pliny says there were no vestiges of it in his time.

(i) Alifum was a town of Hetruria, and not of Umbria, on the sea coast, eighteen miles from *Portus Augusti* or *Porto*, which is the distance to the mouth of the river *Aro*, that runs out of the *Lacus Sabatinus*, now called *Lago di Bracciano*. It is at present a castle, known by the name of *Pale*.

SIXTH CENTURY.

129

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. of C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Tiberius Sempronius Longus.			Romans to entrust their favourite slave with the education of their children. The first tragedies, or comedies, that appeared at Rome, were composed by Livius Andronicus, or rather he copied them from the Greeks. They were exhibited the first time the year 513, or 14, of the foundation of this city; and they went down with the people at that time for want of better. Yet this same poet (merely upon the account of his antiquity) had zealous admirers even in the middle of the Augustan age, who would not suffer the least fault to be found with his works. Horace censures this taste in one of his epistles: <i>Non equidem infector, dulcedaque carmina Livii</i> <i>Esse rer, memini quæ plagosum mihi par-</i> <i>Orbilium distare: sed emendata videri,</i> <i>Pulchraque, et exactis minimum distantia, miror.</i>	Demetrius I. <i>Kings of Macedonia,</i> Antigonus Gonatas, 243 Demetrius II. 232 Antigonus Doson, 220 Philly, 279 Perseus conquered by the Romans in 169, died in 165 Soon after this, the kingdom of Macedonia is reduced to a Roman province. <i>Kings of Sparta.</i> Branch of Euristhenes. <i>Branch of the Proclidae.</i> Cleombrotus, II. 239 Leonidas, Agis, 240 restored till the year 238 Cleomenes III. is obliged to fly away in 221 Hercules's race ends at Sparta. Machanidas, a tyrant, killed by Philopomen, in 206 Nabis, a tyrant, killed in 206 The Romans restore the Spartans to their liberty in 185 <i>Athens continues to be governed by annual archons.</i> <i>Kings of Pontus.</i> Ariobarzanes II. <i>The names of the two following kings are not known.</i> Mithridates IV. 183 Pharnaces, 157 Mithridates V. or Eucratides.
Cn. Servilius Geminus.	536	218		
C. Flaminius Nepos.				
In the room of the last was substituted Caius Attilius Regulus, 2 ^o .				
L. Emilius Paulus, 2 ^o .	537	217		
C. Tullius Varro.				
Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, 3 ^o .	538	216		
Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.				
Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, 4 ^o .	539	215		
M. Claudius Marcellus, 2 ^o .				
Q. Fabius Maximus Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, 2 ^o .	540	214		
Q. Fulvius Flaccus, 3 ^o .	541	213		
App. Claudius Pulcher.				
C. Fulvius Centumalus.	542	212		
P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.				
M. Valerius Lævinus, 2 ^o .	543	211		
M. Claudius Marcellus, 4 ^o .				
Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, 5 ^o .	544	210		
Quint. Fulvius Flaccus, 4 ^o .				
M. Claudius Marcellus, 4 ^o .	545	209		
T. Quint. Crispinus.				
C. Claudius Nero.	546	208		
M. Livius Salinator, 2 ^o .				
L. Veturius Philo.	547	207		
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.				
P. Cornelius Scipio.	548	206		
P. Licinius Crassus.				
P. Sempronius Tuditanus.	549	205		
M. Cæpelius Cethegus.				
Cn. Servilius Cæpio.	550	204		
C. Servilius Geminus.				
T. Claudius Nero.	551	203		
M. Ser.			O 4 live	Kings

507.

Claudia punished for treasonable words against the people.

This campaign produced nothing remarkable; but at Rome there happened a very extraordinary adventure. Claudia, the sister of that Claudius Pulcher, whose temerity had cost the lives of such a number of Roman citizens a few years before, finding herself one day incommode with the throng, as she was returning from a public show, was heard to say, with a loud voice; *Al! if my brother was alive, and still commanded the army, I should not be pressed in this manner by the crowd!* They might readily have forgiven her this piece of satirical wit, if it had been only directed against the memory of her brother; but it was, at the same time, a stroke of contempt against the people; for which she was obliged to appear before the tribes, as guilty of treason, and condemned in a considerable fine, which was laid out in building a chapel, dedicated to Liberty.

508.

Hamilcar finds means to supply Lilybæum with fresh provisions. The Roman fleet, that had been fitted out by private people at their own expence, obtains a considerable victory over the Carthaginians on the coast of Africa; but had the misfortune, in its return, of being dashed in pieces against the rocks of Libya. Colony sent to Fregellæ (k), a city of Hetruria.

509.

Hamilcar takes Eryx.

Hamilcar makes himself master of Eryx (l), a strong city, situate on the declivity of a mountain of the same name. The Romans raise the siege of Drepanum, in order to apply themselves intirely to that of Lilybæum, and to recover Eryx, but all to no purpose.

L. Cæcilius Metellus, an illustrious plebeian, succeeds to Tiberius Coruncanius in the supreme pontificate.

510.

A new fleet fitted out at the expence of private citizens, which far excelled in strength and goodness all the former armaments; being composed of two hundred quinqueremes, built upon the model of an excellent galley heretofore taken from the Carthaginians. This fleet was designed for the service of the republic, who undertook to reimburse the private persons, and faithfully performed her engagement.

(k) This is a mistake owing to a passage in Pliny, where Cluverius has substituted *Fregena*, instead of the common reading *Fregellæ*. The latter was not in Hetruria, but in *Latium adjectum*, and had been a colony some time before; whereas *Fregena* was in Hetruria, near the mouth of the Tiber, and half way between Alburn and Portus; it is now a village called *La Macarese*.

(l) Famous for the temple of Venus Erycina mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* 5.

Tam vicina aëris Erycinæ in vertice sedes

Venerat Veneri Idaliæ,

SIXTH CENTURY.

201

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.			live at Utica. Horace takes notice that in his time they used to learn Nævius's works by heart, so high an idea had they of all ancient poems.	<i>Kings of Bithynia.</i> Nicomedes I. 246 Zelas, 230 Prusias I. 220 Prusias II.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.	553	202	<i>Nævius in manibus non est, & mentibus hæret</i>	<i>Kings of Pergamus.</i> This kingdom was in some measure erected the year 238 before Christ, under the government of Philæteus and Eumenes. But it is usual to reckon Attalus the first king; who sat on the throne from the year 241, to the year 197
Publius Ælius Pætus.			<i>Pene recens: adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema.</i>	Eumenes I. 159 Eumenes II. 158 Attalus Philadelphus.
P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus, 2 ^d .	553	201	Plautus (Marcus Aelius Plautus) died at Rome, the year of the foundation 569	<i>Kings of the Parthians.</i> The kingdom of the Parthians had a very weak, and of course obscure beginning. Parthia, properly so called, was a barren country; but the inhabitants were hardy, stout, warlike, and indefatigable; and this was enough to render them a powerful people. Accordingly they became such, and were able to dispute the eastern empire with the Romans. The kingdom of Parthia was founded by Arsaces, who transmitted the name of Arsacidæ to his successors.
C. Aurelius Cotta.			His comedies were long admired by the Romans. But Horace is angry with them upon this account, "Our ancestors, he says in	Arsaces I. mounts the throne towards the year 256 before Christ, and reigned till 259
L. Cornelius Lentulus.	554	200	"his art of poetry, "were extremely fond "of the verses and "jest's of Plautus: "they were so patient, nay, I may say, so stupid as to listen to them with admiration."	Arsaces II. otherwise called Tyridates, 216
P. Villius Tappulus.			<i>At nostri proavi Plautinos & nummos & Laudaverunt sales: nimium patienter utrumque, Ne dicam stulte mirati.</i>	Artabanus, 196 Phriapatius, 181 Phraates, 173
T. Quintius Flaminius.	555	199	On the other hand, the learned Varro used to say, that if the muses would speak in any human language, they would borrow that of Plautus. By moderating the too great severity of one of these judgments, and the partiality of the other, we shall obtain a right decision in regard to the merit of this ancient comic poet, who	was Mithridates I,
Sextus Ælius Pætus Catus.				
C. Cornelius Cethegus.	556	198		
Q. Minucius Rufus.				
L. Furius Purpureo.	557	197		
M. Claudius Marcellus.				
L. Valerius Flaccus.	558	196		
Marcus Porcius Cato.				
Publius Cornelius Scipio, 2 ^d .	559	195		
T. Sempronius Longus.				
L. Cornelius Merula.	560	194		
Q. Minucius Thermus.				
L. Quintius Flaminius.	561	193		
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.				
Pub. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.	562	192		
M. Acilius Glabrio.				
L. Cornelius Scipio.	563	191		
Caius Lælius Nepos.				
M. Fulvius Nobilior.	564	190		
Cn. Manlius Vulso.				
M. Valerius Messala.	565	189		
C. Livius Salinator.				
M. Æmilius Lepidus.	566	188		
C. Flaminius Nepos.				
Spurius Posthumius Albinus.	567	187		
Quintus Marcus Philippus.				
Appius Claudius Pulcher.	568	186		
Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus.				
P. Claudius Pulcher.	569	185		
L. Porcius Licinius.				
M. Claudius Marcellus.	570	184		

Q. Fa.

A prætor
peregrinus
created.

The pontifex maximus, Metellus, having forbid the consul Pothumius to exercise any military function, because of his being at that time high priest of Mars, a second prætor was created on this occasion, to serve as assistant to the consul Lutatius; and this office was conferred on Valerius Falto. From that time, the office of prætor was divided between two: one called the *prætor urbanus*, had the power of determining causes between the Roman citizens; the other with the title of *prætor peregrinus*, tried causes between citizens and foreigners.

Battle of the
Ægades.

The time was now come that determined the fate of Sicily. The Carthaginians had fitted out a fleet of four hundred ships; which soon came in sight of the Romans. Battle of the Ægades (*m*). Lutatius had to fight against the winds, the waves, and a formidable enemy; but the courage of his troops, the lightness of his galleys, and the goodness of his seamen, overcame all obstacles: fifty of the Carthaginian vessels were sunk, seventy taken, and the remainder dispersed. Hiero, finding himself hard pressed in Eryx, receives full powers from his republic to treat of peace, which is concluded upon the following conditions. "That the Carthaginians shall evacuate Lily-

Peace con-
cluded be-
tween Rome
and Car-
thage.

baeum, Drepanum, Eryx, and resign the island of Sicily intirely to the Romans. That they shall give up all the islands situate between Italy and Sicily, restore the Roman prisoners without ransom, pay a considerable sum to defray the expences of the war, and not commit any hostilities against Hiero, king of Syracuse, or his allies." Lutatius continues in Sicily with the title of proconsul; and Valerius with that of proprætor to regulate the government of Sicily: the following year, they both received triumphal honours, notwithstanding the representations of Lutatius, who pretended that this honour could not be granted to a subaltern.

Sicily made
a Roman
province.

The treaty of peace betwixt Rome and Carthage, is ratified by a solemn sacrifice, and by the oaths of the two nations. By this treaty, that part of Sicily, which had been subject to the Carthaginians, became a Roman province, *omnium nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia provincia est appellata*, says Tully in his third oration against Verres: thus we find that the Romans gave the name of provinces only to the countries conquered out of Italy. They sent a prætor to administer justice in the island, and to command the army; with a quæstor to receive the revenues.

(*) The right reading is *Ægades insule*, as appears by the authority of the best writers, and the quantity of the second syllable, which is long, as in Sil, lib. 4. *Ægades inter naves jacet obscura pennis*. They are three small islands on the coast of Sicily, opposite to the promontory of Lilybaeum.

The

SIXTH CENTURY.

203

CONULS	Y. of Rome	Y. of Christ	Emperor and his reign
Q. Fabius Laben.			was certainly a worthy
Gnaeus Babius Tam-	571	183	forerunner of Terence.
philus.			Publius Ælius Scæ-
L. Ælius Paulus.			vola, consul the year
P. Cornelius Cethegus.	572	182	of Rome 578
Marcus Babius Tam-			The 19th paragraph
philus.			in the 12 law of
Aulus Posthumius Al-	573	181	the Digest, <i>de origine</i>
binius.			<i>juris</i> , informs us that
C. Calpurnius Piso.			he had written books
In the room of the			upon the civil law.
later was substituted			Sextus Ælius Pætus
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.			Catus, a Roman civil-
L. Manlius Acidius	574	180	lian, was curule ædile,
Fulvianus.			the year of Rome 553
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.			He wrote a book on
M. Junius Brutus.	575	179	the civil law, intitled
Aulus Manlius Vulfo.			the <i>Tripartita</i> , and till
Caius Claudius Pul-	576	178	lately it had been very
cher.			much doubted, whe-
Tiberius Sempronius			ther this book was
Græchus.			not the same thing as
Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio	577	177	the Ælian law. But
Hispalus.			M. Terasion, in his
Q. Petillius Spurlinus.			history of the Roman
In the room of Cor-			laws, has cleared up
nellus Triptus was sub-			this matter, by ob-
stituted			servating that the 2d
C. Valerius Lævinus.			law, §. 28. in the
P. Mucius Scævola.	578	176	Digest, <i>de origine juris</i> ,
Marcus Emilius Lepi-			seems to prove suffi-
dus. 2°.			ciently, that the <i>formu-</i>
Spurius Posthumius	579	175	<i>la</i> were comprized in
Albinus.			Ælius's <i>Tripartites</i> ,
Quintus Mucius Scæ-			of which they consti-
vola.			tuted a part. And, in-
Lucius Posthumius Al-	580	174	deed, Pomponius, the
binius.			civilian, says expressly
M. Popilius Lænas.			in regard to this law,
Publius Ælius Ligur.	581	173	that in his time they
C. Popilius Lænas.			had Sextus Ælius's
P. Licinius Crassus.	582	172	book, entitled the <i>Tri-</i>
Caius Cassius Longinus.			<i>partites</i> , because it
Aulus Hostilius Man-	583	171	comprised the law of
cinius.			the twelve tables, the
A. Attilius Serranus.			interpretation of that
Quintus Marcius Phi-	584	170	law, and the <i>formulae</i> .
lippus. 2°.			Terence (Publius Te-
Cn. Servilius Cæpio.			rentius) a comic Latin
Lucius Emilius Paulus.	585	169	poet, was born at Car-
2°.			thage, and died the
C. Licinius Crassus.			year of Rome 575
Quint.			He

The Falisci
subdued.

The Falisci having revolted, the consuls defeat them in two pitched battles, and quell the rebellion: the Romans were inclined in the beginning to punish them with slavery; but, at length, they were satisfied with disarming them, and confiscating one half of their lands, because, instead of surrendering at discretion, they had capitulated with the consuls.

The city of Rome is greatly damaged by an inundation, and by fire. Cæcilius Metellus, pontifex maximus, had the courage to make his way through the flames, and to rescue the palladium that was kept in the temple of Vesta: he lost his sight by it, and one of his arms was greatly burnt. As a reward for so heroic and religious an action, he was allowed to be drawn to the senate-house in a chariot; a privilege hitherto granted to no man.

Two new tribes created, which made thirty five in all: and this number was never afterwards increased. At a census this year, there appeared to be only two hundred and sixty thousand citizens.

513.

Colony sent to Spoletium (*n*), a considerable city of Umbria. The poet Livius Andronicus (*o*) begins to exhibit regular tragedies and comedies at Rome, in imitation of the Greeks.

(*n*) Florus, lib. 3. calls it one of the chief *municipia* in Italy; it still retains the name of *Spoletto*, and is subject to the pope.

(*o*) Tragedy and comedy were entertainments of Greek invention. The theatrical representations of the Romans were of two sorts, *palliata* and *togata*; the former were so called, because the actors were supposed to be Greeks, and dressed after the fashion of that country; the latter were supposed to be Romans, and took their name from the Roman dress. These were subdivided into *prætextata*, when the persons were supposed to be of high rank, from the habit *prætexta*; *tabernaria*, when the actors were supposed to be mean people, from *tabernæ*, low ordinary buildings, which were represented on the stage; and *trabeata*, when the *dramatis personæ* were some of the principal officers, *trabea* being the consuls military habit. The *Atellana* were farces of drollery, from Atella, a town in Campania, where they were first invented. Tragedians wore the *coturnus*, a kind of shoe coming over the calf of the leg, with a high heel, that might seem above the ordinary size. Comedians wore the *focci*, which was a kind of slight covering for the feet, to denote the meanness of the persons they represented. The players wore a *persona* or mask, so called from *persone*, to sound through, because being left open at the mouth, the voice by contracting became clearer and fuller. The *chorus* represented those persons who were present where the affair is said to have happened. During the whole representation of a comedy, the performers of the music played on two flutes, called *tibiæ*. That which they stopped with their right hand, they called *dextra*, right banded; and this having but few holes, gave a deep sound: that which they stopped with their left, they stiled *sinistra*, or left banded; which having a great number of holes, gave a shriller sound. When they played on two flutes of a different sound, the piece was said to be performed *tibiis imparibus*, or *tibiis dextris & sinistris*; if they played on two flutes of the same sound, the music was then said to be performed *tibiis paribus dextris*, or *tibiis paribus sinistris*. Two *tibiæ pares dextræ* had the name of *Lydiæ*; two *tibiæ pares sinistræ* were called *Sarrana* or *Tyriæ*; two *tibiæ impares* were stiled *Pbrygiæ*, all from an imitation of the music of those provinces.

In-

SIXTH-CENTURY.

205

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. of C.	Eminent and learned men.
Quint. Aelius Pætus.	586	168	He resembled Livius Andronicus in this respect, that he was a slave at Rome, and enfranchised by his master, who likewise gave him his name, on account of his merit and abilities. He was greatly superior to Plautus, and yet his plays were not so much applauded at that time. The low drollery of Plautus was more taking with the people, than the beauties and elegant touches of Terence. The six comedies of this author, were translated into French by Madam Dacier.
Marcus Junius Pennus.			
M. Claudius Marcel-	587	167	
C. Sulpicius Gallus.			
Tull. Manlius Tor-	588	166	
quatus.			
C. Octavius Nepos.			
Quint. Cælius Longi-	589	165	
nus.			
Asul. Manlius Tor-			
quatus.			
Tiberius Sempronius	590	164	
Gracchus, 2 ^d .			
Manius Juventius Thal-			
es.			
Publius Cornelius Sci-	591	163	
pio Nasica.			
C. Marcus Figulus.			
M. Valerius Messala.	592	162	
C. Fannius Strabo.			
L. Amicus Gallus.	593	161	
M. Cornelius Cethe-			
gus.			
C. Cornelius Dol-	594	160	
abella.			
Marcus Fulvius Nobil-			
ior.			
M. Ennius Lepidus.	595	159	
C. Postumius Lænas.			
Scipio Julius Cæsar.	596	158	
L. Aurelius Orestes.			
L. Cornelius Lentulus	597	157	
Læpæ.			
C. Marcus Figulus.			
2 ^d .			
P. Cornelius Scipio	598	156	
Nasica, 2 ^d .			
M. Claudius Marcellus.			
2 ^d .			
Q. Opimius Nepos.	599	155	
L. C. Postumius Al-			
binius.			
In the room of the			
last year substituted			
M. Atilius Glabrio.			
Q. Fulvius Nobilior.	600	154	
P. Aulus Lælius.			

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ROMAN ANNALS.

Institution or renewal of the Floral games (*p*), the design of which was to beg the blessing of the gods on the fruits of the earth. These games were celebrated with such indecency and lewdness, that the sage Cato left the theatre one day as they were going to begin, lest he should defile his eyes.

This year is remarkable for the birth of the poet Ennius. Though a Greek by birth, yet he was the first that invented hexameter verse in Latin. Father Cato, conjectures that the relish the Romans began to conceive for poetry, was owing to the day they made in Sicily, where this art had been long in a flourishing condition.

War between the Carthaginians and the mercenaries, whom the former had employed against the Romans. The rebels offered to put the Romans in possession of Utica, one of the principal towns belonging to the Carthaginians, with which they kept a correspondence; and to deliver up the island of Sardinia, of which they had made themselves masters; but their offers were rejected. Such a conduct, steadily pursued, would have done more honour to the Romans, than the winning of a hundred battles.

But the Roman policy found out another way to make sure of Sardinia. The mercenaries had been lately reduced by Hamilcar, by which means Sardinia was restored to the Carthaginians. Sempronius, at the head of a consular army, had orders from the senate, to insist upon their relinquishing that island to the Romans, as belonging to them by right of conquest, and to defray the charges of this armament: upon which they were obliged to submit to what the consul demanded.

War against
the Boii and
Ligurians.

War against the Gauls called Boii, and the Ligurians. Valerius marches against the Boii, and fights two battles with them, in the former of which he is defeated, but obtains a complete victory in the latter. Sempronius gained a battle, though not a decisive one, against the Ligurians (*p*), a nation that extended from the south side of the Apennine, as far as the river Arnus.

516.

The Ligu-
rians defeat-
ed.

These wars continued this and the following year to the disadvantage of the Ligurians, who are said to have lost nine and twenty thousand men in an engagement with the consul Cornelius. The Gauls defended themselves somewhat better; but a quarrel breaking

(*p*) Sacred to Flora, a Sabine goddess; they appear to have been instituted, *ex quaestu meretricis*, according to the vulgar opinion, but with the fines of many persons convicted of the *crimen peculatus*. They were celebrated the 28th of April.

(*p*) Liguria, properly so called, was bounded on the east by the river Macra, now the *Magra*, on the west by the *Varus*, on the south by the *Ligurian sea*, and on the north by the *Po*.

SIXTH CENTURY.

207

out between them and their auxiliary troops, the Transalpine Gauls, they were obliged to sue for peace.

517.

Expedition of the consul Varus against Corsica, which had been induced to rebel, by the secret intrigues of the Carthaginians. Before he departed, he sent a Squadron to that island, under the command of Claudius Glycias, the same man, who from an abject condition, had been raised to the dictatorship by the extravagant whimsy of his patron Claudius. Glycias thinking it would be much to his honour to put an end to the war, patches up a shameful peace. The consul, paying no regard to the treaty, reduces the Corsicans by force of arms. Glycias is delivered up to those Islanders, as having drawn them into a fatal war by a fallacious peace; but they sent him to Rome, where he was strangled in prison (p).

Corsica subdued.

To this period we may refer the secular games (q), so called because they were held exactly once an age. In process of time, the emperors, who had the Sibylline oracles at their command, made them retrograde before their ordinary course, just as their fancy directed; so that the people publicly scoffed the cryers, who, according to the ancient custom, went about proclaiming games, that nobody had ever seen, nor would see again. They lasted three days, the first of which was set aside for the consuls and the Sibylline priests, the second for the noble matrons, and the third for young boys and girls. During this whole time they made processions, offered up sacrifices, gave repasts in honour of the gods, and shows of every kind to the people.

Secular games.

518.

Disturbances in Sardinia, fomented by the Carthaginians, and appeased by Domitian.

Carthage, alarmed at the military preparations, which the Romans were making in order to punish her perfidy, sends several ambassadors one after another, to desire a continuance of the peace, which she obtained not without some difficulty.

The temple of Janus is shut for the first time since the reign of Numa, by whom it was built.

The temple of Janus shut.

(p) His body was carried to the top of the *Scala Cemonia*, and after having been exposed for some time to public view, according to the custom observed in regard to the who died by the hands of the executioner, was dragged from thence by an iron hook, and thrown into the Tiber. The *Scala Cemonia* was a place on the hill of *Monte Citorio*, to which there were several steps leading, and is supposed to have derived its name from *gemere*, to groan, because of the groans of the malefactors.

(q) They owed their original to those sacred writings, in which there was a prophecy, that if the Romans should hold solemn games at the beginning of every month in *Compendialis*, in honour of Pluto, Proserpine, Juno, Apollo, Diana, Ceres, and the Fauns, their city should enjoy perpetual prosperity, and their empire be extended to the remotest limits. In the times of the commonwealth, these games were usually celebrated in the 9, 10, 11, *kal. Maii*. See Dacier on Horace's *Carmina*.

519.

519.

It was opened in a few months, and not shut again till the reign of Augustus. The Romans had very little time to taste the sweets of peace; for it was soon interrupted out of Italy by the Corsicans and Sardinians; in Italy by the Ligurians. These three wars were terminated in a short time, but in appearance only.

Survey of the people. History does not tell us what number of citizens there appeared to be at this census. It is reasonably conjectured that they were considerably diminished, because the censor obliged all young people to take an oath that they would marry intirely with a view to increase the subjects of the republic.

The vestal Tatia is condemned to be buried alive for an intrigue with a slave: but she prevents the execution of the sentence, by laying violent hands upon herself.

The poet Naevius exhibits his theatrical performances: he had served in the first Punic war.

520.

New commotions in Sardinia and Liguria; Pomponius is sent to make war with the former, and Fabius with the latter. History takes no notice of Pomponius's exploits, yet we may form a judgment thereof by his having a triumph granted him. Fabius also obtained this honour by driving the Ligurians out of the plain country, and obliging them to retire among the Alps; this was the first essay of a man who was one day to merit, by his personal services, the surname of Maximus, which he had received from his ancestors.

Misunderstanding between Rome and Carthage. The Romans send an embassy to the Carthaginians, under pretence of demanding the sums due in consequence of the last treaty; but it was rather to sound their sentiments. The ambassadors accordingly perceived that the dispositions of the Carthaginians were very much changed, since Hamilcar, after restoring tranquillity in Africa, had extended their dominion in Spain by repeated successes; and there was full room to think that they would not hesitate to declare war upon the first occasion.

The centumviri.

Institution of the *centumviri*, so called, though there were a hundred and five of them, three out of each tribe. The business of those new judges was to hear and decide all questions of right: the increase of the courts of justice was become necessary, in proportion as the subjects of the republic increased. The number of centumviri was afterwards swelled to one hundred and eighty, but they still preserved the same name.

521.

Domestic broils,

Domestic broils concerning a law proposed by the tribune Flaminius, for distributing the lands of the Galli Senonenses. The senate opposed it with all their might, fearing lest a step of this nature should irritate the Gauls, who were still formidable to the Romans even after their defeat. The tribune did not gain his point at that time; but it was

neither

neither the representations, nor the menaces of the senate that hindered him; it was his father, who, while the son was busy in haranguing the multitude, came and took him by the arm, pulled him down from the rostrum, and made him hold his tongue: all this while not the least murmur was heard in the whole assembly; which shews what a great respect they had for paternal authority. But a young man, whose name was Carvilius, afterwards joined Flaminius in reviving this law, and succeeded. The consuls go over to Corsica and Sardinia.

522.

It was reserved for their successors to make a complete conquest of those two islands; which were reduced to the form of Roman provinces, upon the same footing as Sicily. Papirius triumphed upon the hill of Alba, although the senate had refused him this honour. He entered the temple of Jupiter Latialis with the same pomp as if he had been marching to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; an example that was afterwards followed by a great many generals.

Corsica and Sardinia made Roman provinces.

The first divorce at Rome. Spurius Carvilius Ruga parts with his wife because of her sterility, thinking himself bound so to do by the oath which he and the rest had taken, to marry only with a view of having children. Divorces were not forbidden at Rome; and yet there had been no instance of the kind before this of Carvilius, which rendered him universally odious, though he acted from a conscientious motive.

First divorce at Rome.

523.

The senate having sent ambassadors to Teuta, an Illyrian princess, who infested the Adriatic sea, and the coast of Greece, with her pirates; she causes the ambassadors to be murdered. The republic ordered statues to be erected to their memory, the usual way of honouring the names of her ambassadors, who had been killed in the discharge of their function: but on this occasion the Romans went further, by revenging their death.

524.

War is declared against Teuta; and a fleet, with a large army, is sent to Illyricum (r), where the queen's affairs soon take a very bad turn, by means of Demetrius of Pharos, a famous Illyrian captain, who deserted to the Romans, in consequence of some offence given him at court.

War against the Illyrians.

525.

Teuta submits to such conditions as the Romans please to prescribe, which were very severe. She was only regent during the minority of her son Pinæus; but this mistake of the mother cost the young king, her son, a considerable part of his dominions. It was expressly mentioned in the treaty of peace, that the islands of Corcyra, Iffa, Pha-

(r) Illyricum or Illyria is a country of Europe, opposite to Italy, bordering on Greece, having on the north Pannonia or Hungary, on the west Iffria, on the east Macedon, and on the south the Adriatic; it includes the present Dalmatia and Sclavonia.

ros (v), and several towns in Illyricum, should be yielded to the Romans, and that the king should pay an annual sum to the republic by way of tribute. Demetrius is made regent and guardian of Pinarus in the room of Teuta, and invested with the property of some cities by the Romans.

This expedition having secured the tranquillity of all Greece, by delivering it from the depredations of the Illyrians, the ambassadors sent to those parts, were well received. At Corinth, a public decree was passed, that the Romans should have a place at the Isthmian games; at Athens they had the freedom of the city given them, and they had the perpetual privilege of being admitted to the sacred mysteries of Eleusis (i).

Treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians. Hamilcar had been killed in battle, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Asdrubal, a worthy imitator of his father's military virtues: all Spain seemed likely to fall a prey to this new conqueror, who had lately built new Carthage, since called Carthagera, to serve as a place of arms, and to keep the whole country in awe. The Romans, apprehensive that the Carthaginians would grow too powerful, had recourse to a negotiation to stop their increase of dominion. It was agreed by the treaty above mentioned, that the Carthaginians should not carry the war beyond the river Iberus (u), and that they should not molest Saguntum, a city between the Iberus, and that part of Spain which belonged to the Carthaginians.

526.

Two new prætors are created, one for Sicily, the other for Sardinia and Corfica.

527.

War against
the Gauls.

The time which the Romans had spent in apparent inaction since the Illyrian expedition, was employed in making military preparations against the Gauls. They had raised, on this occasion, an army of above two hundred thousand men; a mighty preparation, but answerable to the idea the Romans had conceived of that nation, and to the terror with which they had been struck by a pretended oracle of the Sibylline books, importing, *that the Gauls and Greeks should one day make themselves masters of Rome; Romam occupaturos*. Before any thing was undertaken, they endeavoured to appease the superstitious populace. An edict was therefore published by the decemviri, who had the care of the Sibylline books, commanding that two Gauls, a man and a woman; and two Greeks also, a man and a woman,

(i) Those three islands are now called *Corfú*, *Lissá*, and *Lexina*.

(i) The *Eleusina sacra*, sacrifices to Ceres, performed by the Athenians, in the most secret and solemn manner, were so called from Eleusis, a town in Africa, built by Triptolemus, who learnt of Ceres to sow corn.

(u) A river of Castile, now called the Ebro, which falleth into the Mediterranean, not far from Tortosa.

should

should be buried alive in the market place; and by this they pretended that the oracle was fulfilled.

The displeasure of the Gauls was owing to the division of the lands of the Senonenses, as the senate had foreseen; and we may judge whether this displeasure was not greatly heightened by the cruel action above mentioned. The Senonenses were joined by the Boii, inhabitants of this side of the Po; and by the Insubres (x), who inhabited the country on the other side of this river, and whose capital was Mediolanum. The Veneti (y), and the Cenomani (z), sided with the Romans; but the Gauls engaged the Gætæ beyond the Alps, a people who were ready to fight for any nation that would hire them.

528.

These troops had passed the Alps, and after joining the other Gauls, had taken the road through Hetruria to Rome, when a prætor, whose name is not mentioned in history, went to meet them at the head of fifty thousand men. The battle of Clusium, where the Roman army is defeated. The Gauls turned back into Insubria, in order to secure the booty they had taken in Hetruria, before they would venture a second battle; but the good fortune of the Romans would have it that the two consuls, marching different ways, came up time enough to intercept the enemy under the walls of Telamon, a little port in Hetruria (a). Attilius took them in front, and Æmilius in the rear; so that the Gauls were utterly defeated. It is generally thought that their overthrow was owing chiefly to the imprudence of the Gætæ in stripping themselves before the action, for fear of entangling their cloaths in the brambles and bushes. Being exposed almost naked, in the first file, to the Romans, multitudes of them were slain in the beginning of the attack; the rest fell back upon the next line, and occasioned some confusion; upon which the Roman cavalry broke in upon their ranks, and made a terrible slaughter. Out of seventy thousand combatants which composed the army of the Gauls, forty thousand were left dead on the spot, above ten thousand were taken prisoners, and the remainder made their escape. Aneroestus, one of their kings, killed himself through despair; the other, named Concolitanus, was among the prisoners, and served to decorate the triumphal pro-

The battle of Clusium,

The battle of Telamon, in which the Gauls were defeated,

(x) The Galli Insubres inhabited that part of Italy now called Lombardy. *Mediolanum*, now Milan, is mentioned by Polybius as their chief city, *Μεδιόλανόν ἐστι κυρία-stadt τοῦ τοῦ τῶν Ἰσχυρῶν χώρος*. Ausonius mentions it *inter claras urbes*. *Et Mediolani mira omnia, copia rerum*.

(y) The *Veneti*, now the Venetians, were a people of Cisalpine Gaul, to whom belonged the towns of Patavium, Vicentia, Atteste, Forum Allieni, Tarvisum, Ceneda, Aquileia, Forum Julii, and Targeste near the river *Formio*, now *Il Risano*; their modern names are Padua, Vicenza, Este, Ferrara, Treviso, Ceneda, Aquileia, Civita di Friuli, and Trieste.

(z) The *Cenomani* were a people of Gallia Cisalpina, who inhabited the towns of *Cremona*, *Mantua* and *Verona*.

(a) It still retains the name of Telamone.

cession of Æmilius, who reaped alone (for Attilius his colleague was killed in the action) the fruits of so glorious a victory, one of the most important that had been ever gained by the Romans. Florus says that the Gauls had made a vow not to quit their belts, till they got to the capitol: which was fulfilled; for Æmilius suffered them to appear in their belts, till they came to that part of the city, and there they were taken from them, amidst the hisses of the people.

529.

The Boii surrender at discretion.

530.

War against
the Insubres,
The battle
of the Ad-
da.

The Roman armies having passed the Po, with the loss of a great number of men, marched against the Insubrians. The battle of the Adda (b), gained by the consul Flaminius. Furius refused to have any share in the action, for fear of offending the senate, who had recalled the consuls to Rome, in consequence of some answers given by the augurs. Flaminius takes the whole command upon himself, and penetrates into Insubria, where he makes himself master of several towns, and seizes on a considerable booty, which he distributes among the soldiers: this generous behaviour procured him a triumph, in spite of the senate, and screened him from the punishment he had incurred by his disobedience. Furius triumphed also; but immediately after this, both the consuls were obliged to abdicate, out of regard to the augurs; and the republic fell for some time into an interregnum.

531.

The Insubrians send a deputation to Rome to sue for peace; which was refused them by the advice of that great general Marcellus, whose particular fortune it was to subdue this warlike and active nation. Hearing of this, the Gætæ passed the Alps a second time, and found (c) Acerræ besieged by the Romans: to make a diversion, they passed the Po, and laid siege to Clastidium (d). Marcellus, desirous of coming to an engagement with those barbarians, quits his camp near Acerræ, and followed only by part of the army, goes and offers battle to the enemy. A single combat at the head of both armies between the consul and Viridomarus, king of the Gætæ. Marcellus slays his enemy with his lance, and strips him of his rich armour, by which, and by the tallness of his stature, he was distinguished from the rest of the troops.

The third
spolia opima.

These were the third and the last *opima spolia* obtained by a Roman general: for after this, single combats between generals were laid aside. The death of king Viridomarus occasioned the defeat of

(b) The *Adda*, now called *Adda*, riseth in the Alps, on the borders of Tyrol, and falleth into the Po, six miles from Cremona.

(c) It is now a village, called *Gberra*.

(d) A town of Liguria, between Placentia and Tortona, and now a village, called *Chiassezo* or *Chiasseggio*.

his army; and this brought on the reduction of the Insubrians. Acerræ surrenders; Mediolanum is besieged by Cornelius, and opens its gates upon the arrival of Marcellus. The Gæsatæ being disheartened, retire into their own country; Insubria surrenders at discretion, and is reduced to the state of a Roman province, together with Liguria, under the name of Cisalpine Gaul: thus all Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian sea, received the Roman yoke.

Insubria and Liguria made a Roman province.

An extraordinary triumph is granted to Marcellus, and the *fasti capitolini* observe, that he triumphed for having conquered the Gauls and the Germans. This is the first time that mention is made of the Germans in the Roman history; and it is believed, that by this name we ought to understand the Gæsatæ.

532.

Conquest of Istria. The inhabitants of this province, situate between Istria Gaul and Illyricum, had cruizers out at sea, that took some ships from the Romans; which was the cause of their destruction. For the republic only wanted a pretext at any time to declare war, and conquest generally followed her expeditions.

533.

This year was employed in works of peace, because the consuls were obliged to abdicate, on the account of some defect found in their election: those who were substituted in their room, had no time to undertake any thing.

The forty third *lustrum* preceded, according to custom, by a *census*, at which were reckoned two hundred and seventy thousand two hundred and fifteen citizens fit to bear arms.

The censors, after the example of Fabius Maximus, oblige all the *libertini* or freedmen, who were spread among the other tribes, where they occasioned great disturbances, to confine themselves to four tribes.

A circus was built this year, and a high road opened from Rome to Ariminum; both which works bear the name of the censor Flaminius, who presided over them.

534.

War in Illyricum with Demetrius of Pharos, who, in defiance of the Romans, to whom he owed great obligations, had ravaged the Illyrian cities subject to their jurisdiction. This prince fortified Dimalum (a), a city of importance in that country, intending it as a bulwark against the Romans: the town however was taken after a siege of seven days: the island of Pharos, to which he himself had retired, was also attacked; and the capital was taken, plundered, and razed to the ground. Demetrius made his escape to Macedon, to his friend Philip. It was the fate of the young king Pinæus, to suffer for the misconduct of his guardians. Teuta had been the cause of his losing part of his ter-

War against the Illyrians.

(a) Livy calls it *Dimalum*.

ROMAN ANNALS.

ritories; and now the revolt of Demetrius subjected him to a new tribute.

The consuls are accused before the tribes, of having converted to their own use, part of the spoils taken at Pharos; Æmilius is acquitted; but Livius Salinator is condemned by all the tribes, except the tribe Mæcia. So chagrined was he at this affront, that he retired to his country house, where he determined to spend his days in grief and sorrow.

Decree of the senate, ordering the demolition of all chapels that had been built at Rome by private people, in honour of the Egyptian deities, Isis and Serapis. Not one mason or artificer would lend a hand towards executing this decree; and according to the testimony of Valerius Maximus, the consul Flaminius was obliged to do the office himself. By one of the laws of the twelve tables, it was prohibited to introduce any foreign worship into Rome, without the sanction of public authority.

In this consulship, a man who professed the art of healing wounds, made his appearance at Rome, where that art had been till then unknown: he was a native of Peloponnesus (*f*), went by the name of Archagathus, was honoured with the freedom of the city, and had a house built for him at the public expence. Colonies sent to Cremona (*g*) among the Boii, and to Placentia (*h*) among the Insubrians.

535.

Second
Punic War.

Second Punic war. Hannibal, the great Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, enters Italy with twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse. With this handful of men, he ventured to challenge, in their own country, those formidable Romans, whose forces were so numerous, that, according to the census made in the last war with the Gauls, they were able to set on foot an army of seven hundred and seventy thousand men, including the levies they had a right to make among their allies. Hannibal had thought proper to go by land, rather than by sea; that is, to traverse all Spain and Gaul, and to march an army over the Alps. It is incredible what a deal of labour and hardship he must have undergone in the execution of so adventurous a project. Out of fifty nine thousand men, whom he took with him at his departure from Carthage, he had only six and twenty thousand remaining after the descent of the Alps; and even these were more like skeletons than men: but his thirst of glory, and aversion against the Romans, rendered him superior to all difficulties. It is said, that when

(*f*) A province of Greece, now called the *Morea*.

(*g*) A city of Lombardy, on the river Po, that still retains its ancient name; it was a Roman colony, and flourished greatly in the times of the republic, but suffered much in the civil wars of the last triumvirate, as we find by the noted line of Virgil,

Mantua vae misere nimium vicina Cremona.

(*h*) A city of Lombardy, now called *Piacenza*, situate on the river *Trebia*, not far from the Po; it is mentioned by Silius, lib. 3. *Quassata Placentia bello.*

he was only nine years of age, his father Hamilcar, before he set out for the wars in Spain, made him take a solemn oath upon the entrails of the victims that were going to be offered to Jupiter, to declare implacable enmity against the Romans, as soon as he came of age, and to do every thing in his power to annoy them. Never was an oath more religiously observed. After the death of Asdrubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar, Hannibal was made general of the Carthaginian troops, by the interest of the Barcan (*i*) faction; and from that time he prepared himself by his Spanish conquests, for the war with the Romans.

The motive of quarrel on the part of Rome, was Hannibal's having laid siege to Saguntum (*k*), a siege ever memorable both for the obstinacy of the Carthaginians in attacking, and the courage of the Spaniards in defending themselves, though the latter were at length obliged to yield. Saguntum was taken, plundered, and razed to the ground. This was a manifest violation of the treaty concluded with Asdrubal. Yet if we trace the matter higher, we must agree with Polybius, that the Carthaginians had just cause to break with the Romans, for the invasion of Sardinia, and for the immense sums extorted from them at the time they were unable to defend themselves. The Romans sent ambassadors to Carthage, to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them for having infringed the treaty: the Carthaginians refused to comply, and then the ambassadors declared war. Hannibal was therefore the leader, and in some measure the cause, of this war.

Cause of
this war.

Saguntum
taken by
Hannibal.

As soon as he entered Italy, he found himself among the Insubrians, who had lately revolted against Rome, in conjunction with their neighbours the Boii. In order to gain the good will of the former, he declares in their favour against the *Taurinians*, with whom they were at war, and makes himself master of *Taurinum* (*l*), the principal city in that country. The Gauls had already entered into Hannibal's service, when he arrived upon the banks of the Ticinus (*m*), and gave battle to Publius Cornelius Scipio, who, finding himself unable to overtake him in Gaul, returned with the utmost expedition into Italy. This was only an engagement between the horse, where the Carthaginians had the advantage over the Romans. Scipio was wounded, and is said to have been indebted for his life to his son, afterwards surnamed *Africanus*, who notwithstanding his tender age, had the presence of mind to lead a considerable body of cavalry to rescue his father. The consul repassed the Ticinus and the Po, and went and incamped beyond the Trebia, a small river which empties itself into the latter; where he

The battle
of Ticinus.

(*i*) So called from Hamilcar Barca, the father of Hannibal.

(*k*) *Saguntum* or *Saguntus*, a town situate in the ancient Hispania Tarraconensis, and now called *Morvedro*.

(*l*) Called likewise *Augusta Taurinorum*, from Augustus, who sent a new colony hither; it is now the capital of Piedmont, and known by the name of Turin.

(*m*) A river of Lombardy, now called the Tessino, which empties itself into the Po; it gave name to the city of *Ticinum*, now Pavia.

Battle of
Trebis.

was soon joined by his colleague Sempronius, a rash presumptuous man. Battle of Trebis, in which the Romans are defeated by the fault of their consul Sempronius. Scipio, a general of more caution and experience, was of opinion, that it would be advisable to wait for a more favourable conjuncture, and a milder season, as they were then in the middle of winter.

Hannibal
passes into
Hetruria.

In Sicily the Romans had the advantage over the Carthaginian fleet, which appeared off Lilybæum. In Spain Cnæus Scipio, the consul's brother, obtains a victory over Hanno, whom Hannibal had entrusted with the government of that part of the country, on this side the Iberus, as far as the Pyrenæes: on the other side of the Iberus, it was Asdrubal, brother of Hannibal, that commanded the troops in his absence. Hannibal attempts to cross the Apennines, and to enter Hetruria; but a terrible storm, no unusual thing on those mountains in winter, obliges him to turn back: yet he did not relinquish his project. He had been informed of two other roads, the one longer, but safer; the other shorter, but almost impassable, on account of the snow, and marshy grounds: the latter, as the most difficult, suited his enterprising genius, and accordingly he chose it. All the hardships his army had sustained in the passage of the Alps, were nothing when compared to the sufferings they underwent in this painful march. They were obliged to pass four days and nights in the water and mire: a great many soldiers died, besides a far greater number of beasts of burden: the heaps of dead carcases, which rose above water, were the only dry spot the soldiers could get to repose their weary limbs. Hannibal himself, though he had the precaution to mount the only elephant he had left, was seized with a defluxion, which deprived him of one eye; and in this condition he reached Hetruria.

Painful
march.

536.

There, unfortunately for the republic, he was expected by Caius Flaminius, the same, who when tribune of the people, had paved the way for the destructive war of the Gauls, by a law ordaining the division of lands; and the same, who in his first consulship had been guilty of disobedience towards the senate. The popular faction, to reward him for his aversion against the senate, had raised him to the consulship a second time, at a conjuncture when the republic stood in need of her best heads and ablest captains. He set out for the army, without waiting to be inaugurated in the consular dignity with the usual ceremonies of religion; and then the people grew sensible of their bad choice. As they began to be afraid, processions and public prayers were appointed. They likewise revived the Saturnalia, a festival designed to represent the equality, which is said to have formerly obtained among mankind, in the golden age, and under the reign of Saturn. It was ordained that this festival should be celebrated hereafter every year.

Hannibal, being informed of the fiery temper of Flaminius, endeavoured to bring him to a battle, by ordering the Roman territories

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ories to be ravaged just within sight of their general. Flaminius, provoked at this behaviour, quits his camp without waiting for his colleague, contrary to the advice of the council of war, and without paying any regard to omens. Hannibal had taken his measures, and posted himself on a rising ground, at the bottom of a very large valley, bordered on both sides by mountains, and the entrance of which was stopped up by the lake *Trasymenus*, so as to leave but one narrow passage.

The famous battle of the lake *Trasymenus* (1). The Roman army, being attacked on all sides in the valley, by the troops which Hannibal had placed in ambush in the mountains, is almost intirely cut in pieces, and the consul Flaminius is slain: a body of six thousand Romans open themselves a way through the enemy, and are taken prisoners the day following. A few days after, Hannibal defeats four thousand horse that had been sent by Servilius to the assistance of his colleague. General consternation at Rome. The senate, after a consultation of several days, appoint a dictator, or rather pro-dictator, because the right of naming a dictator belonged to the consuls in office. The person chosen at this critical juncture, was Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, the coolest and most cautious person in the republic; and who, by his prudent delays, was destined to restore the affairs of his drooping country.

The Romans were not accustomed to such caution and delays: they were impatient that Hannibal should spread his army over Apulia, Samnium, and Campania, and ravage those fruitful provinces, while Fabius quietly looked on, without taking so much as a single step to oppose him. And yet it is beyond all doubt, that Fabius had brought matters to such a pass, that the war might have been determined at a single blow, had he been engaged with less artful an enemy. The Roman general had taken possession of the pass called *Eribanus*, the only way that Hannibal could pitch upon in his march out of Campania, to get into winter quarters: but the Carthaginian contrived a stratagem, which alone is sufficient to prove, that in art and stratagem no general ever excelled him. He ordered two thousand of the strongest oxen to be picked out of the cattle taken in the country, and faggots to be tied to their horns, which, as soon as night came on, were to be set on fire, and the oxen to be driven up the hills. The soldiers, whom Fabius had appointed to guard the pass, perceiving this fire scattered on all sides, began to think themselves surrounded, and that the whole Carthaginian army was going to fall upon them, fire and sword in hand: upon which they abandoned their posts, and ran away; when Hannibal, seizing the opportunity, ordered his troops to advance, and got through the pass.

At Rome they went so far, as to accuse Fabius of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy. The charge was founded on the artful behaviour of Hannibal, who spared Fabius's lands in the general

(1) Now called the lake of Perugia, from which city it is not far distant.

devastation,

devastation, with a design to raise a suspicion against this commander, whose prudence had disconcerted all his projects: for Hannibal could make no progress, nor even maintain himself long in Italy, unless he brought the enemy to a battle, and obtained a complete victory. The Romans did not consider, that Fabius had just sold those very lands, in order to ransom his fellow citizens. He is recalled, under pretence of making him preside at a solemn sacrifice, and they looked upon it as a favour done him, to deprive him only of one half of his authority. The people, at the request of the tribunes, pass a law, importing that Fabius should share the supreme authority with Minucius, his general of horse, and greatest enemy: and the senate confirm this dangerous innovation.

Fabius saves
his colleague
Minucius.

Now was the time that the merit of the great Fabius shone forth in its highest lustre. His new colleague was as rash and presumptuous, as he himself was cool and deliberate. No sooner did he see himself at the head of one half of the army, than he wanted to enter the lists with Hannibal. The armies were then in Apulia; Minucius came down into the plains of Geronium, where he soon was made sensible of the superiority of Hannibal's cavalry. To add to this misfortune, a body of the enemy's troops, that had lain in ambush, sallied forth of a sudden upon the Romans in the very heat of the engagement, and began to make a terrible slaughter. Fabius was, according to custom, encamped upon an eminence, from whence he coolly observed what passed. Seeing the armies engaged, he rushed down like a torrent from the top of the hill, to save Minucius and his army. Hannibal, finding whom he had to deal with, founded a retreat, and turned back to his camp: *I foresaw*, said he, *that this cloud, which appeared hovering over the mountains, would break out into a storm, and discharge itself upon our heads.* Minucius, confounded at his mistake, and grateful to his deliverer, resigned the troops, and his authority to him, contenting himself with learning to command and to conquer under so great a general. All Italy re-founded with the praises of Fabius; and admired his circumspection and conduct: the consuls, who resumed their office at the expiration of the six months of the dictatorship, thought they could do no better than to imitate his example.

The Ro-
mans suc-
cessful in
Spain.

In Spain the two Scipio's, Publius the proconsul, and Cneius his brother, continued the war with surprizing success. Cneius, after defeating Asdrubal's fleet, at the mouth of the Iberus, received the submission of almost all the nations in that large tract of country, between the abovementioned river and the Pyrenees. The Celtiberians, who inhabited part of the kingdom of Arragon, distinguished themselves more than all the rest; for they defeated Asdrubal in two pitched battles, killed fifteen thousand of his men, took four thousand prisoners, and a great number of colours. The troops of the republic, strengthened by the reinforcements which came with the proconsul's fleet, passed the Iberus, with a design to rescue the Spanish young noblemen, whom the Carthaginians kept as hostages at Saguntum, which city they had rebuilt. The Romans got the hostages into their possession, by holding a correspondence

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respondence in the town; and the proconsul sent them back to their parents.

537.

Struck with this generous behaviour, the Spaniards waited only for the spring to take up arms against the Carthaginians. Asdrubal's affairs were in a very bad way, when he received orders to repair to Italy, and join his forces to those under the command of his brother. Himilco was sent to Spain in his stead, with a strong army, and powerful fleet. The two Scipio's, in order to prevent Asdrubal's departure, come to a pitched battle with him on the banks of the Iberus, and obtain a complete victory.

Asdrubal
defeated by
the two
Scipio's.

In Italy the face of affairs was very different. Hannibal despairing to succeed, so long as he had to deal with imitators of Fabius, had formed a design to return to Cisalpine Gaul: but luckily for him, the people of Rome thought proper to raise Terentius Varro to the consulate, a man, who from the low condition of a butcher, had, by intrigues, and declamatory speeches against the nobility, wriggled himself gradually into the first employments of the state. He had even interest enough to obtain a regulation, that he, and his colleague Æmilius, should every other day have the alternate command of the whole forces of the republic, that had been never so numerous. They raised eight legions, which made four consular armies: each legion, usually consisting of only four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, received an addition of a thousand foot, and a hundred horse; and, moreover, the allies were obliged to furnish double their usual contingent of horse and foot. Happy would it have been for the Romans, had they conferred the command of these new forces on some new Fabius! It is true, Æmilius resembled that great man pretty much, but Varro's conduct was directly opposite.

Hannibal, straitened for want of provisions, advanced into the heart of Apulia, and encamped in the plains of Cannæ (m). on the banks of the Aufidus. Æmilius followed him against his will, being dragged on by his colleague, who, when it was his turn to command, took an opportunity to commit a heap of blunders. Battle of Cannæ fought by Varro the consul. The engagement began with the cavalry, and the Romans were obliged to give way, after a stout resistance: the center of Hannibal's army fell back by his directions, in order to bring the Romans within their lines; then the wings, which had been rendered very strong, took the Romans in flank, and in the rear. Thus surrounded, though superior in number, they were obliged to quit their ranks, and to form several platoons, in order to

Battle of
Cannæ.

(m) Florus, lib. 1. calls it *ignobilis Apulia vicus*. It was five miles from Caninium, and six from the Adriatic sea. The place still retains the name of Cannæ, and is in the kingdom of Naples, and territory of Bari. The *Aufidus* is now called the *Ofanto*. In these same plains of Cannæ is the little river *Vergellus*, over which Hannibal is said to have made a bridge of dead bodies, *Hannibal in flumine Vergello corporibus Romanis ponte facto exercitum traduxit*. Val. Max. lib. 9.

face the enemy every way. This confusion was the cause of their defeat. The slaughter was so great, that Hannibal thought it his duty to check the fury of his troops; *soldiers*, says he, *spare the conquered*. By that time there were at least fifty thousand Romans killed on the spot. Of this number were the consul Æmilius, the two consuls of the preceding year, both the quaestors of the army, nine and twenty legionary tribunes, fourscore senators, or magistrates, who had a right of voting in the senate (*m*), and served as volunteers. Varro fled to Venusia, with only seventy horse. Hannibal himself was amazed at such prodigious success, which did not cost him six thousand men. He is charged with not knowing how to improve a victory; and it is said, that upon his refusing to go and lay siege to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, Maherbal, one of his general officers, took the liberty to tell him; *for, it is not enough to conquer, we should know how to make a right use of victory.*

The remains of the Roman army, in number about ten thousand men, met together at Canusium, under the command of Varro. Here they had occasion to admire the generosity of a Roman lady, who, at her own expence, supplied such a multitude with provisions, till convoys could come from Rome. The consternation was terrible in that capital; the women especially made such grievous lamentations, that the senate were obliged to pass a decree, forbidding them to appear in public, or to disturb the city by their cries. Superstition was also concerned; and Fabius Pictor was sent to consult the oracle of Delphi. They likewise revived the dreadful sacrifice of human victims, which had been already practised in the war with the Gauls; two Greeks, a man and a woman, and two Gauls, a man and a woman, were buried alive in the forum. This barbarous scene was succeeded by another of a very different kind; the senate and all the other orders went out to meet the consul Varro, and gave him public thanks *for not having despaired of the republic, when there was such occasion to despair.* By such gentle behaviour they intended to lessen the mortification the consul must have undergone in being deprived of the command of the army, which was given to the prætor Claudius Marcellus. But how is it possible to reconcile so much moderation to such inhumanity?

Marcellus appointed to command the army.

M. Junius Pera is named dictator by the senate. In order to raise a new army, he requires the allies to furnish their usual contingent, and insists all the young people above seventeen, to whom he adds eight thousand of the stoutest slaves, with about six thousand men taken out of the public prisons. The slaves and prisoners of all sorts were supplied with the old arms that had been formerly taken from the enemy, and

(*m*) After the battle, Hannibal sent his brother Mago to Carthage with one bushel of gold rings, according to Livy, others say three, taken from the Roman knights and senators, and to shew how great the loss of the Romans was, Mago acquainted the senate of Carthage, that only knights and patricians were allowed to wear rings.

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hung up in the public porticoes and temples; for the magazines were exhausted. With regard to the finances, the public zeal partly supplied their deficiency, the citizens all vying with one another to bring their most valuable effects to the quaestors: and in order to increase the silver coin, it was now for the first time mixed with alloy. Great dispute among the senators, concerning the prisoners made at the battle of Cannæ. Hannibal had given them leave to treat about their ransom; but after a long debate, it was absolutely concluded not to redeem them. Those unfortunate men, about eight thousand in number, were exposed to the fury of Hannibal, who sacrificed them to his hatred against the Romans. The most considerable among them he sent to Carthage, and made the rest serve as gladiators at a public show, which he exhibited to his troops.

The Capuans surrender their city to Hannibal. Hitherto the several allies of Rome had continued faithful; but the battle of Cannæ staggered them all: a considerable part of the people of Apulia, and Samnium, the Lucani, the Crotoniates, the Surrentini (g), the Tarentini, and, at length, Capua, and almost all Campania, embraced his party. He makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Nola and Casilinum (r): in an engagement before the former town with the celebrated prætor Marcellus, he is defeated with the loss of near three thousand men; which action of Marcellus was the first that revived the hopes of the republic. Hannibal takes up his winter quarters in Capua, a city immersed in luxury and pleasure: this proved more fatal to the Carthaginians, than the plains of Cannæ had been to the Romans. For the Carthaginians appeared like heroes, when they first entered Capua; but they had lost all their bravery, upon their return in the spring before Casilinum, the siege of which had been changed during the winter into a blockade. Hannibal had forgot his activity and ancient vigour; with a large victorious army, he could not storm a small town defended only by twelve hundred men; so that he reduced it by famine.

Capua submits to Hannibal.

Marcellus gains an advantage over Hannibal before Nola. Hannibal enervated at Capua.

At Rome, the consul Terentius Varro, by desire of the senate, nominates a second dictator, in order to fill up the great number of vacant places in that august assembly: as the republic happened then to be in a very extraordinary situation, recourse was had to an extraordinary method. M. Fabius Buteo, who was appointed to this honourable office, discharged it with the approbation of all orders of people: for he chose to the senatorial dignity, those who had been invested with curule magistracies, or who had distinguished themselves in the army; and then he abdicated his dignity.

(g) The Surrentini were the inhabitants of *Surrentum*, a maritime town of Campania, now called *Sorrento*, situate near the promontorium *Minerva*, now *Capo della Minerva*, three miles from the island of *Caprea*. The wine of this place was reckoned excellent.

Et Surrentina generosus palmitis colles. Ovid. Met. 15.

(r) A city of Campania, situate on the river *Volturnus*, and now called *Capua Nova*.

Posthumius Albinus, with a Roman army, cut in pieces by the Boii, Lucius Posthumius Albinus, one of the consuls appointed for the following year, was cut off, with his whole army, at an ambuscade laid by the Cisalpine Gauls, in the forest of Litana (s). He had been sent with two legions, and a proportionable number of allies, to keep those people within bounds, and to intercept their communication with Hannibal.

538.

This melancholy news heightened the affliction of the Romans, yet they did not lose that steadiness and resolution, which had been always their chief resource in times of adversity: it was only ordered that no more troops should be sent into Gaul, and that they should turn all their forces against Hannibal. This general was grown more formidable by a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance concluded with the ambassadors of Philip king of Macedon, who had been induced thereto by Demetrius of Pharos, after this prince had taken shelter in his dominions. The Romans would not wait to see Philip invade their territories, but, resolving to be before hand with him, they gave orders for a fleet of fifty gallies to be fitted out, and to sail for Macedon.

The campaign in Italy produced no remarkable event, except a victory obtained by Marcellus, under the walls of Nola, where he was attacked by Hannibal a second time. Fabius was consul, and behaved with his usual caution; so that he was called the *buckler of Rome*, and Marcellus was stiled the *sword of the republic*. Besides the consuls, the Romans had several generals with the titles of proconsuls, prætors, and proprætors, or invested with a particular commission; and they generally had the advantage over the enemy.

The Sardinians subdued.

The Sardinians, having revolted at the instigation of a person named Hampsicoras, were intirely subdued by T. Manlius Torquatus. This general had already triumphed over Sardinia, and, without doubt, would have received this honour again, had the times permitted. He defeated the rebels and the Carthaginians in two pitched battles, in which fifteen thousand of the enemy were cut in pieces, and a great number taken prisoners, among whom was the Carthaginian general, Asdrubal, surnamed the *Bald*.

The Romans successful in Spain.

The news from Spain were equally favourable. Publius Scipio still commanded there as proconsul, and had under him his brother Cneius. Advice was brought that he had twice defeated the enemy, the first time before Ilturgis (r), the second before Indibilis (u), two cities besieged by the Carthaginians, who were obliged each time to raise the siege. To supply the wants of this army in Spain, the Romans, for the first time, ordered the publicans, or farmers of the revenue, to advance the sums necessary for that service. They were assured that

(s) This is the *Litana Silva*, belonging to the country of the Boii.

(r) Now called *Anduxar*; it was a town of the ancient *Bæties*.

(u) Some call it *Incibilis*; it was a town of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, and is now called S. Mattheo, 27 miles from Tortosa.

they

they should be the first that were reimbursed, as soon as the public treasury was able to satisfy their demands; and the republic kept her word.

In Sicily, affairs had taken a more unfavourable turn. This island had been invaded by the Carthaginians, at the beginning of the war; but they could make no impression, so long as Hiero, that faithful ally of the Romans, lived. After his decease, which happened this year, Hieronymus, his grandson and successor, declared for Hannibal, and concluded an alliance with Carthage. This young prince, having rendered himself odious by his cruelty and arrogance, was assassinated by a band of conspirators, who had formed a design of surrendering the government of Syracuse into the hands of the republic.

539.

The murder of Hieronymus was followed by the massacre of almost all the nearest relations of good king Hiero, under pretence that some of them wanted to restore the monarchical government. Syracuse was all in a combustion; two factions were formed in that city, one for the Romans, the other for the Carthaginians; but the latter was the strongest. Hippocrates and Epicydes, Hannibal's agents, usurped the chief authority among the Syracusians, and made themselves masters of the capital. The consul Marcellus lays siege to that potent city. This general, before he sailed for Sicily, had obtained a fresh advantage over Hannibal, under the walls of Nola, the usual theatre of his glory. And this was not the only advantage the republic gained in Italy.

The Romans had spared no pains to prepare for a successful campaign: they had chosen for their consuls Marcellus and Fabius, the two greatest generals they had at that time, without troubling their heads about the law, which prohibited any person from being invested with the consular dignity two successive years: they had raised an army of eighteen legions, with a proportionable number of allies, equal at least to that of the legionaries: and by a poll-tax upon people of easy fortunes, they had procured a sufficient number of seamen for the fleet: in fine, by a policy that was judged necessary in the present circumstances, they continued most of the generals of the preceding year in their respective commands. To these military preparations was added an example of severity to impress the troops with a sense of their duty. The censors degraded several thousand citizens, who had been convicted of desiring to withdraw from Italy after the battle of Cannæ; or of having violated the oath they had taken to go back to Hannibal, if they could not obtain their ransom at Rome; or lastly, of having evaded entering the service, though of age to bear arms. These were all expelled from the tribes, reduced to pay taxes without having any voice in the public assemblies, and deprived of all hopes of ever obtaining any preferment. By a decree of the senate, they were banished to Sicily, there to serve on foot with the runaways of the battle of Cannæ, so long as Hannibal continued in Italy.

Battle of
Beneven-
tum.

Battle of Beneventum, gained by the proconsul Sempronius Gracchus, over Hanno, lieutenant to Hannibal: the proconsul's forces consisted chiefly of those eight thousand slaves, called *volones*, from having enlisted voluntarily, and whom he had disciplined himself, during the two years they had been under his command. With the senate's permission, he promised them their liberty, if they proved victorious: and what is it men will not do to obtain so inestimable a blessing! Hanno's army consisted of eighteen thousand men, sixteen thousand of whom were slain in this battle: it is true, that Hanno had his revenge soon after. Fabius retakes Casilinum, and spreads terror and desolation through the several provinces that had surrendered themselves to the enemy.

In Spain, the two Scipio's were victorious in three pitched battles, the fruit of which was the retaking of Saguntum, a city which had given rise to this bloody war between Rome and Carthage. The Saguntines are reinstated in their possessions. Philip, king of Macedon, lays siege to Apollonia, a city then allied to the Romans. The propraetor Lavinus flies to the relief of this place, surprizes Philip in his camp, defeats his army, and obliges him to return to Macedon, after setting fire himself to the galleys prepared for his passage into Italy. Such was the unhappy consequence of the treaty between this young prince and Hannibal, which ought to have convinced him how dangerous it was to quarrel with the Romans.

540.

The republic was so well pleased with the services of the great Fabius, surnamed the *Cunctator*, as to raise his son to the consulate, in hopes that he would not act but by the direction of his father, who was to serve under him as his lieutenant-general. The two Fabii watched Hannibal's motions so very close, that he was not able to attempt any considerable enterprize during this campaign; and, on the other hand, the allies perceiving that Rome was gradually regaining her superiority, demanded to be received again into her friendship. It was much the same case in Spain. The Scipio's, by the superiority of their arms, and prudent conduct, had prejudiced all the neighbouring nations in favour of the Romans. Without engaging in any new enterprize this year, they contented themselves with laying hold of this favourable disposition, to draw over Syphax, an African prince, and king of Masælyia (*), to the Roman party: and now the eyes of all Europe were turned towards Marcellus the proconsul, who still carried on the siege of Syracuse in Sicily.

Siege of
Syracuse.

This siege had lasted a full year, and made no manner of progress. The wonderful ingenuity of a single man, though shut up in his cabinet, disconcerted every effort of Roman valour: in vain did Marcellus with a fleet of sixty quinqueremes, on the one hand, and the praetor Appius Claudius at the head of several legions, on the other, attack

(*) The western part of Numidia in Africa.

the city of Syracuse by sea and land; the machines which Archimedes had placed on the walls, were sufficient to defend it: for sometimes they discharged on the besiegers a shower of darts, with enormous masses of stone or lead, and beams pointed with iron: sometimes they grappled their galleys, and after whirling them through the air, they either dashed them against the rocks, and so broke them in pieces; or let them fall with such force into the sea, that they sunk to the bottom with all their crew: and, lastly, flames of fire, so much the more dreadful, as they were unforeseen, darted from the focus of a burning glass, and burnt the Roman fleet. The latter circumstance we do not find in the most ancient historians, and therefore it has been looked upon as apocryphal by authors of the best reputation. But the curious experiments performed some years ago by M. de Buffon, are sufficient to ascertain the probability of the fact. It is well known that this celebrated academician contrived glasses, which set fire to objects two or three hundred feet distant; and since he made it appear that it was possible for Archimedes to be the author of so ingenious a contrivance, he well deserves a share of that celebrated mathematician's glory.

Ingenious
contrivances
of Archi-
medes.

Marcellus changes the siege of Syracuse into a blockade, and leaves the direction of it to Appius, while he puts himself at the head of part of his troops, and sets out to reconquer the Sicilian cities, which had deserted the Roman interest. Hippocrates having marched out of Syracuse with ten thousand men, to join Hamilco the Carthaginian general, he cuts his infantry in pieces. During these transactions, two fleets arrive in Sicily, one of thirty quinquereines for the Romans, and the other of fifty five galleys commanded by Bomilcar for the Carthaginians. Appius Claudius stands for the consulate, and obtains it; Marcellus appoints T. Quintius Crispinus to succeed him.

541.

The taking of Syracuse. This city would have been impregnable, Marcellus had not the Syracusians themselves been the authors of their own disgrace. On the one hand, Archimedes's machines absolutely hindered the approaches of the Romans; and, on the other, it was impossible for the blockade to succeed, because Syracuse, which was divided into five large distinct wards, of a prodigious circumference, had the conveniency of a double harbour, so that it was an easy matter to supply the town with provisions. Marcellus, having been apprized that the walls were ill guarded in the night, advances silently, and scales one part of the city. Upon this, the whole united force of the Sicilians and Carthaginians is assembled in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, viz. Hamilco at the head of the Carthaginians, Hippocrates at the head of the Sicilians, and Bomilcar with a new fleet of a hundred and sixty sail which he had brought from Africa: yet these formidable forces were all baffled. The plague breaks out in their camps, and carries off Hamilco and Hippocrates, upon which their troops immediately disband: Bomilcar sails back to Carthage just at the very time that it was expected he would give battle to Marcellus; and

Marcellus
takes Syra-
cuse.

Q

Epicyles

Archimedes
is killed.

Epicydes in great confusion retires to Agrigentum. The Syracusians being reduced to extremity, propose to surrender, on condition that their lives shall be spared; but their city was given up to the soldiers to be plundered. The celebrated Archimedes was killed in the general confusion; and to the honour of Marcellus, it is said that he sincerely lamented his death, and granted peculiar privileges to his relations: this is not at all surprizing in a man, who was seen to shed tears, upon contemplating the imminent ruin of the Syracusians. The plunder found at Syracuse, and transported to Rome, was reckoned as considerable, as if Marcellus had made himself master of Carthage.

The Romans were now employed in another important siege, that of Capua, the first and most considerable conquest of the Carthaginians. Hannibal, on his part, takes Tarentum and Thurium by intelligence: he had been long desirous of getting possession of some seaport town, for the convenience of receiving succours from Carthage and Macedonia; and Tarentum was very fit for this purpose.

Disturbances in Rome, occasioned by the male practices of some of the publicans, who are severely punished. Their goods are confiscated, and they are forbid the use of fire and water, a kind of sentence equivalent to banishment.

The two
Scipio's slain
in Spain.

The republic loseth three of her greatest generals, the two Scipio's, and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who, in the quality of præconsul, continued to command the new disciplined slaves in Lucania. Sempronius is killed in an ambuscade, by the treachery of a Lucanian, whose name was Fulvius. The two Scipio's are slain in Spain at the head of their armies, within less than a month of one another. These great men may be reproached in some measure with too much confidence from their many successes: they separated imprudently, reckoning to have brought matters to such a point, that, at one blow, they should terminate the Spanish war. For this end, Publius having taken two thirds of the Roman forces with him, set out with a design to fight Mago, and Asdrubal the son of Gisco; while Cneius, with the remainder of the Romans, and thirty thousand Celtiberian mercenaries, attacked Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, and commander in chief of the Carthaginians. Publius found more work cut out for him than he imagined: two new armies had started up all of a sudden in defence of the Carthaginians; the one commanded by Indibilis, a Spanish prince who reigned over the Lacetani (*); the other by Masiussa, a young but formidable captain, son of Gala king of the Massilian Numidians, who had sided with the Carthaginians against Syphax, king of the Massæsylian Numidians their neighbours. Thus Publius found himself attacked at the same time by three armies. What could the bravest man do on such an occasion, but fight and perish? such was the fate of the generous Publius, he died sword in hand, and the best part of his troops fell with him. In regard

(*) A people of Catalonia, not far from the Pyrenean mountains.

to Cneius, he had no sooner parted from his brother, than he saw himself deserted by the Celtiberians, who, having been bribed by Asdrubal with large sums, marched back to their own country. Cneius being reduced to his own troops, was soon overpowered by such a number of victorious armies, and died sword in hand, like his brother Publius.

The affairs of Rome seemed to be in a desperate way in Spain; had it not been a usual thing for the republic to rise again, as it were out of her own ashes. Among the unfortunate remains of those armies, there was a young Roman knight, named Marcius, who as yet had attained no degree, though he merited the highest, in the army. He rallied the troops with as great presence of mind as the Scipio's themselves could have done, and, having drawn some reinforcements from the Roman garrisons, he mustered up a tolerable army; upon which the troops chose him for their general, with the title of *proprætor*. He justified their choice before the end of the campaign, having gained one battle, and surprized two camps; which rendered him formidable to the Carthaginians. Notwithstanding this gallant behaviour, he did not meet at Rome with deserved applause; the senate were offended, because in the letter wherein he informed them of his success, he had stiled himself *proprætor*, an honour that had not been conferred upon him by the ordinary comitia. His exploits were admired, but went unrewarded, and C. Claudius was sent to command in Spain in his room, with a reinforcement of fourteen or fifteen thousand men.

C. Marcius gains a signal victory over the Carthaginians.

Institution of the *Ludi Apollinares*, owing to some predictions of a celebrated soothsayer, named Marcius. These games were celebrated in the great circus, the citizens sat to see them, crowned with lawrel, and that day they dined in public, each man before his own door.

Ludi Apollinares.

The republic had three and twenty legions on foot this and the following year.

542.

Hannibal attempts to relieve Capua, still besieged by Fulvius and Appius, consuls of the preceding year, who at that time acted as pro-consuls. Finding himself repulsed, he takes a desperate resolution of marching to Rome, with a design to surprize that capital, or at least to make a powerful diversion. He laid waste the whole country, through which he marched, and made a considerable booty in provinces, that for a long time had seen no enemy: this was all the benefit he reaped from so extraordinary an expedition, which has been greatly extolled by many historians, though if well considered, it seems to have been only an act of despair. True it is, that the alarm was at first very great at Rome; but it was only among the women, and the common people. Without raising the siege of Capua, the care of which was left to Appius, the senate sent for Fulvius, with his army; the ramparts were all lined with soldiers; detachments were sent to mount Alba and to Æsula; the several posts in the neighbourhood of Rome, were occupied by different bodies of troops; and Fulvius came and encamped between the gates Collina and Esquilina. It soon appeared, that Hanni-

Hannibal marches to Rome.

bal was no longer so formidable to the Romans; for at the very time that he lay before one of the gates of their city, they ordered a reinforcement of two thousand men to march another way, to the relief of Spain; and at Rome they sold a piece of ground, situated in the place where he was encamped, as dear as if he had been a hundred leagues off. Hearing of this, he was greatly affronted; and in revenge, he set up to sale the bankers shops round the forum. But a few days after, he retired to the country of the Brutii.

Hannibal
retires.
Capua re-
taken by the
Romans.

The Capuans finding themselves hard pressed by the two proconsuls, and by famine, offer to capitulate: the conditions granted them are not known; to judge by the consequences, they could not be favourable. As soon as the Romans were in possession of the town, they seized the senators, who were afterwards beaten with rods, and beheaded, by order of Fulvius; the lower people were sold for slaves; the citizens, after being stripped of all their effects, were dispersed in different places; and the town was peopled with freedmen, who were sent to manure those fruitful plains of Campania, which Cicero stiled the best farm belonging to the people of Rome. Vibius Virius, the chief author of the Capuan revolt, foresaw this rigid treatment, to avoid which, he drank a cup of poison at the end of a sumptuous entertainment: he had invited his chief accomplices, who poisoned themselves along with him, to the number of seven and twenty senators.

League of the Romans, Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, and other people of Greece, against Philip king of Macedon. The proprætor Lævinus, having been entrusted with the command of a fleet of fifty ships, in order to watch over Macedon, cuts out work enough for that prince to hinder his invading Italy.

In Spain, the proprætor C. Claudius Nero missed a very good opportunity of destroying Asdrubal's whole army, which had suffered itself to be shut up on a neck of land, where they must have perished for want of provisions, if Claudius had not lost time in negotiations, during which Asdrubal found means to convey all his troops gradually over the mountains. The people assembled to chuse a proconsul to succeed him, and their choice fell on P. Cornelius Scipio; son of the eldest of the two Scipio's, killed the preceding year in Spain. Scipio was then but four and twenty years old, but had all the accomplishments of an hero. The people adored him; and looked upon him as a man inspired by the gods; a notion which he took great care to cultivate, foreseeing that he might one day make a very good use of it in the service of his country. He embarked on board a fleet of thirty quinqueremes, with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse.

Young
Scipio sent
to Spain.

Marcellus, upon his return to Rome, decrees a triumph to himself on mount Alba; for in the city they allowed him only a simple ovation, because his army remained in Sicily, where the Carthaginians still preserved a narrow spot of land. This general was a lover of the polite arts; he built the temples of Honour and Virtue at Rome, and decorated them with the statues, pictures, vases, and other valuable

ornaments,

ornaments, of which he had stripped the opulent city of Syracuse. Yet he is blamed for having introduced among the Romans that exquisite taste for the polite arts, which insensibly involved them in all manner of extravagance and luxury. But surely the taste itself is innocent; the abuse is what we ought only to condemn.

543.

Notwithstanding the irregular behaviour of Marcellus in decreeing a triumph to himself, he was chosen consul the fourth time: Sicily fell to his lot once more; but he made an exchange with his colleague Lævinus, who had Italy for his department. The Syracusians accused him of behaving towards them rather as a tyrant, than a conqueror: he justified himself; but, instead of desiring to be revenged, he obtained of the senate that those very people should be treated on the foot of allies of the republic. Won by such generosity, they chose him for their patron, instituted a festival that bore his name, and decreed that whenever either he or any of his family came to Syracuse, they should make a public entry. Fulvius Flaccus, one of the conquerors of Capua, was also accused by the Campanians; but they did not succeed. Several incendiaries were taken up at Rome, for setting fire to different quarters of the city, at the instigation of divers noble persons of Campania; a circumstance which contributed not a little to discredit the cause of their nation.

Insurrection at Rome in consequence of a tax which the consuls wanted to lay on the people, for maintaining the seamen. The senators, by the advice of the consul Lævinus, carry all their valuable effects, their money, jewels, and plate, to the public treasury; this was taking the people by the weak side; their emulation was roused; they taxed themselves, and furnished a more considerable supply than could have been expected. Troubles at Rome.

The army, under the proconsul Fulvius Centumalus, is cut in pieces by Hannibal, near Herdonia (a) in Apulia: Marcellus marches that way immediately, and offers battle to the Carthaginians: the action was not decisive; for night parted the combatants. Hannibal used all his art to avoid a second general engagement. Lævinus makes himself master of Agrigentum, the only place the Carthaginians had still remaining in Sicily: Epicydes, and the other Carthaginian generals, withdraw by sea, and leave the Romans in possession of this long contested prize. Battle of Herdonia.

In Spain, Scipio's first essay was the surprizing of new Carthage (b), a city built by Asdrubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar: he had been advised to avail himself of the division among the three Carthaginian generals, which was then at a very great height,

(a) A city of Apulia, near the river *Aufidus*, now called *Ardena*, between the rivers *Cervaro* and *Caropelle*. Appian writes with an omicron, 'Ερδωνία; but Silius, lib. 8. makes it long, *Obscura incultis Herdonia mista ab agris*.

(b) Now called Carthagena in the kingdom of Murcia in Spain.

and to attack them while they continued separate. A general of the common stamp would have followed this advice; but Scipio had more extensive views: he was sensible, that by making himself master of new Carthage, he should immediately deprive the enemy of the sinews of war. For here it was that they kept the treasure taken from the Spaniards, with the hostages of that nation; this was their magazine of arms and provisions; this the safest port for their fleets; this the center of communication between Africa and Spain. The city being taken by assault, was given up to the troops to be plundered. On this occasion it was that the young proconsul gave a remarkable instance of continency, which will do eternal honour to his memory. His soldiers brought him a Spanish young lady, whom they found in the town: her beauty was superior to the lustre of her birth, and she was betrothed to a Celtiberian prince, named Allucius, who had a most tender affection for her. Scipio beheld, and admired his fair prisoner, and then resigned her into the hands of her father and her lover (b). Yet it is certain that this great man had a passion for the fair sex; but still he had a much greater for glory and virtue. He behaved also in the same manner towards the hostages, by sending for their relations, and delivering them up without any ransom. Was it possible for him to take a more effectual step, towards executing his design of subduing Spain by his humanity, rather than by force of arms?

Scipio makes himself master of new Carthage.

His great continency.

At Rome the people, for the first time, assume the privilege of naming a dictator, which properly belonged to the consuls. The custom was for the consuls, or for the dictator appointed by one of them for that effect, to preside in the comitia for the election of consuls of the ensuing year. Lævinus having refused to name one according to the direction of the senate, they had recourse to the tribunes of the people, and charged them to desire a dictator in the assembly of the tribes. These took upon them to name Fulvius Flaccus, who was appointed by Marcellus; and he had interest to get himself elected to the consulate contrary to law; for the president of the assembly was not allowed to appear as candidate. They chose for his colleague the great Fabius, who was also declared prince of the senate the following year.

(b) This fact, though supported by the generality of historians, is contradicted by Valerius Antias, who positively says, that he did not return the lady to her relations, but kept her for his own pleasure; *puella quædam pulcherrima, quam, Carthaginis ampla civitate in Hispania expugnata, ceperat P. Africanus superior, non reddita patri, sed retenta ab eo, atque in deliciis, amorousque usurpata est.* This same historian seems to have but an indifferent opinion of Scipio's morals, which was owing perhaps to the following verses of the poet Nævius, written against that general.

*Etiam qui res magnas manu sæpe gessit gloriæ,
Cujus facta nunc vigent, qui apud gentes solus
Præstat, ætæ suæ pater cum pallio uno ab omni adduxit.*

See Aulus Gellius, lib. 6. cap. 8.

Am-

Ambassadors sent to Syphax king of Numidia, and to the other petty kings of Africa, in order to solicit or preserve their alliance with the Romans: a deputation was likewise sent to Ptolemy Philopater king of Egypt, to renew the alliance which had subsisted sixty three years between the republic and the kingdom of Egypt.

The number of troops this year was no more than one and twenty legions.

544.

C. Mamilius Vitulus, a plebeian, is raised to the dignity of *curio maximus*: he was the superintendent, or chief of the thirty *curiones*, who presided at the religious ceremonies in each of the *curiæ*. This seems to have been no difficult point to obtain, since the order of the plebeians had been allowed to supply the republic with supreme pontiffs; and yet a decree of the senate was necessary for authorizing the *comitia* to elect Mamilius.

Out of thirty colonies which were to furnish their contingent this year, twelve refused under pretence that they were utterly incapable. On the contrary, the other eighteen not only offered their share, but more if necessary; and the senate ordered the public thanks to be given to their deputies, in the assembly of the people. Livy has preserved the names of those eighteen colonies, by whose zeal, he says, the republic was saved. And we must needs imagine that the government was greatly exhausted, since the consuls, in order to open the campaign, were obliged to have recourse to the secret treasury, from whence they took out the gold that was kept there for the most urgent necessities of the state.

This year three famous generals commanded in Italy, the two consuls, and Marcellus in the quality of proconsul: the latter having harassed Hannibal ever since the battle of Herdonia, obliged him at length to come to an engagement in the plains of Canusium. The Romans were routed the first day; but the next they obliged the enemy to retire a second time into the country of the Brutii, after losing eight thousand men. The consul Fulvius recovered without bloodshed Hirpinia and Lucania, from whence he marched and attacked the Brutians, Hannibal's most faithful allies. Fabius forms the siege of Tarentum, a city which had engaged the attention of the Romans more than any other, since the taking of Capua: he is put into possession of it by the commander of the Brutian garrison, whom he had gained over to his interest by means of a Tarentine woman, the favourite mistress of that officer. The riches of which Fabius plundered Tarentum, were equal to those which Marcellus found at Syracuse: but he made a very different use of the statues and pictures with which that city was stocked; for he expressed great contempt for those ornaments, saying, *Let us leave to the Tarentines their angry gods*. And indeed all the gods worshipped at Tarentum, were represented in a fighting posture, with their proper arms, seeming to menace this city with their wrath; which is what Fabius alluded to. He narrowly escapes falling into an ambuscade prepared by Hannibal, on the road to

Marcellus
routed by
Hannibal.
But the next
day he is
victorious.

Metapontum (*d*). This general, who arrived too late to relieve Tarentum, had heard of the artifice by which Fabius made himself master of that city: upon which he is said to have uttered these words in great surprize; *What! have the Romans then their Hannibal also?*

Exploits of
young Scipio
in Spain,

But the glory of the generals in Italy was greatly eclipsed by the reputation, which young Scipio continued to acquire in Spain, where the command of the army was conferred upon him for an unlimited time. He crosses the Iberus, attacks Asdrubal in a post almost inaccessible, and obtains a complete victory. After which he refuses the title of king, from a great number of Spanish princes, who were come to congratulate him upon his success. "Those people, says Mr. Rollin after Livy, barbarous as they were, had nevertheless a high sense of the magnanimity and virtue of a person, who spurned a title so greatly coveted and admired by the rest of mankind." Asdrubal retires towards the Pyrenees, intending to march through Gaul, and join his brother Hannibal in Italy. This was undoubtedly a necessary step: Hannibal had always told his friends that it would be very difficult for him to conquer Italy with his own troops only; and after the taking of Tarentum he acknowledged the thing to be impossible. Mago posts himself in Lusitania (*e*): but Asdrubal son of Gisco repairs to the Balearic islands (*f*), in order to make new levies. Masinissa remains in the heart of Spain, with three thousand horse under his command, to awe the rest of the Carthaginian allies.

545.

Marcellus
falls into an
ambuscade,
and is slain.

A tribune, jealous of Marcellus's glory, accuses him before the tribes; upon which this general repairs to Rome, and justifies himself by a bare narrative of his exploits: the next day he is chosen consul the fifth time. The two consuls encamp in Apulia, between Venusia and Bantia (*g*). Death of Marcellus, unworthy of so great a general. Though he was sixty years old, he had all the fire and vivacity of youth: this made him venture almost without an escort, to reconnoitre a post that separated the Roman from the Carthaginian camp; and he set out upon the expedition with Quinctius his colleague, and several officers of distinction. The place being very proper for an ambuscade, Hannibal made good use of it, by concealing a small detachment of Numidian horse, who made a sudden attack upon the Roman

(*d*) *Metapontum* or *Metapontium*, a city of Magna Græcia in the bay of Tarentum, near the river *Casventum*, now *Basiente*. It stood on the same spot, as the present *Torre di Mare*, and was famous for having been once the residence of Pythagoras.

(*e*) The third part of ancient Spain (the other two were Bætica, and Tarraconensis) including the present Portugal, with part of old and new Castile.

(*f*) These were the islands of Majorca and Minorca, called *Baleares*, and *ty Balan*, because the inhabitants were famous slingers.

(*g*) A town of Apulia, the remains of which, according to Holstenius, are still to be seen at a place called *S. Maria di Vanno*. Hor. lib. 3. od. 4. mentions *Bantinos Salm*,

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consuls. Marcellus was killed, and his son wounded; but Quintus escaped, though he had received two very dangerous wounds, of which he died, after having had the precaution to name a dictator, which was T. Manlius Torquatus. The Romans retire before Hannibal, and raise the siege of Locri, which they had undertaken merely to avoid being inactive, while the two armies were observing each other.

The proconsul Valerius Lævinus obtains a naval victory off Clypea in Africa.

At the census taken this year, there appeared to be one hundred and thirty seven thousand one hundred and eight citizens fit to bear arms; which was about half the number they had, when Hannibal entered Italy: there had been no census since that time.

546.

As soon as the news came to Rome, that Asdrubal only waited for the spring to pass the Alps, the Romans began to make all the necessary preparations against him: they set on foot an army of three and twenty legions; they obliged the maritime colonies to furnish their contingent, though they had been hitherto exempted; they reinforced the armies in Italy with troops from Spain and Sicily; in a word, contrary to the custom observed for some time, of making the consuls act jointly against Hannibal, they gave them separate commands. C. Nero was sent into the country of the Brutii, to make head against Hannibal; and Livius received orders to march to Cisalpine Gaul, to oppose Asdrubal.

It seemed as if this campaign was to decide the fate of Italy; for Rome would have been undone, had Asdrubal joined his brother. It was not his fault that he did not; but he came down the Alps much earlier than was expected; and this was the very thing that ruined the Carthaginians. Hannibal continued in his winter quarters, not imagining that his brother could reach Italy so soon; or that he had met with so few of those difficulties which had retarded himself in his march through Gaul and over the Alps. "Asdrubal, says father Catrou, knew how to gain the affection of the Transalpine Gauls; his army had been reinforced by a great number of the Arverni (b); the mountaineers being grown less savage, instead of opposing his march, determined to join him; and he had found the Alps nothing near so difficult to pass, since his brother, and several others, within these twelve years had opened and levelled the roads."

Hannibal is defeated by the prætor C. Hostilius, and afterwards by Hannibal Claudius Nero, who killed ten thousand of his men in two engagements. This consul, having intercepted letters from Asdrubal to his brother, by which he found that he was preparing to march in order to join him in Umbria, set out privately in the night; and leaving

(b) The *Arverni* or *Arverni* inhabited that part of Gaul now called *Arvergne*.

Afdrubal
killed,

part of his troops in his camp, he made forced marches towards Cisalpine Gaul, and joined his colleague Livius in six days. The consuls come to a pitched battle with Afdrubal, whose army is entirely defeated, and he himself is among the slain. This battle was as fatal to the Carthaginians, as that of Cannæ had been to the Romans; the former lost their general and upwards of fifty thousand men. Afdrubal was not inferior to his brother in valour and military skill; as an able general he did all he could to avoid coming to an engagement with the two consuls, for he endeavoured to steal away from them in the dark: but his guides deceived him; and his army, having wandered about all night, was spent with hunger and fatigue, when the Romans came up with them. Yet the victory was long disputed: the brave son of Hamilcar, and worthy brother of Hannibal, faced the enemy on every side, and died sword in hand. The unfortunate Hannibal knew nothing of what had passed, till the consul Nero, at his return to his camp, ordered Afdrubal's head to be thrown into the enemy's trenches. What a sight for such a man as Hannibal! It acquainted him at the same time with the death of his brother, the defeat of his army, and his own disgrace in having been so deceived. O Carthage, he cried out, *unhappy Carthage! Who can withstand the pressure of thy fate!* Then he retired into the country of the Brutii, and collected all his forces, both Carthaginians and allies. The Romans grant a triumph to Livius, and only an ovation to his colleague: it was the first triumph since the commencement of the second Punic war. This Livius, who acts so grand a part upon the present stage, is the same, who twelve years before had been unjustly censured by the people, and had ever since spent his days in retirement. The Romans thought themselves happy in finding him out, after the fatal disaster which bereft them of their two consuls; for he alone seemed to have prudence sufficient to temper the vivacity of his colleague Nero. It is true that Fabius was still living, but being upwards of ninety years of age, he could only enjoy his former glory.

Success of
the Roman
arms in
Spain.

In Spain, the Carthaginians were hemmed in as close, as Hannibal seemed to be in Italy: for now the whole coast along the Mediterranean, and all the eastern part of the province, paid obedience to the Romans. Afdrubal, son of Gisico, after completing his levies in the Balearic islands, retired into Bætica; and Mago had been sent into Celtiberia along with Hanno, a new general lately come from Carthage, to succeed Hannibal's brother. These two generals were beaten in Celtiberia by the prætor Marcus Julius Silanus; Hanno was taken prisoner, and the Celtiberians in his pay were all cut in pieces: on the other hand, Scipio was in pursuit of the son of Gisico, who could not keep his ground. The Carthaginians were confined to the towns that adhered to their party. The taking of *Oringis* (i) in Bætica, by Lucius, brother of the prætor. These agreeable tidings are brought

(i) Livy, lib. 28o. calls it *urbs opulentissima*.

to Rome by Lucius himself, attended by Hanno and many other Carthaginian prisoners of distinction.

The Romans were equally prosperous in Greece, where they had raised great troubles, in order to cut out work for Philip. The *Ætolians* on the one side, supported by the Romans, by the *Lacedæmonians*, and by *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*; and on the other, Philip and the *Achæans*, were the principal actors. This war terminated two years after in a peace, in which were included the allies on both sides; but it was not of long duration.

And in
Greece.

Another naval victory obtained by the proconsul *Ævinus*.

547.

A vestal virgin having suffered the sacred fire to go out, was beaten with rods by the command of the *pontifex maximus*, who, on this occasion, gave orders for particular prayers to appease the wrath of the gods.

The two consuls carry on the war jointly against *Hannibal*; but he kept so well upon the defensive, that they durst not attack him: it was now his turn to be *cunctator*. The whole glory of this campaign was confined to Spain.

The battle of *Bæcula* on the borders of *Bætica*. The Carthaginian army was commanded by three able generals, *Asdrubal*, Mago second brother of *Hannibal*, and *Masinissa*: it consisted of seventy four thousand fighting men, with two and thirty elephants: the Romans were only forty eight thousand; but their general's skill supplied the deficiency of numbers. *Asdrubal* had placed the Africans in the center, and the Spaniards in the wings; on the contrary, *Scipio* placed the Romans in the wings, and the Spaniards in the center. He drew up his army in such a manner, that the Africans, who were the flower of the Carthaginian forces, could not come to blows with the Spaniards, who were the weakest part of the Roman army, without running a risk of being surrounded. Such prudent dispositions were attended with all the success that could be wished. The Carthaginians were defeated; and abandoning their camp the night after the battle, they retired towards the sea: *Scipio* pursued them close, and cut most of them in pieces. After two such terrible defeats, the enemy's army was reduced to six thousand men, who entrenched themselves, as well as they could, upon a rock, where it was impossible for them to subsist long for want of provisions.

Battle of
Bæcula.

Asdrubal and Mago get down to the sea side, and embark for *Gades*. *Masinissa* has a conference with the proprætor *Silanus*. It is thought, that this prince entered into engagements at that time with the Romans, and that by virtue of the treaty concluded with the republic, the few troops under his command were suffered to disperse into different parts of Spain. *Scipio* crosses over to Africa with two galleys, in order to have a personal conference with *Syphax*, king of the *Masæsylian Numidians*, who had espoused the Carthaginian party: and he reconciles him to the Romans, at least for a while. *Asdrubal* happened to arrive there at the same time as *Scipio*; they both lodged in

in

in king Syphax's palace, and dined together at his table. The Carthaginian general confessed that Scipio appeared to him as powerful in conversation, as at the head of his armies, so greatly did this illustrious Roman excel in the art of persuasion. Upon his return to Spain, he takes Illiturgis and Castulo (1), both which cities had revolted from the Romans: the former, as the most criminal, was destroyed by fire and sword. Another named Astapa afforded still a more tragical spectacle. The inhabitants, hearing that the Romans were upon their march, went out to fight them, and were all killed to a man; except fifty who had been left behind in the town, with orders to cut the throats of their wives and children, and to consign them to the flames, with all their moveables and effects upon the first news of their defeat: accordingly they complied with their orders; and then they threw themselves into the middle of the flames.

Scipio falls dangerously ill: and now it appeared how formidable the very name of this great man was to the enemies of Rome. To complete the conquest of the whole country, he wanted only to make himself master of Gades (2), to which city Mago had retreated. The report of his death had like to have been of very bad consequence. Mandonius and Indibilis, two petty kings of the Ilirgetæ (3), revolted from the republic, and the spirit of sedition spread among a body of eight thousand legionaries, who were encamped on the banks of the Sucro (4). Scipio, by his prudence, and by punishing the ring-leaders, soon quelled the mutiny of his soldiers; and the revolted princes he reduced by force of arms.

Mago, having received orders to hasten with all his forces into Italy, to the assistance of his brother Hannibal, departs from Gades, which soon after submits to the Romans. Scipio is recalled into Italy, and resigns the government of Spain to L. C. Lentulus, and L. Manlius Acidinus, who had been appointed to take upon them the command in the quality of proconsuls.

548.

Scipio
chosen
Consul.

Scipio is chosen consul with the unanimous consent of all the centuries. His exploits deserved a triumph, but it had been customary not to grant this honour, except to generals invested with some magistracy: the proconsulate was no such office, when obtained by an extraordinary commission, as had been the case of Scipio. His only triumph consisted in depositing in the public treasury, fourteen thousand three hundred and forty two pounds of silver in bars, and a prodigious

(1) It is now called *Caxlona* or *Caxorla*, and is situate on the borders of new Castile.

(2) An island without the streights of Gibraltar, where the Tyrian fleet built a town of the same name; whence Silius says, *Victor adit populos, cognataque limina Gades*. It is still called *Cadix*.

(3) A people that lived near the city of *Ilerda*, now *Lerida* in Spain.

(4) A river of the kingdom of Valencia in Spain, now called *Xucar*; at the mouth of this river there was a town of the same name, which has been changed into that of *Alcira*.

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quantity of specie, collected from the spoils of Spain, which he ordered to be carried before him as he entered Rome. His colleague Q. Lici-
 nius was *pontifex maximus*, a dignity which debarred him from leaving Italy. The occasion seemed favourable to Scipio, who was impatient to remove the seat of war to Africa, and knew that the people designed this expedition for him; but the young hero found all the old captains in the senate jealous of his glory. Even the great Fabius himself, though bending under the weight of years, and military honours, expressed an uneasiness at Scipio's rising merit: in a studied speech, he used his utmost endeavours to expose the dangers of the African expedition, concluding that it should not be entrusted to a young general, who, he said, had suffered Asdrubal, the most dangerous enemy of the Romans, next to his brother Hannibal, to make his escape from Spain; and who had rashly, and without necessity, put himself in the power of a barbarous prince (Syphax). The majority of the senate are brought over to his opinion: and it is decreed that Scipio shall have the command of the little fleet, which the republic maintained constantly on the coast of Sicily, with permission to make a descent in Africa, if he thought proper, in the manner his predecessors had done. Scipio sends thither C. Lælius, his old friend and faithful companion of all his toils, who carries off a considerable booty.

The plague rages among the troops of the consul Licinius, and defeats all his designs: it also reaches Hannibal's camp, at the time that he is greatly distressed for want of provisions. The loss of Locri, which Scipio took just within sight of him, completed his confusion. The only resource he had, was to join his brother Mago, who had lately landed in Liguria, the other extremity of Italy.

Mandonius and Indibilis revolt once more in Spain, and march against the proconsuls, with an army of thirty four thousand men: they are defeated, Indibilis is slain, and Mandonius taken prisoner.

The Romans send to Pessinus a city of Asia (g) for Cybele, the great mother of the gods, called also the Idæan mother. M. Valerius Lævinus, who had been twice consul, and four other persons of high rank, were commissioned to go and bring this deity, in order to comply with an oracle of the Sibylline books, importing, that whenever a foreign enemy had made Italy the seat of war, the only way to vanquish and expel him, was to go for the Idæan mother to Pessinus, and bring her to Rome. We took notice of a deputation of the like kind to Epidaurus, in order to fetch away the god of health, which was nothing more than a large snake: but this was something less, the Idæan mother was a large ugly flint, that was said to have fallen from heaven upon mount Ida in Phrygia. It would be difficult to express with what demonstrations of joy and respect this pretended deity was received in Rome. The senate was obliged to pitch upon the most

The Ro-
mans send
for the Idæ-
an mother.

(g) A city of Phrygia. It is declined with an increase, *Pessinuntis*.

virtuous man in the republic to go and meet the goddess without the gates, in order to satisfy another oracle of Pythian Apollo, whom the deputies had consulted concerning the success of their enterprise, as they passed by Delphi. The person chosen was young Scipio Nasica, as yet not seven and twenty; he was son of Cneius, consequently cousin german to the consul. "It is pity," says Mr. Rollin, "that history does not inform us, what virtues were those, which determined the senate to pronounce this judgment."

549.

Here a new scene opens for the brave, the generous Scipio; he sets out upon his African expedition, which had met with such objections. The famous Cato, surnamed the *Censor*, began to appear on the stage, where he afterwards made so brilliant a figure: his character was quite different from that of Scipio; the latter had the free, easy carriage of a gentleman, and at the same time was a man of sound virtue; the former was morose and reserved, and his virtue is said to have been all outward show. Be that as it may, he joined with the faction that were jealous of Scipio's merit. They charged this great man with having spent his time in idleness and extravagance upon his government of Sicily; and Fabius concluded, that they ought to deprive him of the command of that province, which had been continued to him, according to custom, with the title of proconsul. He said, moreover, that he ought to be punished for the expedition to Locri, undertaken, contrary to rule, out of his own department. The senate more moderate were content with giving orders, that ten commissioners should go and inform themselves of the facts upon the spot. The only answer Scipio gave them, was to let them see the mighty preparations he had made by sea and land for attacking the enemy. They were surprized at the sight; for indeed it was amazing to behold fifty ships of war well equipped, and an army of five and twenty or thirty thousand men well disciplined, when they knew that Scipio had received very little assistance from the republic: *Yes*, said they to one another, *if Carthage is not invincible, it must be subdued by so fine an army.* It was at the head of those troops that Scipio went over to Africa, with commission to stay there till the end of the war: and Cato followed him thither in the quality of quaestor.

Scipio embarks for Africa.

Scipio, at his arrival, found some alteration of affairs. Syphax had renewed and strengthened his engagements with the Carthaginians, by marrying Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal, a lady celebrated for her good sense, fortitude of mind, and extraordinary beauty. Her father had promised her to Masinissa, who sincerely loved her: but he broke his word, and gave her away to Syphax, merely because Masinissa was unfortunate, having been dispossessed of his throne by Syphax; which were new inducements for Masinissa to adhere to the Romans. He joins Scipio, who after several other advantages gains a complete victory over Asdrubal; above five thousand of the enemy being killed on the

Scipio defeats Asdrubal.

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the spot. The preconsul lays siege to Utica, within seventeen or eighteen leagues of Carthage: this was next to the capital, the strongest and richest city of the whole Carthaginian state; and Scipio intended to make it his magazine for arms and provisions: but winter coming on, he is obliged to raise the siege, and retires to a promontory, where he fortifies his camp, under which he shelters his fleet.

In Italy the consul Sempronius is worsted in an engagement with Hannibal near Croton; but he wipes off the disgrace soon after in a gains some second battle, where he obtains a complete victory: four thousand of the enemy were slain, and Hannibal was obliged to retire to Croton, without being able to appear any more in the field the rest of the year. Cornelius Cethegus, the other consul, was employed in Cisalpine Gaul, where he kept Mago at bay.

At Rome, the censors Livius and Claudius Nero abuse one another most grossly, in consequence of an old personal grudge. This scene appeared the more indecent, as one would have imagined that the love of the public good had sincerely reconciled them at the time of their consulship. It seems that Livius was of a very unforgiving temper; by virtue of his censorial authority, he reduced all the Roman tribes to the very lowest class, except the tribe Mæcia, which alone had formerly refused to condemn him. *Either the tribes, said the vindictive Livius, should not have condemned me; or when they had condemned me, they should not have honoured me afterwards with the consulship and censorship; a conduct so contradictory and absurd is their own condemnation, and justifies the judgment I pronounce against them.*

A census, at which there appeared to be two hundred and fourteen thousand citizens fit to bear arms, including the troops then in the service.

550.

Scipio surprizes Syphax and Asdrubal's camps in the night, and sets fire to them: this was the only way to prevent the enemy from coming to attack him with a superior force. The dreadful slaughter, and the immense booty taken in this nocturnal expedition, made it a complete victory. Forty thousand of the enemy were left dead on the spot, and above five thousand were made prisoners of war. Scipio orders them to be burnt, together with the whole booty, in honour of Vulcan, the god of fire. This horrid sacrifice shews how far even the most generous minds may be transported by superstition. He lays siege again to Utica, but is obliged to turn it into a blockade, in order to make head against Syphax and Asdrubal, who had rallied their forces. The latter had been deposed and condemned to death, according to the custom of Carthage: but luckily his soldiers being fond of him, he escaped the sentence, and continued at the head of the army. Whether it was vanity or generosity, he determined to serve his country even against her will. Syphax and Asdrubal are intirely defeated. The consequences of this victory were amazing, and perhaps would have been more so, had Scipio marched directly to Carthage: and the opportunity seemed favourable. He thought just as Hannibal had done, that

Syphax defeated by Lælius, and taken prisoner.

Tragical story of Sophonisba.

Hannibal recalled.

that before he laid siege to the capital, it was requisite to get a sure footing in the country; and this agreement in opinion between two such able generals, should induce us to believe that they had reason to act as they did. Syphax retires into Numidia, where Lælius and Masinissa come up with him: a battle ensues, in which he is defeated: in the pursuit he is taken prisoner by Masinissa, who, in this expedition, recovers his own throne, makes himself master of Syphax's kingdom, and of the person of Sophonisba, whom he presently marries. "Thus, says father Catrou, Sophonisba in one day lost and recovered a crown; saw herself deprived of one husband, and found another; in a word, made almost an instantaneous transition from the throne to servitude, and from servitude to the throne."

Scipio was not likely to approve of such a marriage. The proconsul, after taking Tunis, made what haste he could to preserve his fleet, which had sustained some small loss from the Carthaginians. There he received the unfortunate Syphax, and learned of him what a bewitching woman Sophonisba was, and how dangerous an enemy to the Romans: besides the Numidian expedition had been performed under the auspices of the republic; to whom it belonged to decide the fate of Sophonisba. Hereupon Scipio resolved to oblige Masinissa to part with her: he spoke to him, and his arguments prevailed. The young king determined to sacrifice his passion to glory. Sophonisba, by the advice of her new husband, imitated his constancy: she drank a cup of poison to avoid falling into the hands of the enemies of her father, and her country. Syphax is carried to Rome by Lælius. Hannibal and Mago receive orders from the senate of Carthage to return to Africa.

This order came just in time to save, in some measure, Hannibal's glory. This general, heretofore so formidable, was now confined to a little corner of the country of the Brutii, where he found it difficult to maintain his ground in the midst of a few allies, whose thoughts were bent upon deserting him. Yet he was heard to say, *It is not thou, O Rome, that drivest me out of Italy, but a senate, jealous of my glory.* Accordingly he set sail; on which occasion he is said to have uttered imprecations against the gods and men: he left but the worst troops behind him in the few towns that were still in the hands of the Carthaginians. As for Mago, he embarked in the greatest hurry, having been wounded in the thigh by a dart at a battle in Insubria, where he was defeated by the proconsul Cornelius Cethegus. Of this wound he died, just as he doubled the island of Sardinia: his fleet was dispersed by a tempest, and afterwards most of the ships fell into the hands of the Romans. But he had used the precaution to leave a Carthaginian officer, named Amilcar, in Liguria, with a small body of troops, as a leaven to ferment in proper time. The senate order public prayers, and all the temples to be opened for five days, in thanksgiving for Hannibal's departure. Audience given to the Carthaginian ambassadors, who came to sue for peace. But this was only a feint to gain time, till Hannibal and Mago arrived. The Carthaginians did not wait for the

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SIXTH CENTURY.

241

the expiration of the truce agreed upon during the negotiations of peace; they insulted the Roman galleys, as well as the deputies whom Scipio sent to complain of the injustice. The Greek cities, in alliance with the republic, made complaints at Rome, by their ambassadors, against the hostilities lately committed by Philip king of Macedon, at the instigation of the Carthaginians.

Death of Fabius the Cunctator, who was then near a hundred years of age, if we can believe Valerius Maximus.

The republic, at that time, had no more than twenty legions on foot.

551.

They were reduced this year to sixteen; but the number of legionaries was increased: for the legions consisted of five thousand four hundred men. The consul Nero had orders to set sail for Africa, with a fleet of fifty galleys; but storms and other circumstances hindered him from executing his commission.

The hopes of Carthage, under the present circumstances, were centered now in Hannibal. As for Asdrubal, he died most miserably, oppressed by the hatred of his fellow citizens, and his own soldiers, who imagined he held a correspondence with the Romans. Having fled for shelter to his father's tomb, he there put an end to his life by poison.

Scipio dismisses Hannibal's spies, after shewing them all the quarters of his camp. Interview between those two great generals to treat of peace: it is said they were struck with surprize at the first sight of each other; and that they stood for some moments in a profound silence. Hannibal was too haughty, and Scipio too confident, to terminate the quarrel amicably: since they could not agree, they parted as they met, and the armies prepared for action. Battle of Zama (g), decisive betwixt Rome and Carthage. Hannibal had ninety elephants, with which he covered the front of his army, according to custom; but this precaution was rendered useless by a very common accident. The elephants, irritated by the cries of the Romans, and their own wounds, turned back upon the two wings of the Carthaginian army, and threw the whole into confusion. Hannibal was obliged to fight against the Romans, his elephants, and even his own soldiers. The mercenaries of the first line, greatly provoked at not being supported in time, turned their backs and fell upon the second line: the slaughter was terrible; twenty thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, the like number were made prisoners, while the Romans did not lose above two thousand men. Hannibal, after disputing the ground a long time at the head of a body of chosen veterans, whom he had brought with him from Spain, is obliged to save himself by flight,

Battle of
Zama.

(g) A town in Africa, distant, according to Livy and Polybius, five days journey from Carthage.

and retires to Adrumetum (*b*), where he had taken post at first. From thence he is called to Carthage, where he advises the senate to a peace.

552.

End of the
second Pu-
nic war.

End of the second Punic war. Peace is granted to Carthage, on condition that Spain, Sicily, and all the islands between Africa and Italy, shall belong for ever to the Romans; that the Carthaginians shall deliver up all their elephants and ships of war, except ten galleys for commerce; that they shall likewise deliver up the deserters, and prisoners of war; that they shall pay, in the space of fifty years, an annual sum by way of tribute; in short, that hereafter they shall undertake no war whatever, without the consent of the Romans: this was surely giving law to proud Carthage, and paving the way for the conquest of the world. Rome being indebted for the whole advantage to Scipio, left him possessed of the whole glory; for the disappointed intrigues of the consul Lentulus, who wanted to go over to Africa before the conclusion of the peace, in order to snatch the lawrelets which this celebrated captain had gathered. A dictator was named, who obliged him to remain in Sicily. Scipio brings back his victorious troops to Rome, which he enters triumphant, and receives the surname of *Africanus*. Masinissa, as a recompence for his valour and fidelity, had the regal title conferred upon him by Scipio, with the consent of the republic, together with all the provinces conquered from Syphax, who died lately at Rome. The republic now began to assume that authority over kings, which she afterwards asserted upon all occasions.

553.

The Ælian
code.

To this year we must refer the publication of the Ælian law, so called from Sextus Ælius Pætus Catus, who being at that time curule ædile, promulgated the new formulas substituted by the patricians, in the room of the old ones, published by Flavius. We have still some fragments of this Ælian code. The first war with Philip king of Macedon. Besides the violation of the peace, the hostilities committed against the allies, and the succours which this prince had sent to the Carthaginians in the last war, the Romans further complained, that he had joined Antiochus, king of Syria, to invade the dominions of the young Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, and son of Ptolemy Philopater, who had put his person and kingdom under the protection of the republic. The person appointed for this expedition at first, was Valerius Lævinus, who had heretofore been employed against Philip; and to him succeeded the consul Sulpicius. In this campaign the Romans made use of elephants for the first time, viz. those which they had taken from the Carthaginians.

The first
Macedonian
war.

(*b*) A maritime town of Lybia, not far from Carthage, and now called *Mabometta*.

Vermina, son of Syphax, sues for peace to the Romans; and by their authority he is acknowledged king in that part of his father's territories, which still continued in his possession.

Insurrection in Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul, excited by Amilcar, whom Mago left behind him in Italy. Great victory over the Gauls, obtained by the prætor L. Furius, in the absence of the consul Aurelius Cotta. The enemy lost upwards of thirty five thousand men, among which number was Amilcar. It is surprizing that the Romans did not oblige the Carthaginians to evacuate Italy intirely, before they granted them a peace. Furius demanded a triumph, which he obtained; though the affair met with great difficulties in the senate.

Victory gained in Spain over the revolted Sedetani (i), by the consul C. Cornelius Cethegus. This was a very warlike province, which appears by its not having been intirely subdued till a long time after, in the reign of Augustus. The senate grant an ovation to Cornelius Lentulus, predecessor of Cethegus, in the proconsulate of Spain. He was the first Roman that, without a curule magistracy, obtained this mark of distinction.

Scipio Africanus orders the celebration of the solemn games, of which he had made a vow during his expedition to Africa; and he had done the same upon his return from Spain. Each soldier is allowed two acres of land for every year that he bore arms in Spain or Africa.

The Romans had now no more than seven legions on foot.

554.

Macedon fell to the lot of the consul Villius; but he did not set out upon this expedition till the season was too far advanced; so that Sulpicius, who continued to command in Greece in the quality of proconsul, had the whole honour of this campaign. Having succoured Athens, when besieged by Philip, he penetrated into Macedon, where he obtained some advantages, and took several places of importance. The consul Lævinus, to whose lot Gaul had fallen, was not a great deal more active than his colleague; for he did not get to his province till towards the end of the campaign, and then only to be witness to the disasters occasioned by his absence, and by the temerity of the prætor Bæbius, who having advanced inconsiderately into Insubria, was surprized and defeated by the Gauls.

555.

This small disgrace of the Roman arms, was abundantly repaired the present year by the consul Flaminius, to whose lot Macedon had fallen. He proposed Scipio for his pattern; and to rival the glory of that hero, there was nothing wanting, but so famous a general as Hannibal on the enemy's side. Like Scipio, he was possessed of all civil and military virtues, and like him, he had the honour of being chosen consul before the usual time; for the Romans knew very well

(i) A people of Arragon, mentioned by Silius, lib. 3. *Sedetana coërsi*.

The Macedonians defeated.

how to confer dignities on persons of improper age, when the want of years was supplied by merit. The consul having defeated Philip's army in the defiles of Epirus, on the banks of the Aous (m), where this prince was entrenched, subdues that province intirely, together with Thessaly, Phocis, and Locris. His brother Lucius, by his orders, lays siege to Corinth; but the vigorous resistance of the enemy, and the advanced season, oblige him to raise the siege. The Achæans desert Philip, and enter into an alliance with the Romans at the instigation of Flaminius. Interview between the king and the consul to treat of a peace, for Philip began to be uneasy about the consequences of the war; yet these conferences proved fruitless. Flaminius obtains a commission of proconsul to continue the Macedonian war till it was brought to a conclusion: the command of the fleet is likewise continued to his brother Lucius Quintius. Cato is made prætor in Sardinia, where his rigid treatment of the inhabitants would have been unparalleled, if he had not begun with shewing the same severity towards himself.

A conspiracy of the slaves of the Carthaginian hostages is detected and punished.

The affairs of Gaul afford nothing remarkable; the consul Ælius's army was too strong for the revolted to appear in the field.

556.

The Gauls defeated.

They waited for a reinforcement from the Cenomani, which was the cause of their ruin. The Cenomani being come of their own accord, and without any orders from their magistrates; means were found to temper with them, so that they were persuaded to turn their arms against their countrymen, at the most critical time of the engagement. Five and thirty thousand of the enemy fell upon the spot, and five thousand seven hundred were taken prisoners. Yet so terrible a blow could not intirely pull down the proud spirit of the Gauls.

Spain revolted.

Almost all Spain is up in arms, the inhabitants being greatly displeased to see their country governed by prætors, after the manner of a Roman province. Caius Sempronius, prætor of *Hither Spain*, fights the revolted Spaniards, and is cut off, with most of his army. In *Further Spain*, two petty kings take up arms, and make themselves masters of several towns. The Romans gave the name of *Hither Spain* to that part of the province which lay on this side of the Iberus, and of *Further Spain*, to that which lay beyond.

Success of the Romans in Greece.

In Greece, the proconsul Flaminius had engaged Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, together with the Thebans and other inhabitants of Bœotia, to enter into an alliance with the Romans. This general stood as much in need of his political abilities in negotiating, as of his great skill in the military art. At that time, the Romans reckoned among the number of their allies in Greece, besides Nabis and the Bœotians, the

(m) It rises on the frontiers of Macedon, and falls into the Adriatic, near Spizza.

Athamanes, the Pergamenians, the Rhodians, the Ætolians, and the Achæans. Battle of Cynocephalæ (n), where Philip is defeated: this was the first time that the Romans fought a pitched battle against the Macedonian phalanx, which was so formidable by its compactness, and by its long pikes. It would be difficult to imagine stronger incentives to action than those which animated the combatants on both sides; the conquerors of the western world were contending for empire with those victorious bands that had subdued the east. "The Romans," says Mr. Rollin after Justin, imagined that if they vanquished the Macedonians, whose victories had rendered Alexander's name so illustrious, no farther addition could be made to their glory; and the Macedonians thought, that if they defeated the Romans, who were so superior to the Persians, they should render Philip's name more glorious than even that of Alexander." Philip lost thirteen thousand men, killed and taken prisoners, which was one half of his army; the Romans and their allies had much about the same force. Another interview between the king and the proconsul, where he seriously sues for peace.

Battle of
Cynocephalæ.

557.

It is granted him on the same conditions as Flaminius had proposed in the beginning, namely, that he should absolutely, and without reserve, evacuate all the provinces and towns, then in his possession in Greece and Asia; with this addition, however, that he should pay an annual sum during the space of ten years by way of tribute; that he should give up all prisoners and deserters to the Romans; that he should likewise deliver up all his deck-ships, except five small vessels, and his galley with six rows of oars; and that the republic should be allowed to keep garrison at Chalcis in Eubæa, at Demetrias in Thessaly, and in the citadel of Corinth in Achaia, till she had nothing further to apprehend from the enterprizes of Antiochus king of Syria. Pyrrhus used to call those three places the *keys of Greece*; and indeed they deserved that name. The Greeks were persuaded, that the Romans had no design upon their liberty; and were confirmed in this opinion, upon seeing the proclamation, which Flaminius ordered to be published at the Isthmian, and afterwards at the Nemean games, of which he was chosen president: it was worded thus; *The senate and people of Rome, and Quintius Flaminius, general of their armies, after conquering Philip and Macedon, release from all garrisons and imposts, the Corinthians, Locrians, Phocians, the inhabitants of the island of Eubæa, the Achæans, the Phthiotæ, Magnesians, Thessalians and Perrhebiæ; declare them free; are willing they preserve all their privileges, and be governed by their own laws and customs.* How glorious it is for a people to have

Peace with
Philip king
of Macedon.

(n) This word signifies *dogs heads*: it was a place in Thessaly, so called, as Plutarch observes, from the tops of a number of hills, which resembled that form, *ἰμάχοισι περι τὰς καλεµένας κυνὲς κεφαλὰς, αἱ λόφων ὕσαι πυκνῶν ἢ παραλλήλων αἰραι λίπται, δι' ὁμοιότητι τῷ σχήματι οὕτως ὑπομάσθησαν.* Plut. in Flaminio.

it in their power to restore so many other nations to their liberties! This is the period that Tully alludes to, when he says that the Romans might be considered rather as the protectors, than lords of the world (a). Philip was not content to be only at peace with the Romans; he sued for their friendship and alliance, which was granted him.

The consuls obtain a considerable advantage over the Gauls. Institution of the college of the *epulones*; a name derived from their office, which was to preside at the religious feasts, that generally followed the sacrifices. In the beginning they were only three (b), and all chosen out of patrician families. The first were C. Licinius Lucullus, T. Romuleius, and Portius Lacas; the latter had been tribune of the people, at which time he carried the famous Porcian law, forbidding the magistrates, under very severe penalties, to cause a Roman citizen to be whipped with rods.

The Porcian law.

558.

The Oppian law abolished.

Abrogation of the *Oppian* law, by which the Roman ladies were forbid to use above half an ounce of gold in toys, to wear habits of various colours, or to make use of chariots, either at Rome, or in the neighbourhood, unless it was to go to a public sacrifice. This law had been enacted at the motion of the tribune Oppius, under the consulate of Q. Fabius and T. Sempronius, when Italy was exhausted by the devastations of Hannibal. It was generally thought, there was no longer any occasion for such a regulation at the time we are now speaking of, and therefore that it might be repealed without any bad consequence: Cato thought otherwise, but was single in his opinion; and this rigid Roman was consul the present year. The conduct of the war in Spain fell to him by lot, a consular army being necessary in that kingdom, besides the troops commanded by the two prætors. Battle of *Emporia* (c) in Hither Spain, where Cato defeats the Spaniards; and in a very short time makes himself master of several towns. He had a passion for glory, and was even so vain as to praise himself; for at his return to Rome, he boasted of having taken more towns, than he had spent days in his province. And indeed it is said, that the number of fortified towns, which he reconquered from the enemy, amounted to upwards of four hundred. These advantages, together with those obtained by the prætor L. Manlius in *Farther Spain*, made the senate conclude, there was no occasion for sending a consul into that province the following year.

Cato sent to Spain.
Battle of Emporia.

Fresh advantages obtained in Italy by the consul Valerius Flaccus, who defeats the Gauls in a pitched battle.

(a) Cic. de Off. 1. §. 27.

(b) They were soon after increased to seven, commonly stiled *septemviri epulorum*, or barely *septemviri*, or the *septemviratus*.

(c) A town of Catalonia in Spain, now called *Ampurias*.

Flaminius receives orders to continue in Greece, with a commission ^{War with} to wage war against the tyrant Nabis, who, contrary to the treaty of ^{the tyrant} peace settled by the Romans, wanted to keep possession of Argos a ^{Nabis.} city of Peloponnesus. The tyrant had like to have been taken in the middle of his capital, the Romans being masters of one part of the town of Lacedæmon, when Pythagoras, son-in-law of Nabis, prevented their getting any further, by setting fire to that quarter which they had entered. Nabis being reduced to great streights, signs a treaty, whereby he engaged to evacuate Argos, with all the maritime towns in Laconia, and submitted to several other conditions prescribed by Flaminius.

559.

This general is honoured with a triumph, remarkable for lasting Flaminius's three days. The principal decorations of the solemnity were Deme- triumph. trius, son of the king of Macedon, and Armenex, son of the tyrant of Sparta, whom he had brought with him as hostages; besides one hundred and fourteen crowns of gold, which he had received from so many Greek cities, as a grateful acknowledgment for the restoration of their liberties: on the same occasion appeared several thousand Romans, whom those cities had redeemed from slavery at their own expence, through the same motive.

The Gauls were defeated twice this year; the first time by the ^{The Gauls} proconsul Valerius Flaccus, the second by the consul Sempronius. ^{It defeated,} It is thought, that the great Scipio deferred joining his colleague designedly, that he might not be concerned in an expedition which he considered as far beneath him. Scipio's aim in standing for the consulate this year, was either that he might be sent into Asia, in order to commence a new war against Antiochus king of Syria, who seemed to menace Europe with an invasion; or that he might obtain the province of Spain, to settle the tranquility of that country, which he had formerly conquered, though it was since become the seat of war, where his rival Cato had acquired great glory.

At Rome they perform the ceremony called *ver sacrum*, ^{the sacred} *Ver sacrum*. *spring*, in compliance with a vow, made eighty years before by a consul. It consisted in sacrificing to Jupiter all the animals born in one particular spring, without excepting even those which it was not lawful to kill at the ordinary sacrifices. New temples are dedicated to Juno, Faunus, Fortune, and Jupiter.

The senators begin to sit at the scenic shows, apart from the other spectators; though they had been always used to mix on those occasions with the rest of the people. This invidious distinction is attributed to Scipio, then prince of the senate a second time. So trifling an affair contributed greatly to alienate the affections of the people from him.

Colonies sent to Puteoli (*d*), Vulturnum (*e*), Liternum (*f*), Salernum (*g*), Buxentum (*h*), Sipuntum (*i*), Tempa (*k*), and Croton.

560.

Law against
usury.

Law against usury, whereby the Latin allies are subjected to the same regulations as those established at Rome, in regard to the lending of money. The design of it was to prevent the frauds of usurers, whose practice was to get the bonds drawn in the names of Latin inhabitants, the laws of that nation against usury not being so severe as those of the Romans.

Affairs in
Spain.

The affairs of the republic in *Hispania* were fallen into some confusion since Cato's departure. The prætor Digitius met with several checks, which his successor C. Flaminius had not time to repair, being obliged to make new levies, that retarded his departure. In *Farther Spain*, Scipio Nasica, and after him M. Fulvius, obtained each of them a complete victory over the Spaniards.

In Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul, there were such violent commotions, that the senate declared *there was a tumult*, a form used in wars of importance, particularly those against the Gauls; and it had such force, as to put a stop to all exemption from military service. Forty thousand Ligurians encamped in the neighbourhood of Pisa (*l*); but the

(*d*) A city of Campania, not far from Naples, so called from *puteis*, because it had several hot and cold springs; or as others pretend, from *putore*, because of the strong smell of sulphur all about that neighbourhood. The Greeks, in ancient times, called it *Dicaearchia*, because it was famous for the administration of justice. Its present name is *Pozzuolo*.

(*e*) A town of Campania upon a river of the same name, and now called *Castello di Voltorno*.

(*f*) *Liternum* and *Linternum*, a city of Campania, between *Cuma* and *Vulturnum*, at the mouth of the river Clanius, now *L'Agno*, which falls into the sea about eight miles north of *Pozzuolo*. Silius, lib. 8. mentions *Linterna palus*. There are not the least vestiges of this town now remaining.

(*g*) A maritime town of the *Picentini*, in the kingdom of Naples; Livy calls it *Castrum Salerni*, and father Harduin says it was only a *præsidium* before this time. It still retains its ancient name *Salerno*.

(*h*) A town of Italy, in the kingdom of Naples, so called *à buxo arbore*, from the plenty of box wood in that neighbourhood. Its present name is *Policastro*.

(*i*) *Sipuntum* and *Sipus*, a town of Apulia, in Italy, which still retains the name of *Siponto*. It was situate not far from mount Garganus, near the river *Cerbalus*, now *Candelaro*; and out of its ruins arose the present city of *Mansfredonia*, which may be called *Sipuntum novum*. Lucan mentions this city, lib. 5. *Et subdita Sipus montibus*. And Silius has *Sipus* in the genitive for *Sipuntis*—*Et terram & litora Sipus*.

(*k*) *Tempa* or *Temesa*, a town belonging to the country of the Brutii, built by the Ausones, and famous for copper mines; but there are no vestiges of it remaining.

(*l*) A city of Tuscany, built by the Piseans of Peloponnesus, whence Virgil, *Æn.* 10. calls it—*Alpheæ ab origine Pisæ*—*Urbs Etrusca solo*, from *Alpheus*, a river of Peloponnesus. It was situate on the river *Arnus*, now *Arno*, and still retains the name of *Pisa*. Three miles from hence, in the road to *Luca*, now *Lucca*, were the famous hot baths, called *Aqua Pisana*.

consul

consul Minucius obliged them to drop their design against that city, The Liguri-
and the next year defeated them in a pitched battle, when he was ^{and} defeated.
only proconsul. Cornelius Merula obtains a signal victory over the The Boii
Boii. ^{defeated.}

561.

Scipio Africanus perceived his interest with the people to be greatly lessened, when they came to hold their assemblies for choosing this year's magistrates: in vain did he endeavour to support his cousin Scipio Nafica, and his friend C. Lælius, in their pretensions to the consulate: the people's affection was all turned towards Flaminius, and upon his recommendation they preferred his brother Quinctius, who had moreover deserved this dignity, by the naval services performed in Greece.

The consuls ravage the country of the Boii, and oblige almost that whole nation to submit to the republic. The prætors likewise meet with success in Spain.

War with Antiochus king of Syria. Both sides looked out for pre- War with
tences to commence hostilities. Antiochus sent ambassadors under the Antiochus.
appearance of courting the alliance and friendship of the Romans, but in reality to convince other nations how greatly the republic was to blame. The Romans, on the other hand, declared war against Antiochus for very frivolous motives: they pretended they had a right to prescribe laws to that prince, and declared to him by their ambassadors, that there was no other way to be upon good terms with their republic, than to restore those Greek cities, which he had conquered in Asia, to their liberty, and engage not to turn his arms against Europe. Their real design, was to have an opportunity of waging war in Asia, and of rendering themselves as formidable in that part of the world, as they were already in Europe and Africa. For they knew extremely well that Antiochus would not submit to those conditions. This prince was stiled the *Great*, a title he seemed to deserve by the rapidity of his conquests in Asia; and he had a very plausible reason to attempt new ones in Europe. Thracia and the Chersonesus (*m*) had belonged, by right of conquest, to his grandfather Seleucus Nicanor. Such an enemy was the more formidable to the Romans, as he had Hannibal in his army. This celebrated general had retired into voluntary banishment, in order to shelter himself from the hatred of his enemies at Carthage, and from the pursuits of the Romans, who would not have rested till he was delivered up to them, under the pretence that he was plotting against the republic. Had his advice been followed, Antiochus would have begun with carrying the war into Italy; for which end he asked only a fleet with a body of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse; and he engaged to procure more troops and allies, as soon as he landed. Antiochus chose rather to begin with Greece, whither he was invited by the Ætolians. These people, heretofore allies of the

(*m*) The peninsula near the Hellespont.

republic, were become her most dangerous enemies since the conclusion of the peace: they formed a confederacy, into which they expected to draw Philip king of Macedon, and Nabis tyrant of Sparta. Philip was in no hurry; but Nabis commenced hostilities, for which he was very ill requited by the Ætolians, who caused him to be assassinated, reckoning to make themselves masters of Lacedæmon; but this city recovered her liberty. They surprized Demetrias in Thessaly, but miscarried in their attempt upon Chalcis in Eubæa; the glory of taking that city was reserved for Antiochus. The Eubæans join him; the Athamanes, the Boeotians and the Thessalians do the same, notwithstanding all the care taken by Flaminius, who had been sent into Greece with a view of keeping the several nations steady to their alliance with Rome: the prætors Attilius and Bæbius were likewise dispatched with a fleet, in order to protect their allies.

562.

War declared against Antiochus in the usual forms, by the *faciales*. The consul Acilius lands in Greece with twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. He had already made himself master of Thessaly, before Antiochus had left Eubæa; for the city of Chalcis, in which this prince had taken up his winter quarters, proved a second Capua, where the Syrian army lost their vigour and courage. Antiochus, though he was then above fifty years old, fell in love with a young woman of mean extraction, not yet twenty years of age, and married her: this unseasonable passion took up a great deal more of his time, than was consistent with his glory. It is true, that he had as yet no more than ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse. In vain did he wait for the grand army, which he pretended to have ordered to march from Syria: and as for the Ætolians, who had been most lavish of their promises, they joined him with no more than four thousand men. With so inconsiderable a force, it would have been imprudent in him to dispute the field with the consul and the king of Macedon, who acted in conjunction with the Romans. He therefore entrenches himself in the pass of Thermopylæ (s), a place already famous in history, for the resistance which three hundred brave Lacedæmonians made, during three days, against an army of a million of men, with whom Xerxes had undertaken to conquer Greece. And, indeed, this defile is by nature almost impenetrable: for, on the one side, the sea forms a deep morass; and, on the other, there is a long chain of hills from the summits of mount Oeta; so that the intermediate passage is hardly sixty paces in breadth. In order to force the Lacedæmonians, Xerxes was obliged to make part of his troops climb up the mountains, and from thence rush down upon the enemy. Antiochus prevented the Romans from taking this step, for he made the Ætolians seize the three summits, nearest his camp. There remained therefore

The battle
of Thermo-
pylæ.

(s) The straits that run between the mountains of Thessaly and Phocis, so called *ἀπὸ θερμῶν πυλῶν*, *Calidis Portis*, from the hot springs in that neighbourhood.

only

only one way, and that was to dislodge the Ætolians. Cato, who was in Acilius's army as a legionary tribune, advised the consul to take this step, and offered to execute it himself. The success of this enterprise determined the fate of the day. At the time when the Syrians were manfully defending themselves against the Romans under Acilius, the detachment commanded by Cato, rushing down the mountains, obliged the enemy to give way. This overthrow ended in the loss of the whole Syrian army: the king being dangerously wounded, made his escape to Chalcis with five hundred horse.

Such was the issue of the famous battle of Thermopylæ, by which the Romans paved the way for the conquest of Asia. It must be acknowledged that Cato contributed greatly to the success of that day. Acilius commissioned him to carry the news to Rome, telling him, at the same time, *the republic has benefited more by your services, than you by her favours.* Yet Cato was a person of mean original, and the first of the Porcian family, that ever rose to public dignities. He appeared no more in the field after the battle of Thermopylæ: content with the glory he had already acquired by arms, he applied himself ever after in watching both in his censorial office, and by his example, over the morals of his countrymen, which were grown evidently more corrupt.

Acilius receives the submission of the Bœotians & Eubæans. Antiochus departs from Chalcis, and retires to Ephesus in Asia. Hera- War with clea is taken from the Ætolians, after a month's siege. They sue the Æto- for peace, but the conditions offered by the consuls are so severe, that they lians. determine again to pursue the war. The consul lays siege to Naupactus, a sea-port town of Ætolia, and the key of the whole country. Having reduced it to great straits, he raises the siege, at the recommendation of Flaminius, and grants a truce to the Ætolians, that they might send ambassadors to Rome. Flaminius, without any other character than that of deputy of the republic, still made a great figure in Greece. The people all considered him as their deliverer and mediator: and indeed he commonly preferred gentle to violent methods. Naval victory obtained by the prætor Livius, who commanded the Roman fleet, over Polyxenidas, the Syrian admiral, near Cape Corycus in Ionia. Eumenes king of Pergamus, and son of Attalus, partook of the honour of this victory. Immediately after the battle, the Rhodian fleet joined the Romans; and with this reinforcement, Livius insulted the enemy before the harbour of Ephesus, to which they had retired. During this campaign, king Philip carried on the war on his side with the consul's permission: and made himself master of all Athamania, of Demetrias, Dolopia, Aperantia, and some other towns of Perrhebia.

In Italy, the consul Scipio Nasica defeats the Boii in a pitched battle, The Boii and Liguri- makes himself master of their camp, and two days after obliges the ans subdued. whole nation to submit: on which occasion, a moiety of their lands is confiscated to the advantage of the republic. On the other hand, the Ligurians are subdued by Minucius, who had continued to carry on the war

war against them in the quality of proconsul. Those people made use this year of what they called the *sacred law*; that is, they bound themselves by a terrible oath, either to conquer or die: this was the last effort of an expiring nation, who were at length obliged to yield to the superior fortune of the Romans.

The senate grant an ovation to the proprætor Fulvius Nobilior, for having reduced the *Vestones* (p) and *Oretani* in Spain.

Scipio Nasica having presided at the comitia for the great elections, determined the suffrages in favour of L. Cornelius, brother of Scipio Africanus, and of his friend C. Lælius; who were chosen consuls. In regard to the command, instead of drawing lots for their provinces, they referred the matter to the senate. The conscript fathers were at a loss how to settle the matter between those two great men; when a person still greater than they determined their choice. Scipio Africanus offered to serve under his brother in the war in Asia, as his lieutenant. It does not appear, that Acilius ever solicited to be continued in command during the war against Antiochus, in which he had made so glorious a beginning.

563.

The Scipio's land in Greece, with a reinforcement of thirteen thousand men: upon their arrival, they grant a truce of six months to the Ætolians, to the end that these people might have time to send a second embassy to Rome. The two brothers were impatient to pass over into Asia; the one in order to acquire as much glory in that country, as his brother had done in Africa; the other to enter the lists once more with Hannibal. They pursue their march through Thessaly, Macedon, Thrace, and the Chersonesus, with an intent to pass the Hellespont. Then it was that Antiochus grew sensible of the solidity of Hannibal's counsels: *Believe me*, said that great general, *if you do not cut out employment for the Romans at home, you will soon be under a necessity of fighting in Asia; those republicans aim at nothing less than the empire of the world.* Hannibal's reputation was what hurt him with Antiochus. This prince was afraid lest a general, who had acquired so great a name even in being subdued by the Romans, should eclipse his glory, were he to be so fortunate as to conquer them under the auspices of Syria: at length, circumstances pressing, he gave him the command of a fleet, which he had ordered from Phœnicia, to join that at Ephesus. This fleet is intercepted and beaten by the Romans; and Hannibal is obliged to remain in Pamphilia. On the other hand, the fleet under Polyxenidas is defeated a second time by the Romans off Myonnesos, a city of Ionia (q). Antiochus draws his garrisons out of Europe, and assembles all his land forces in the heart of Asia, to make head against the Scipio's. This was the worst thing

The Syrians
defeated
twice at sea.

(p) The *Vestones* were a people of Portugal; and the *Oretani* a people of Spain, who inhabited the country between the rivers *Anas* and *Bætis*, now called *La Mancha*.

(q) *Myonnesos* is a small island near Lemnos, according to Suidas and Stephanus.

he could have done. The town of Lyfimachia on the borders of the Cherfonefus, and Abydus another town on the opposite shore of the Hellespont, might have held out a long time against the Romans; but they found them both evacuated to their great surprize. The king of Syria, unassisted by Hannibal's counsels, found himself so distressed, that he broke out into these words: *I know not what demon has bewitched me! every thing is against me: I creep before the Romans, and serve as a guide to conduct them to my ruin.*

Antiochus makes proposals of peace, which are rejected. He was so very desirous of coming to an agreement, that he made an offer to Scipio Africanus, of restoring him back his son, a youth who had been taken in the beginning of the war; and, according to Polybius, he even proposed to share his dominions with that general. Scipio made him an answer worthy of himself and of the Romans. During their march, the consular army received the submissions of several cities, and among the rest of Ilion (*g*), from which the Romans were said to have derived their origin. After they had passed the river Hyllus, they went and offered battle to the king of Syria, near the city of Magnesia (*r*). Antiochus seemed to have taken a pleasure in collecting his army from all the different nations which he had subdued, or with which he was allied, in order to make a parade before the Romans. He had Scythians, Trallians, Cretans, Mysians, Cirtians, Persians, Arabs, Lydians, Cappadocians, Carians, Cilicians, in short, Galatians, or Gallogrecians, a people from Gaul, who settled in Asia; all which nations he had drawn over to his side. He had likewise tried to gain Prusias king of Bithynia, but the letters which this prince received from Scipio Africanus, determined him to join with the Romans. In the Syrian army, there were also dromedaries and camels, with fifty four large elephants from India, carrying towers with several floors, all filled with slingers and archers: besides, a vast number of chariots, armed with scythes, were drawn up before the first line. The Romans were not in the least terrified with this great apparatus, nor with the superior number of the enemy: the latter were reckoned seventy thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, while the Roman army consisted of no more than eight and twenty thousand men, including a body of seven thousand, whom Philip king of Macedon, and Eumenes king of Pergamus, had joined with the legions. The consul Cornelius was impatient to fight before the arrival of his brother, who was detained by sickness in the neighbourhood of Elæa (*s*); and perhaps he had a mind to shew that he knew how to conquer without his brother's assistance. As soon as the armed chariots appeared to move, a detachment of Roman bowmen and slingers, having received orders from king Eumenes to advance, began to assail them with a shower of darts and

The battle
of Magnesia.

(*g*) The city of Troy.

(*r*) A city in Lydia, under mount Sipylus.

(*s*) A city of Æolia.

stones: this obliged the chariots to turn back, and to fall upon the left wing, which being thrown into confusion, was immediately attacked by the main body of the Roman army. The center, which consisted of the phalanx distributed into platoons, was put into disorder by other elephants placed in the spaces between the companies; for those animals, not being able to bear the darts of the Romans, grew wild and enraged, so as to overturn whatever came near them. The right wing, commanded by Antiochus in person, had the advantage in the beginning, and even the legionaries turned their backs, when they were stopped by a tribune, named *Emilius*, whom the consul had left with two thousand men to guard the camp: this officer ordered his men to fall upon the fugitives, and compel them to face the enemy. Antiochus perceiving this, could stand no longer, but turned his horse about and fled: the rest of the army followed his example. He lost above fifty thousand men that day, reckoning the prisoners and those who were slain in the camp, which the Romans stormed, and found an immense booty. So considerable a victory is said to have cost the consul no more than three hundred foot and five and twenty horse: it was followed by the reduction of all the towns in Asia Minor.

Antiochus
defeated.

Antiochus submits to the conditions proposed by the Romans. Nothing could be more humble than the speech of the Syrian ambassadors: *your victory*, said they to the Romans, *has made you masters of the world; therefore laying aside all animosity against mortals, you should henceforward think only to imitate the gods in pardoning and doing good to mankind.* Nothing more haughty than the answer which Scipio Africanus made, in the name of the Roman republic: *unprosperous strokes of fortune have never been able to depress our courage; neither has prosperity ever elated us: the same conditions we offered you when both sides were equal, we now propose to you again, though we are victorious: and let Antiochus remember, that it is more difficult to strike at the power of kings, than to demolish them intirely when once an impression is made.* These conditions were, that Antiochus should give up his pretensions to Europe, and all he was possessed of in Asia, beyond mount Taurus; that he should pay a sum towards defraying the expences of the war; that he should give to the Romans twenty hostages, Antiochus his youngest son for one, and nineteen Syrian lords, such as the republic should choose; and lastly, that he should deliver up Hannibal, and Thoo the Ætolian, as the principal authors of the war. This last condition had been added, whether Scipio would or not; so that the Romans gave, on this occasion, the strongest proof of that personal animosity which they ever retained against the celebrated Carthaginian general. But he saved himself by flight, as soon as he heard that they were about a treaty, apprehending with reason that he should be made a sacrifice.

Peace con-
cluded with
Antiochus.

In Greece, the Ætolians not having been able to obtain the conditions they desired of the Roman senate, renewed the war, and stripped Philip of Athamania and all his other conquests.

In

SIXTH CENTURY.

255

In Spain, the proconsul *Æmilius Paulus* is defeated by the Lusitanians in the country of the *Vaccæi* (†); and six thousand Romans are killed in the engagement. The year following, the proconsul had his revenge; for he destroyed eighteen thousand of the enemy, and took above three thousand prisoners.

In Italy, the consul *Lælius* was employed in overawing the Gauls and Ligurians, who had been already subdued.

564.

“Rome was now become, as father *Catrou* observes, the most magnificent spot in the whole world. There it was that kings, and princes, with the deputies of the republics and cities of Asia, Africa, and Greece, were all assembled: there it was that they all paid their court to the senate, who, by a mere act of their will, either raised or pulled down whole nations, as well as sovereigns.” *Antiochus’s* ambassadors came to sue for a ratification of the treaty concluded with the *Scipio’s*, and it was granted them. *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, who had distinguished himself so greatly in the last war, desired in return for his services, that they would add all the conquered provinces beyond mount *Taurus* to his dominions. The *Rhodians*, though they had not done the least service, opposed the pretensions of the king of *Pergamus*, in regard to the Greek cities of Asia. The deputies of those cities solicited for their liberty. The senate satisfied them all. *Lycaonia*, the two *Phrygia’s*, and *Myfia*, were adjudged to king *Eumenes*, who had afterwards a further addition of the *Chersonesus* and the town of *Lyfimachia*: *Lycia* was given to the *Rhodians*, with that part of *Caria* which lies nearest to *Rhodes*, and a district of *Pisidia*: out of those two lots were excepted the cities which had enjoyed their liberty before the war. Besides, ten commissioners were, according to custom, deputed to the East, in order to settle all affairs whatever: after this very manner the republic had proceeded in the pacification of Africa and Greece, in consequence of the victories of *Scipio* and *Flaminius*.

The latter was created censor this year, to the great displeasure of *Cato*, who solicited this office even by ignominious methods. For he acted the informer, and charged *Manius Acilius*, one of his competitors, with having converted part of the Grecian spoils to his private use. *Claudius Marcellus*, son of the great *Marcellus*, was chosen colleague to *Flaminius*. *Scipio Africanus* is named *princeps senatus* the third time: his brother *Lucius Cornelius* has a triumph granted him, and takes the surname of *Asiaticus*. *Pliny* assures us that the vases of silver, carried at this triumph, weighed one thousand four hundred and fifty pounds; and that those of gold weighed a thousand five hundred: he adds, that the excessive growth of luxury and extravagance at Rome was owing to this first conquest of Asia.

(†) A people of the kingdom of Leon in Spain.

The

Peace with
the Æto-
lians.

War with
the Gala-
tians.

The two consuls received orders, the one to set out for Greece against the Ætolians, the other for Asia to secure the conquests of Rome in that part of the world. Fulvius Nobilior, with the assistance of the Epirots, makes himself master of Ambracia, a strong city, situated near the gulf of the same name, and considered as the key of Ætolia. The taking of this place only, obliges the Ætolians to sue for peace, which is granted, on condition of their giving up to the Romans all the cities and territories which they had conquered since the consulate of Flaminius; of paying the expences of the war; of sending forty hostages; and of engaging to have no other friends nor enemies than those of Rome. Manlius Vulso marches through Caria and Phrygia against the Galatians, who had incurred the displeasure of the republic, by making an alliance with Antiochus, and sending him succours: this was a sufficient provocation, and, according to the principles of Roman policy, it was necessary either that they should make a submission, or be chastised. Upon the consul's approach, the Galatians divided themselves into two bodies; those who were called *Tolistobii* and *Troemi*, intrenched themselves on mount Olympus; and the others, known by the name of *Tectosagi*, were posted on mount Magaba. It was a difficult undertaking to force those entrenchments; yet Manlius attempted it, and succeeded. After he had observed which side of mount Olympus was the least steep, he ordered his light troops to begin the attack; and these, with a shower of darts, drove away the enemy's advanced guards. The Galatians fought half naked, after the manner of the Gauls, and made use of targets that were too small to be of any defence; besides, they had no other arms than the flints which they found in the mountains. After this first advantage, the legionaries advanced, and obtained a cheap victory over those troops only half armed, and half overcome with fear. Historians speak differently of the number of the enemy killed in that battle. On mount Megaba, the attack was made in the same manner, and with the same success. The open country was plundered by the consul's orders. The soldiers found a prodigious booty, no less than the spoils, as it were, of all Asia Minor; for the Gauls had greatly enriched themselves by their depredations during the space of ninety years that they had settled in this province.

565.

At a census taken this year, the number of citizens fit to bear arms, appeared to be two hundred and fifty eight thousand three hundred and twenty eight.

The privilege of voting in the comitia is granted to the inhabitants of Formiæ, Fundi, and Arpinum (*u*).

(*n*) An ancient city of the Volsci in Italy, near the conflux of the rivers *Liris* and *Fibrenus*, famous for being the birth place of Cicero, and Marius. The adjective is *Arpinas*, *Arpinates aquæ*, Cic. ad Att. 1. 16. but poets likewise use *Arpinus*, Mart. lib. 10. *Arpinis quoque comparare chartis*. The place is still extant, and retains its ancient name *Arpino*.

The taking of *Same*, a town of Cephalenia (x), by the præconful *Same* taken. *Fulvius*. This island had been excepted in the treaty concluded with the *Ætolians*; and *Fulvius* made himself master of it in the name of the republic during his consulate. *Same* was the only town that refused to admit a Roman garrison, though it had given hostages like the rest: but it was taken by storm, plundered, and the inhabitants were sold into slavery.

The præconful *Manlius* burns the fleet of king *Antiochus*, which this prince had engaged to deliver up to the Romans by one of the articles of the treaty of peace; and his elephants are given to king *Eumenes*. *Antiochus* died miserably a little after this melancholy expedition. Death of
Antiochus.

The consuls were not employed against any enemy this year in Italy; it was not till the year following that the republic thought of revenging the death of the prætor *L. Bæbius*, who was treacherously killed two years before by the *Ligurians*, as he was travelling through their country to his government of *Hither Spain*.

566.

Minucius Myrtilus and *L. Manlius*, young patricians, are delivered up to the *Carthaginians*, for having violated the law of nations, in striking the ambassadors of that republic.

Scipio Africanus is accused before the people by the two tribunes, *Scipio Afr.* both *Pætilius*'s, at the instigation of *Cato*, who, to make use of *Livy*'s expression, kept continually barking at the great *Scipio*: the charge they brought against him, was that of *peculatus* (y), viz. that he had received great sums of *Antiochus*, to obtain an advantageous peace for him. The conqueror of *Hannibal*, of *Syphax*, and *Carthage*, the man whom the Romans had offered to create perpetual consul and dictator, was reduced to make his defence in public like a criminal: he did it with that magnanimity, by which all his actions were distinguished. As his accusers, for want of proofs, launched out into invective and abuse, he was content the first day with reciting his services and exploits; the usual defence of great men on those occasions, and it was received with universal applause. The second day was still more glorious to him: tribunes of the people, said he, and you my fellow citizens, on this day I conquered *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; come, Romans, let us go to the capitol, and offer up our thanksgivings to the gods, and pray that they may always grant you such generals as me. Accordingly the people followed him, and the tribunes were left by themselves with the crier, whom they had brought to cite him. The accusation was renewed a third time, but *Scipio* was not then at Rome; he had retired to his country house at *Liternum*, where he is

(x) An island in the Ionian sea, subject to the Venetians, and now called *Cefalonia*.

(y) The crime of embezzling public money.

He dies at
Laternum.

Scipio Africanus
is fined.

Via Flaminia.

The Bacchanalian
feasts suppressed.

supposed to have died soon after, and he was interred in the same monument with the poet Ennius, whom he had ever honoured with his friendship. This affair was soon revived; the Petilius obtained a law for enquiring into the sums of money received from Antiochus; and Lucius Scipio was condemned in a fine for the same pretended crime of *peculatus*, or embezzlement, of which his brother had been accused. His goods were sold; and it was an argument in his favour, that his effects did not produce as much as would pay the fine.

The consuls Æmilius and Flaminius defeat the Ligurians, and deprive them of their arms: this was all they could take from them, for Liguria was a poor barren country, very proper for cutting out work for the Romans, during the intervals between more important wars. When this was ended, the consuls employed their troops in making two great roads; Flaminius undertook that from Bologna to Arezzo; while Manlius opened another from Placentia to Rimini, and joined it to the Flaminian road. "An admirable custom of the Romans, says M. Rollin, who looking upon idleness and indolence as the source of effeminacy, and relaxation of discipline, kept their troops constantly employed, either in military fortifications, or in public works. This is what preserved the exactness and severity of their discipline, and rendered them at the same time both indefatigable and invincible."

In Spain, the prætors Acidinus and Atinius obtain considerable advantages, the one over the Celtiberians in *Hither Spain*, the other over the Lusitanians in *Farther Spain*.

Twelve thousand Latins who had settled in Rome, and got themselves included in the census, are turned out of the city. The great number of foreigners began now to be burdensome to this capital.

567.

Suppression of the Bacchanalian feasts. Under pretence of worshipping the god Bacchus, infamous societies of women at first, and afterwards of men, had been set on foot, in several parts of Italy, and even in Rome: they were governed by no laws, but acted with the most unbounded licentiousness. Those miscreants assembled with lighted torches in the middle of woods and forests, in dark pitch nights; and, after having drowned their senses in wine, they abandoned themselves to all manner of wickedness. These meetings generally ended in the sacrifice of chastity or life. To give a full scope to their inordinate lusts, they put out the lights; and to stifle the cries of dying persons, they made a most frightful noise with screaming voices, and loud jarring instruments. This whole mystery of iniquity was revealed to Posthumius the consul: upon his making a report thereof to the senate and people, he and his colleague were ordered to inquire further into the matter, and to punish the guilty. To their great surprize, they found that about seven thousand persons had been initiated into these horrid mysteries; a great many of them were condemned to death; the remainder avoided a public execution, either by

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299

by flight, or by laying violent hands on themselves. While Posthumus was employed at Rome in exterminating the remains of this horrid sect, Marcius enters Liguria, where he meets with a check.

M. Fulvius, in compliance with a vow made at the time of the Aetolian war, caused public games to be celebrated, at which the combats of the *athleta* were seen for the first time, with the hunting of lions and panthers. Combats of the *athleta*.

568.

The senate sent three commissioners over to Greece, to judge a difference that had arisen between several of the Greek states, and Philip king of Macedon, in regard to the possession of some towns. The commissioners gave a decree, by which they confined the kingdom of Macedon to its ancient limits. The deputies of Pergamus complained likewise that Philip had made himself master of Aenos and Maronea: these being Thracian cities, Eumenes pretended they belonged to the jurisdiction of Lyfimachia, which had been adjudged to him by the Romans. The commissioners repaired to Thessalonica, in order to determine this new contest; and Philip followed them thither with the utmost indignation. It was indeed an humbling circumstance for a potent king, the successor of Alexander the Great, to be obliged to plead his cause before three private citizens of Rome! As they had decided that the king of Macedon should withdraw his troops from those two places, he began to prepare for war.

The Ligurians are defeated by the consuls.

In Spain the prætors Calpurnius and Quintus join their forces, The Lusitanians gain a complete victory over the Lusitanians near the Tagus; out of five and thirty thousand men, hardly four thousand escaped; and their camp was taken and plundered. This victory restored the tranquillity of *Farther Spain* for some time. The Lusitanians defeated.

569.

Cato holds the censorship, together with Lucius Valerius Flaccus. Historians tell us that Cato was a man of general accomplishments; but he seems to have had a more particular talent for the censorial, than for any other office: he was remarkably active in canvassing for it, and he was more vain of this, than of all his other preferments. He took the name of censor which stuck by him, and he caused these words to be engraved at the bottom of the statue, which the people erected to him in the temple of Health: *To Cato the censor for having reformed the discipline of the republic by his sage regulations.* This was the first time the people did him this honour; and as his friends expressed their surprize, at his not having obtained it sooner, his answer was, *I had much rather you should be surprized at the people's delaying to erect a statue to Cato, than to hear you ask their reason for erecting it.* In the administration he shewed himself what he had always been, a zealous encourager of order and discipline, an obstinate and inflexible enemy. He drew up a new list of senators, and degraded among others, L. Quintus, brother of the great Flaminius, who had merited a much

S 2

severer

severer punishment: for this senator had been convicted of committing murder to gratify a courtesan, that expressed a curiosity to see a man die a violent death. He degraded Scipio Asiaticus of his rank of Roman knight, merely out of hatred to the Cornelian family. He was an enemy to luxury, which began to shew itself about this time in Rome; and with a view to suppress it, he contrived a reformation, which was productive of very good consequences. Taxes had been hitherto raised, according to the discovery which the citizens made of their effects; but this did not extend to cloaths, moveables, equipage, jewels, and the usual articles of luxury. Cato included them all: and as the censors themselves used to set a value on goods declared, he made the estimate amount to a great deal more than the original cost, and laid the tax in proportion. He erected a magnificent building in the Roman forum for public uses, which was called after his name, *Basilica Porcia*. The prevailing taste as yet of this city, was to be fond of public magnificence, and to check the pride of individuals.

The consuls meeting with no enemy to oppose them in Liguria, established two colonies, one at Pisaurum (x) in Umbria, to awe the Gauls, the other at Pollentia in Picenum (y). The prætor Aulus Terentius makes himself master of Corbio (a) in *Hither Spain*: as many of the rebellious Sueſetani as happened to be in that place, were made slaves.

New commissioners sent to Greece, to see that the decree against Philip is properly executed. This prince having caused the principal inhabitants of Maronea, that had declared against him, to be massacred, refuseth to deliver up Onomastus, his favourite, to whom he had committed the management of the above massacre, and whom the commissioners wanted to send to Rome, in order to undergo his examination. However, he sends his son Demetrius, who had been long an hostage at Rome, during which time, he gained the affection of the inhabitants of that city; and for this reason was the properest person to defend his father's cause before the senate. The same commissioners took cognizance of the complaints of the Lacedæmonians against the Achæans, and pronounced their award with such an air of authority, as shewed that Rome was gradually aspiring to the sovereignty of the world.

570.
A cloud was gathering towards Asia, which seemed to threaten Rome with another storm. Hannibal ever mindful of the oath of per-

(x) Situate on a river of the same name, which runs into the Adriatic. Lucanus, lib. 2. mentions it likewise by the name of *Isaurum*—*Et juncto sapio Isauro*. It is now called *Pesaro*.

(y) Father Harduin thinks this is the same place as *Urbs Salvia*, now *Urbisaglia*; Holstenius is of opinion that they were different towns, but joining to one another; which may be proved by the ruins still extant.

(a) Not far from Barcellona.

petual aversion to the Romans, which he had taken in his infancy, flew about from place to place, wherever he thought he could stir up new enemies against the republic. After the defeat of the king of Syria, he retired to Crete, and from thence to Bithynia. Prusias king of that country was then at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus, a faithful ally of the Romans; and by Hannibal's instigation, Philip of Macedon joined his forces to those of Prusias. The Carthaginian general commanded that prince's troops, and already had obtained several advantages, when Eumenes complained by his deputies at Rome. There it was resolved to send ambassadors to Prusias, with a strict charge, as it is pretended, to oblige that prince to deliver up this general to the Romans. Prusias was under a necessity of obeying: Hannibal being surrounded by the king's guards in the castle where he lodged, and finding no possibility of making his escape, destroyed himself by poison, which he always carried about him for that purpose. If this great captain wanted religion, sincerity, and humanity, as he is said to have done, I shall perhaps grant that he had the accomplishments of a conqueror, but I will not allow that he had those of an hero. Death of Hannibal. Between these two characters there is a wide difference, which the vulgar nevertheless find difficult to distinguish, for the very same reason as they confound empirics with men of real knowledge in physic. The loquaciousness and specious appearance of the empiric are apt to impose on the multitude, who, through want of judgment, go no further than the surface of things, and are naturally captivated by outward show. Were the expression allowed me, I should say that conquerors are empirics in heroism; that their most brilliant exploits are mere exertions of power, which charm the vulgar, alarm nature, and fill the human breast with sentiments of pity and horror.

There happened nothing new in Liguria, the province which fell to the consul Fabius Labeo.

His colleague Marcellus repels a swarm of Gauls, who had passed the Alps in 567, with a view of settling in the neighbourhood of Aquileia (a). The Romans having too great a jealousy of the Gauls, so suffer those new neighbours to settle, sent in their room a colony of Latins, Aquileia being in some measure the key of Italy on that side. Some time after they sent three more colonies, one to Parma (b), The Gauls defeated.

(a) A city of the Veneti in Italy, situate on the Adriatic sea, and formerly celebrated for its riches and commerce: it was quite reduced by Attila, and is now only a small village. Julian, orat. 2. derives the name *ab aquila augurio*, when it was building, but Vossius from *aquarum copia*, as if it were *Aquilegia*.

(b) A city of Gallia Cispadana, between Cremona and Placentia, which still retains its ancient splendor and name. That it was famous for fine wool, appears from the following epigram of Martial, lib. 14.

*Velleribus primis Apulia, Parma secundis
Nobilis: Alcinum tertia laudat ovis.*

the other to Mutina (c), and the third to Saturnia (a); these were to overawe the Cisalpine Gauls in the heart of Italy.

571.

The senate pass a decree to restrain the extravagance of the ædiles in the exhibition of public shows. Rome had six armies on foot this year, two in Spain, and four in Italy, three of which were in Liguria under the command of the two consuls, and the proconsul Fabius Labeo, and the fourth under the proconsul Marcellus, at the further end of the eastern part of Italy, upon the Adriatic sea. And yet there happened no remarkable event, nor can we see any reason that should induce the republic to put herself to so considerable an expence, unless perhaps she wanted to exercise her troops, apprehending a war with Philip king of Macedon.

572.

This unfortunate prince seeing himself despised in his old age, since the Romans had humbled him, was seized with such despair, as to commit the greatest cruelties against every one that he suspected to be attached to their party: thus he inhumanly destroyed two of the most noble families of his whole kingdom. His fury fell even upon his second son Demetrius, who had brought with him from Rome the glory of having appeased the senate, and was, moreover, a friend and well wisher to the republic. Philip took umbrage at this, and listened to the calumnies of his other son Perseus, who, though the elder brother, still had reason to apprehend that the protection of the Romans and the affection of the people would raise his brother to the throne, in prejudice to his own birth-right. Demetrius fell a sacrifice to his father's jealousy, and his brother's hatred: he was condemned to death, and died by poison, which was administered to him in prison.

The Ligurians defeated by Paulus Æmilius.

Successful expedition of the proconsul Paulus Æmilius against the Ligurians. Those inveterate enemies of Rome, not satisfied with the superiority of their army over that of Paulus Æmilius (for they were forty thousand to eighteen thousand) made use also of treachery to obtain their end: they demanded a truce of ten days, and when it was granted, they took the opportunity to fall suddenly upon the proconsul's camp. He kept upon the defensive for several days, but finding at length that there was no sign of succours from the consuls, who had not as yet been able to finish their levies, because of the plague, which raged in Rome; and seeing no hopes of any from his colleague Cneius Æmilius, he caused his troops to march out of their camp in good or-

(c) A town of Gallia Cispadana, situate on the Æmilian way, between the rivers Gabellus and Scultenna, now the Secchia and the Panaro. It was famous for the *Bellum Mutinense*, in Mark Antony's time, to which Lucan alludes lib. 1, *Pharsal. His Cæsar, Perusina fames, Mutinæque labores—Accidant satis.*

(d) This colony was sent to Hetruria, but there are no vestiges of it remaining.

der;

SIXTH CENTURY.

163

Ter, when he fell upon the enemy unexpectedly, cut fifteen thousand of them in pieces, and took two thousand five hundred prisoners. This victory obliged the whole district of the Ingauni (d) in Liguria to submit, and began to add a lustre to the name of Paulus Æmilius.

The Roman arms were not less formidable in Spain. For Q. Fulvius Flaccus, prætor in *Hisber Spain* for the second year, reduced almost the whole nation of the Celtiberians by two complete victories. Manlius Vulso, proprætor in *Fariber Spain*, obtains also several advantages over the Lusitanians.

The Romans successful in Spain.

Insurrection in Spain and Corsica, appeased by the prætor M. Pinnarius Posca.

A law was enacted to regulate the number of guests that might be invited to an entertainment, as also that of the dishes to be served up, and the sums to be spent. The intent of this regulation was to prevent unlawful assemblies which used to be held under the name of feasts, and to check the luxury and extravagance of private people (e). It inflicted penalties both on the master of the house, and on the guests; and was made at the motion of the tribune Orcius. This is also in the opinion of many writers, the time of the publication of the *Aquilian law*, so called from another tribune, the author of it, whose name was Aquilius Gallus.

The *Orestis* law.

The *Aquilian* law.

Dedication of the temple of Piety by Marcus Acilius Glabrio, who erected there, in honour of his father, the first gilded statue that had been ever seen in Italy.

573.

The death of the consul Calpurnius retarded the departure of the consular armies, and gave P. Cornelius and M. Brabius, consuls of the preceding year, sufficient leisure to reduce the territory of the Ligurians, called Apuani (f); which they did by appearing only at the head of their armies. Twelve thousand Apuani surrendered at first; and then the rest finding themselves unable to support the war, submitted to quit their mountains, and to be transported to Samnium. Thither they were conducted and settled at the expence of the republic, to the number of forty thousand heads of families. This method of transporting people, who continued obstinate in rebellion, was productive of such good effects, that the Romans ever after made it their standing custom. A triumph is granted to the consuls Cornelius and Cethegus, the first that was ever allowed to generals without fighting a battle.

Custom of transporting rebels.

The consular armies found employment still in Liguria, being obliged to subdue the rest of the Ingauni and Apuani; seven thousand of whom were also transported to Samnium. A prodigious number of

(d) They lived about the modern city of *Albenga*.

(e) No man was to spend more than one hundred *asses* of brass at an entertainment, that is, six shillings and fivepence.

(f) Apua was a town of Liguria, on the confines of Tuscany.

poisoners, being convicted of exercising their baneful art in time of pestilence, were condemned to death.

Lex annalis.

The first *Lex annalis*, a name given to those regulations, which settled the age of attaining to different employments; and indeed, they only confirmed the standing custom. The age for the quaestorship was twenty seven; for the curule aedileship thirty seven; for the praetorship forty; for the consulate forty three. L. Villius Tappulus, tribune of the people, presented this first law of the kind, and his descendants ever after bore the surname of *Annalis*.

The Romans successful in Spain,

In *Hither Spain*, the praetor Q. Fulvius Flaccus obtained another victory over the Celtiberians, who had laid an ambush for him in a defile, through which he was to pass, in his way to join his successor Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. Seventeen thousand of the enemy were killed in this battle, and three thousand two hundred were made prisoners. Fulvius, at his return, is named consul with L. Manlius Acidinus his brother. The difference of name between the brothers is owing to this: Fulvius's brother had been received into the Manlian family by adoption, and of course had been invested with all their rights and privileges, for such was the effect of adoption among the Romans. And thence we may likewise comprehend in what manner two own brothers, that are sons of the same father, might be consuls the same year, without violating the law which required one of those magistrates to be of a patrician, and the other of a plebeian family. However, this is the only instance of two brothers, colleagues in the consulate.

574.

They march against the Ligurians, who are compelled to quit their mountains, and come and live in the open country. By this step they were rendered an easy conquest, should they happen to rebel anew.

The Celtiberians are reduced by the praetor Sempronius Gracchus, who gained four victories over them, and took a great number of their towns. L. Posthumius, on the other hand, defeats the Lusitani and the Vaccaei, in several engagements.

By the census taken this year at Rome, there appeared to be two hundred and seventy three thousand two hundred and forty four citizens, able to bear arms. It was taken by the censors Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior, who had hitherto been at enmity with each other, but were sincerely reconciled out of regard to the public good, the very day of their election, in the presence of the whole people assembled in comitia. This behaviour was greatly applauded; and Cicero, a long while after, made it his rule of conduct in regard to Caesar.

Death of Philip king of Macedon. After the tragical adventure of his son Demetrius, he pined away with chagrin and remorse: worn out with continual watching, he breathed his last, bemoaning the loss of one of his sons, and loading the other with curses. Philip was full of his projects against the Romans to the day of his death. His son

Perseus

Pompey was heir not only to his throne; but to his hatred against the republic: yet reflecting that the beginning of a reign was not a proper conjuncture for entering upon a war of that importance, he resolved to send an embassy to the Romans, acquainting them with his accession to the throne, and desiring they would grant him their friendship, and acknowledge his right to the crown.

575.

Expedition of the consul Manlius into Istria. His province was Cisalpine Gaul; but finding little or no employment for his troops in that country, he marched against the Istrians, who had made some incursions upon the territories of the allies of the republic. The Istrians, by the help of a thick fog, surprized the Roman camp upon the banks of the Timavus (b). The advanced guards seeing the enemy approach, when they were thought to be at a great distance, betook themselves to flight; and spread the alarm in the Roman camp, which was immediately abandoned, notwithstanding the orders and menaces of the consul. Ebulo, king of the Istrians, arrived just in time to sit down to table in the quaestor's tent, where he found a great entertainment ready served up. His troops did the same, and giving themselves up to jollity and mirth, they drank very plentifully, when Manlius being apprized of what passed, rallied his foldiers, attacked the enemy, and made them pay dear for their entertainment. Eight thousand Istrians were left dead on the spot; Ebulo, though in a drunken condition, was put on horseback, and conveyed away by his guards. Upon the first news of this affair, which in the end turned out a matter of laughter to the Romans, all Italy was alarmed, inso-much that extraordinary levies were made at Rome and among the allies: orders were also given to the consul Junius, then in Liguria, to march with all expedition to the assistance of his colleague, whose army was thought to have been demolished. But they soon recovered themselves from their fright, when they came to hear that Manlius had lost a great deal of wine, and but very few foldiers.

A vestal having let the sacred fire go out, was, according to custom, whipped with rods.

576.

Manlius and his colleague continue the war with success; but it was intirely put an end to by the consul Claudius, a violent man, who, upon the first news of those advantages, set out abruptly from Rome without his lictors, or any marks of dignity, and even without being

(b) A broad, but very short river (Cluverius says not above a mile) of Friuli, which rising out of nine springs in the neighbouring mountains, runneth to S. Giovanni, and soon after emptieth itself in the Adriatic. Virgil takes particular notice of this river, *Æn.* 1.

*Antenor potuit fontem superare Timavum,
Unde per ora novem & casto cum murmure montis
Is mare præruptum.*

integrated in the capitol, in so great a hurry was he to rob the proconsuls of the honour they might expect to receive from their expedition. Immediately he lays siege to Nefactium (i), whither the chief persons among the Istrians had retired, along with Ebulo their king. The besieged being reduced to despair, murder their wives and children on the ramparts, in sight of the Roman army, and throw their dead bodies into the ditches: the town is taken by assault, and Ebulo is killed. This consul storms two other towns, and razes them to the ground as well as Nefactium. The Istrians submit and give hostages, Manlius forthwith marches into Liguria, gives battle to the enemy, and kills above fifteen thousand of their men.

Sempronius Gracchus had the conduct of the war in Sardinia, which revolted anew. He obtained a complete victory over the rebels, in which they lost twelve thousand men; and the year following he restored tranquillity to the island, where he continued to command in the quality of proconsul.

The senate revive a law, forbidding the Latin allies to come and settle at Rome, or to be made free of the city, unless they left some of their children in their own country, to perpetuate the race. This law was made upon the complaints of the Latins, mentioning, that if proper remedy was not taken, their provinces would be deserted, and they should not be able to furnish the usual number of levies.

577.

Claudius, now no more than proconsul in Liguria, was obliged to open the campaign, because of the death of the consul Cornelius, which retarded the departure of his colleague Petilius: and he had the mortification in his turn of seeing himself interrupted in the midst of his successes. Petilius attacks the Ligurians in their mountains, and is slain in the engagement. It is observed by Pagan writers, that upon inspecting the entrails of the victims before the departure of the consuls, there was foundation to presume that some great misfortune should happen to them both: but this circumstance seems to have been invented after the fact, to raise the credit of the aruspices. Care was taken to conceal the consul's death both from his troops, and from the enemy; so that things went on as usual, and the Romans obtained a complete victory.

The Ligurians defeated.

578.

We learn from the *fasti capitolini*, that the two consuls of this year received the honour of a triumph. Lepidus acted against the Ligurians, and Mucius against the Gauls in the neighbourhood of the Po; but we know not the particulars of their expeditions, nor those of the next year's consuls.

(i) The furthestmost town of Istria, at the mouth of the river *Arso*; it is now called *Castel Novo*.

SIXTH CENTURY.

267

A great plague at Rome. Such multitudes died thereof, that, according to Livy, heaps of dead bodies remained in the streets.

579.

In all probability, they found out that those frequent contagions at Rome, were partly owing to the nastiness of the public streets. Livy takes notice it was then that the censors Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Posthumius Albinus caused the streets of this great city to be paved the first time. Those magistrates rendered their names memorable for the severity with which they discharged their office: they degraded nine senators, of which number was Cneius Cornelius Scipio, son of the great Scipio, but unworthy of so illustrious a parent. At that time he was prætor, and had obtained this office in a very remarkable manner. His competitor was C. Cicereius, a client of his family, and who had formerly been secretary to his father. Cicereius was ashamed to contest the point with his patron's son; and seeing that the suffrages were likely to unite in his own favour, he laid aside his candidate's robe, and began to solicit for Scipio, who by that means obtained the place. The disgrace he underwent in being degraded by the censors, induced his relations to take care that he should be forbid to execute his office.

The first time of paving the streets of Rome.

The censor Fulvius, having stripped the temple of Juno Lacinia of its marble tiles, in order to cover the temple of *Fortuna Equestris*, which he was building at Rome, in compliance with a vow made during his prætorship in Spain, the tiles are brought back again by order of the senate. This action of the above censor was looked upon as a sacrilege: he was blamed for it by the senate, and the unhappy death of this magistrate, happening two years after, was looked upon as a divine punishment. For upon hearing that of his two sons one was dead, and the other seized with a dangerous illness, he was overcome with grief and strangled himself.

Publication of the Voconian law, which forbid the citizens of Rome to institute any woman whatsoever universal legatee, and determined the sum they might receive in succession: this was to prevent the women from transferring by marriage the estates of their own to strange families. This law was proposed by the tribune Q. Voconius Saxa, whose name it bears: and Cato the censor, who was at all times against the sex, contributed greatly to get it passed.

The Voconian law.

This year a census was made, at which there appeared, according to Livy, two hundred and sixty nine thousand and fifteen citizens, able to bear arms.

In Spain, the Celtiberians, who were supposed to have been intirely subdued ever since Sempronius's great victory, revolted again, and attacked the prætor Claudius's camp, but were repulsed with the loss of fifteen thousand men.

580.

C. Cicereius, prætor of Sardinia, subdues the rebel Corsicans. The consul Posthumius Albinus introduces the custom of obliging the cities belonging

belonging

belonging to the Roman provinces, to defray the expenses of the consuls in their passage through the country, and to furnish horses and carriages for them and their retinue. Hitherto the great officers used to travel at the expence of the government, and none but the couriers of the republic had a right to demand horses gratis. Posthumus was employed in Campania, in punishing numbers of private people for having usurped the republic's demesnes, since Capua had been recovered from Hannibal.

The Statiellians subdued.

Equity of the Roman senate.

His colleague, M. Popilius Lanas, marches of his own head into the territory of the Statiellians (4), a people in Liguria, who had committed no sort of hostility against the Romans: coming to an engagement with them, he obtains a complete victory, takes away their arms, and sells them into slavery. What more could he have done, had he to deal with the most inveterate enemies of Rome? But the Statiellians were the only people in Liguria, who had never declared against the republic. The senate pass a decree, commanding Popilius to restore the money he had received for the sale of the Statiellians, to set them at liberty, to give them back their effects and their arms, and immediately to quit the province. The decree concluded with these remarkable terms: *victory is glorious, when confined to the subduing of an untractable enemy; but becomes ignominious, when tending only to oppress the unfortunate.* Here we see a strong specimen of the policy of the Romans, who still endeavoured to conceal their ambition from the public view.

581.

M. Popilius, instead of executing the order of the senate, pretends he had a right to pursue the same mistaken conduct in quality of proconsul. He attacks the Statiellians a second time, and kills ten thousand of their men; upon which, all the Ligurians have recourse to arms: so that the senate were now resolved to punish him for two crimes, his inhumanity, and his disobedience, which might have involved the republic in a troublesome war. The prætor C. Licinius is appointed commissioner to try him. Popilius is acquitted by means of the prætor's indulgence, and the influence of his brother Caius Popilius, who was consul that year. The latter, in consequence of a new decree of the senate, restored the Statiellians to their liberty, and allowed them lands on the other side of the Po: by which means Liguria was pacified.

The two consuls had been chosen out of the plebeian order, a thing as yet unprecedented, though it became afterwards very common. Father Catrou, with great probability, conjectures, that the Romans insensibly accustomed themselves to make scarce any distinction between those families that were noble by extraction, and those ennobled by great employments.

(4) A people about Montferrat in Italy; their chief town on the river Bormia, called *Agua Statiella*, still retains the name of *Acqui*.

SIXTH CENTURY.

269

582.

War with Perſes, king of Macedon. This prince, immediately after his father's deceaſe, began to prepare for war with the Romans. He uſed all his endeavours to make friends in Greece and Aſia, to repeople his dominions, and to fill his coffers by the working of mines, of which there was great plenty in his kingdom. He ſucceeded in every point. The ſenate was informed by Eumenes king of Pergamus, who made a ſpecial journey to Rome, that Perſes had gained the affection of the Boeotians, and that the other people of Greece openly inclined to favour him; that Seleucus king of Syria, and Pruſias king of Bithynia, had entered into an alliance with him, the former by giving him his daughter in marriage, the latter by marrying his ſiſter; that he had an army of thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, with provisions for ten years, and money in his coffers ſufficient to defray the expence of ten thouſand mercenaries the ſame ſpace of time, and arms for thrice that number of troops: in ſhort, that he had raiſed an inexhauſtible nurſery of ſoldiers in Thrace. The intelligence and counſels which Eumenes gave to the ſenate, had like to have coſt him his life: for Perſes hired four aſſaſſins, who wounded him in ſo dangerous a manner, that he was left a few moments for dead. They were apprized at the ſame time by Lucius Rammius, an illuſtrious citizen of Brundifium, that Perſes had endeavoured to prevail on him by bribes, to poiſon the Roman generals and ambaffadors, who always lodged at his houſe, in their way, either from Rome to Greece, or from Greece to Rome. Upon this, war was declared. But the Romans had concerted their meaſures ſtill better than the king of Macedon. Eumenes was intirely devoted to them. Antiochus Epiphanes having ſeized on the throne of Syria after the death of his brother Seleucus, courted their protection, in order to maintain his uſurpations in Egypt over the two Ptolemies: while, on the other hand, the regency of that kingdom ſounded their chief hopes in the republic. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had entered into engagements with Rome, and with Eumenes, to whom he had married his daughter. Pruſias wanted to ſtand neuter. In Africa, Maſiniſſa was always ready to ſhew his attachment to Rome, and the Carthaginians were obliged to follow the fortune of this republic.

The prætor Cn. Sicinius, who had been ſent into Greece the preceding year, marched with a Roman legion, and ſeized on the forts ſituate in the country of the *Daffarete* (1), in order to intercept Gentius, one of the petty kings of Illyricum, who ſeemed inclined to declare for Perſes. This prince has an interview with the commiſſioners, who had been ſent from Rome to negotiate with the people of Greece: and a truce is agreed upon, that Perſes might have time to ſend ambaffadors, in order to clear himſelf to the Roman ſenate. This was the firſt

(1) A people of Macedonia.

miſtake

The battle
of Sycuria.

mistake of any consequence, committed by the king of Macedon. De-
luded with the hopes of a peace, which the republic was determined
not to grant him, he gave the commissioners full leisure to bring over
to their party the several petty states of Greece, and even all Boeotia,
while he neglected to stop up the passes through which the Roman ar-
mies were to march. The consul Licinius finding the passes open, enters
Thessaly without opposition. The battle of *Sycuria*, at the foot of
mount Ossa, where the Macedonian cavalry defeated the Roman horse.
The phalanx was now ready to fall upon the legions, with all the
advantage that must naturally have followed from the routing of
the enemy's horse, when Perseus, contrary to reason, orders a retreat.
The next day he advanced with his army to renew the engagement;
but the Romans had passed the river Peneus in the night, and retired
to an advantageous post. Perseus then perceiving that the only fruit of
his late victory, would be at the most to obtain a peace, sends deputies
to ask it of the consul, upon the same terms as had been granted
to his father Philip: but he received for answer, that he must not hope
for peace, unless he would submit himself and his kingdom to the dis-
cretion of the Roman senate. He sends again to the consul, and offers
to pay a more considerable tribute than that which had been imposed
on his father Philip; yet he received the same answer. It was the
custom of the Romans, says Livy, to behave in adversity with the
same confidence, as if they had been successful, and always to conduct
themselves with moderation in prosperity. The remainder of the cam-
paign was spent in expeditions of no consequence on both sides. The
prætor Lucius Lucretius, who commanded the fleet, having taken the
town of Haliarta in Boeotia by storm, gives it up to be plundered, and
orders it to be razed to the ground.

M. Furius Philus and M. Matienus, ancient prætors of Spain, went
into voluntary exile, to avoid the punishment due for their extortions.
The Spaniards were ready to impeach a great many more of their
former governors; but the number was so considerable, that the senate
thought proper to stop the mouths of the accusers, and were pleased
only to make a decree for preventing any future oppression of the
provinces.

Colony founded at Carteia (m) in Spain, for the children begot by
Roman officers and soldiers upon Spanish women; they had lands as-
signed them, with the privileges of a Roman colony.

The legions which the consul Licinius took with him to Macedon,
consisted of six thousand foot and three hundred horse. But before this
time a legion had never more than five thousand two hundred foot.
The people, in consequence of a decree of the senate, ordain that
this year the legionary tribunes should be chosen by the consuls and

(m) A town of Spain, near the Streight's mouth, called by the Greeks *Tartessus*,
a name well known among the poets. *Prefferat occiduis Tartessus litora Phœbus*;
Ovid. Met. lib. 14. The harbour is still remaining with a castle, called *torre di*
Cartagena, by corruption from *Certa*.

SIXTH CENTURY.

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prætors, instead of being appointed, according to custom, by the suffrages of the citizens.

583.

The generals of the foregoing year signalized themselves in nothing but oppression: complaints on every side were continually coming to Rome from her allies, and particularly from the inhabitants of Chalcia, who accused Lucretius of having treated their city as if it had been taken by storm. He is accused before the people by two tribunes, and condemned in a fine of a million of *asses*: but notwithstanding this example of severity, L. Hortensius, who succeeded Lucretius in the command of the fleet, gave room for the same complaints.

The consul Hostilius attempts in vain to penetrate into Macedon thro' the strait of Elyma, and Thessaly: he is repulsed in both places.

In Spain, a fanatic soldier, whose name was Salondicus, excites a general revolt among the Celtiberians: his scheme was to begin with assassinating the prætor Junius Pennus, for which he pretended to have received directions from heaven. Upon his being detected, and killed upon the spot, the revolt was easily appeased.

584.

The people recover the privilege of naming the legionary tribunes.

The commission for enlisting recruits was transferred this time to the two prætors of Rome, instead of the consuls. This arose from the difficulty the consuls met with, in making the citizens give in their names to recruit the armies in Spain and Macedon.

Death of the poet Ennius at the age of seventy. He was born at Rudia, a small town in the territory of Tarentum. He had the honour of a statue erected to him over the tomb of Scipio Africanus, whose exploits he celebrated in an historical poem: he did the same in regard to Fulvius, who took him in his retinue, when he went to put an end to the war in Ætolia.

The affairs of the Romans were in a very bad way in the East, when the consul Marcius arrived in Thessaly. Perseus had found his account in keeping the war at a distance from his own dominions; and to judge by the several expeditions in which he spent the winter in Illyricum, in order to secure the strong places bordering on his own frontiers, one would have imagined he was resolved not to depart from this prudent conduct: but to the surprize of all the world, he shut himself up in Macedon. Having taken care to guard the widest passes, he suffered Marcius to advance without any other opposition, than what he met with from the natural difficulty of the roads through mountains and defiles almost impervious. The Romans were obliged to exert themselves in a most extraordinary manner, to get out of this scrape; and the consul himself confessed, that it would have been a very easy matter for the king of Macedon to destroy the Roman army, had he attacked them upon their march: so that nothing but success could have excused the Roman general. He penetrates into Macedon, and

and makes himself master of Dium and Agassia, two considerable cities. But the want of provisions obliges him to retire towards Thessaly, where he takes Heraclea. Then it was that Marcius, after seizing on all the passes leading to the vale of Tempe, caused the roads to be levelled from Macedonia to Thessaly; a work which facilitated his receiving of convoys during the winter. Perseus seemed to be absolutely infatuated. As soon as he heard that the consul had broke into Tempe, he cried, *Alas! I am conquered now, without fighting a stroke!* Immediately he gives orders to his favourites Nicias and Andronicus to set fire to his ships, and to throw his treasure into the sea; but repenting so desperate a resolution, he quickly sends counter orders. Nicias not having executed the king's commands, was punished for his dilatoriness; and Andronicus, who had executed them, was chastised for precipitation. Perseus caused them, both to be assassinated, as well as the divers, whom he had employed to recover his treasure from the bottom of the sea.

The prætor, C. Marcius Figulus, who had the command of the fleet, undertakes several sieges, which he is obliged to raise. Embassy from Prusias and the Rhodians to Rome, in favour of Perseus. The speech of the Rhodian ambassadors to the senate, was not rightly calculated to bring about an accommodation: those islanders gave themselves airs, and pretended to command the Romans to conclude a peace with Perseus: all the answer they received was, that the Romans intended to punish or reward every nation according to their behaviour, as soon as they had conquered Perseus; which they hoped they should be able to effect directly.

Paulus Æmilius has the conduct of the Macedonian war.

In pursuance of this resolution, the republic, being displeased to see the superiority of her arms over Perseus so long contested, used her best endeavours to put the matter beyond all manner of doubt: with this view she conferred the consulate on Paulus Æmilius, the ablest of all her generals. This is the same, who thirteen years before obtained a complete victory over the Ligurians with a much inferior army. Since that time the people had intirely laid him aside, and did not remember him in the distribution of preferments, till they became sensible of their distress for want of such a general. Paulus Æmilius was almost sixty, when he was raised to his second consulate. A very remarkable story is told of this great man. He wanted to repudiate his wife Papiria, and as he happened to communicate his design one day to some of his friends, *What is it you are a going to do?* said they; *is not your wife fair? is not she chaste? has she not bore you most hopeful children?* True, answered Æmilius with all the coolness in the world, *but look at my shoe, is it not new? is it not neat and well made? and yet I must leave it off: but nobody except myself can tell where it pinches me.* Before he married again, he adopted his two sons, by the former marriage, into the greatest and noblest houses of Rome; the eldest into the Fabian, the youngest into the Cornelian family. The latter was adopted by a son of the great Scipio, and merited the name of *Africanus the second*; but before that time he had been called Scipio Æmilianus.

585.

The commanders were not chosen this year by lot. Licinius thought it his duty to yield the preference to his colleague Paulus Æmilius, whom the public were desirous of seeing invested with the command of the army in Macedon. Æmilius insisted upon appointing the officers that were to serve under him; and at the same time it was regulated that all the legionary tribunes should be chosen from among those citizens, who had served as magistrates. Polybius, a cotemporary historian, who was present upon the spot, and had made a considerable figure in his native country Achaia, pretends that the Roman forces must have been at least a hundred thousand effective men, reckoning the reinforcement which Marcius brought last year to Greece, the troops that Paulus Æmilius was to conduct himself in person, with those which the prætor Anicius Gallus was to command in Illyricum, and those belonging to the fleet under the prætor Cneius Octavius.

Perfes, on the other hand, made the most formidable preparations against the Romans. Nothing could be better concerted than his project of a grand alliance in the East, and the resolution he took to hire a body of the *Bastarna*, a people originally sprung from Gaul or Germany, but now settled on the banks of the Borysthenes, and who were to pass into Illyricum, in order to penetrate from thence into the heart of Italy. This scheme would have succeeded, had not avarice obtained a greater sway, than honour and reason, over Perfes's heart. Twenty thousand *Bastarna*, half foot, and half horse, were already assembled by his orders on the confines of Illyricum; but when they came to ask for their pay, Perfes took disgust and sent them back. Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had hitherto been so faithful an ally to the Romans, offered to observe a neutrality, upon paying him a very large sum; and this the king of Macedon refused to comply with. With regard to Gentius king of Illyricum, he was a young unexperienced prince, who suffered himself to be cajoled into an open rupture with Rome, before he touched any of the money which Perfes had promised him: however, he saw himself a dupe to his own credulity, and deprived of the possibility of retreating. The Rhodians had no occasion for any other inducement to join Perfes, than their own private bickerings with the Romans; and accordingly they joined him.

The prætor Anicius makes a successful expedition into Illyricum, Illyricum and subdues that kingdom in less than a month. The rapidity of this ^{subdued.} conquest is not so surprizing, when the circumstances are known. Gentius was so terrified at the first approach of the prætorian forces, that he shot himself up, with an army of fifteen thousand men, in the city of Scodra, the key of his dominions. Anicius besieges this place, and Gentius is obliged to march out with his troops in order to raise the siege. The Illyrian king is beaten, and retires back to the town with such precipitation, that a great number of his soldiers are crushed to death in entering the gates. He then sends to the prætor, desires

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a con-

a conference, repairs to his camp, begs hard on his knees for a peace, and surrenders himself, his family, and his kingdom at discretion.

Conduct of
the war of
Macedonia.

Battle of
Pydna.

Paulus Æmilius had to deal with a very different sort of enemy. Perſes was brave, and experience had rendered him cautious. Sensible of his mistake last year in waiting for the Romans in Macedonia, he was now resolved to oppose the consul in passing the river Enipeus in Thessaly. Æmilius had privately sent a considerable detachment to take possession of Pythium, a strong town, situate on the top of mount Olympus, which separates Thessaly from Macedonia. Pythium is taken. Upon which, Perſes thinks it is no longer time to dispute the passage with the Romans, but retires to Pydna in Macedonia, whither the consul pursues him. Battle of Pydna. The victory was long disputed by the Macedonian Phalanx; so that the Roman consul was obliged to have recourse to a new stratagem, before he could break it. Having perceived that the foremost ranks of that body seemed to stagger, and to be thrown into some confusion, when attacked on different sides at the same time, he ordered the legionaries to form themselves into several sharp pointed battalions, to attack the enemy on all sides, and to penetrate through the first opening they saw. The success answered his wishes: when the phalanx was once opened, it ceased to have any advantage of the legion, being obliged then to fight man to man. It is said that the Romans lost no more than a hundred men in this engagement: as for Perſes's army, out of forty five thousand men, about five and twenty thousand were killed, and six thousand made prisoners.

Perſes sur-
renders
himself to
the Romans.

Perſes did not think he should be safe in the town of Pydna, which indeed was taken a little after the battle: he therefore withdrew to Pella, his capital, where, finding himself deserted by his troops and friends, he fled to Amphipolis, a neutral city, which shut her gates against him. Upon this, he embarked with his family and treasure for the island of Samothracia, subject to his jurisdiction: here he was blocked up by the Roman fleet, under the prætor Octavius, who published a proclamation, declaring that all those who quitted the service of king Perſes, and surrendered themselves to the Romans, should have their lives and liberties. Then it was that Perſes saw plainly, that of all the rights which a sovereign has to his crown, none is so strong and so sacred, as that founded in the affection of his subjects: but of this his avarice and cruelty had rendered him unworthy. They strove, as it were, who should surrender themselves first to the prætor: the several officers of Perſes's household came and gave in their names to the legionary tribune; the governor of the prince's children did the same, and delivered them up to Octavius; in short, Perſes's hearing that all Macedon had submitted to the Romans, resolved to follow their example. Paulus Æmilius beholding the most powerful king in Europe at his mercy, did not use his victory with insolence, but stepped forward upon the approach of this prince, gave him his hand as a mark of hospitality, and endeavoured to sooth his affliction

submission with the most lenient language. Æmilius professed a philosophy that would not permit him to be elated with his victories; he was of the stoic sect, who attribute all sublunary events to a fatal necessity.

The case was far otherwise in regard to the generality of the Romans: it is incredible how greatly their hearts were elated with such amazing successes: of this the behaviour of Popilius Lænas is a glaring instance. Every body must have heard of the haughty behaviour of that ambassador towards Antiochus, in insisting upon an immediate answer to the orders of the republic, by which that prince was forbid to continue his conquests in Egypt. Popilius drew a circle round him in the sand, with a rod which he held in his hand; and then putting on an air of importance, *before you stir out of this circle*, said he, *you must give me an answer to carry back to the senate.* The king, struck with this strange behaviour, hesitated a moment, and said he would obey. Thus only a word or two from a Roman citizen disarmed Syria, and protected Egypt. Antiochus sent ambassadors to Rome, to assure the senate of his submission: at the same time that capital beheld the deputies of Egypt and Rhodes; with Masgaba, son of Masinissa, king of Numidia; Attalus, brother of Eumenes, king of Pergamus; and Prusias, king of Bithynia, who were come to congratulate the republic upon her late conquest. The answer given to the Syrian ambassadors, was, *that Antiochus had done very right in executing the orders of the senate, and that the republic was satisfied with his conduct.* To the Egyptians, assurances were given that Rome would always continue to protect them. The Rhodians were treated roughly: with much difficulty could they obtain that war should not be declared against them; and they looked upon themselves as fortunate, in losing only Lycia and Caria, which were taken from them by a decree of the senate: on this occasion Cato the censor spoke loudly in their favour. Masgaba, Prusias, and Attalus, were loaded with honours and presents. The senate made a great difference between Attalus and Eumenes his brother; the former had not ceased, during the last war, to give marks of his attachment to the republic; while the other, as we have observed, was ready to betray her interests. Eumenes having resolved to make a voyage to Italy, in order to reinstate himself in the good graces of the Romans, the senate finding themselves embarrassed how to receive him, passed a decree, forbidding all kings to come to Rome, unless they were sent for; and this having been signified to Eumenes, he put back directly. Here indeed the Romans enjoyed all the advantages they had promised themselves from the conquest of Macedon.

The censors, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, and C. Claudius Pulcher, confine all the freedmen to the Esquiline tribe: hitherto they had been dispersed among the four tribes of the city, where they occasioned a great deal of disturbance.

The provinces assigned the consuls, were Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul, which they plunder. All these expeditions into Liguria and Gaul, ought to be considered as a consequence of Roman policy, the republic chusing to have her legions constantly employed.

Macedonia and Illyricum are restored to their liberty, on the footing of republics tributary to the Romans, *to the end*, said the senatorial decree, *that all nations may know, that the Roman arms do not aim at enslaving free people, but restoring those who are in servitude to their liberty.* By this decree it was determined, that each of those countries should be divided into four regions, and that they should only pay to the people of Rome, half the tribute which they had used to pay to their kings. The other regulations were left to the prudence of the generals Æmilius and Anicius, and the fifteen commissioners sent from Rome, ten for Macedon, and five for Illyricum. These commissioners having made an enquiry after all the Greeks, as well in Europe as in Asia, who had appeared to be adherents to Perses, either punished them on the spot, or brought them to Rome; and among the latter were many Achæans. Before the arrival of the deputies, Anicius subdued Epirus, which had granted succours to Illyricum; and the consul Æmilius completed the ruin of that country, in compliance with an order from the senate: all the cities were plundered and razed to the ground, and a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants were made slaves. It is said that the execution of this terrible sentence drew tears from the generous Æmilius.

Epirus subdued and plundered.

Triumph of Paulus Æmilius. A triumph is granted to Æmilius, which lasts three days. To give some idea of the immense treasure displayed on this occasion, let it suffice to observe, that it enabled the government to lay no taxes upon the people till the time of Augustus; and that two hundred and fifty waggons were loaded with the most exquisite statues, pictures, and other productions of ingenious artists, of which the palaces of the Macedonian king had been stripped. This unfortunate prince walked on foot, and clad in black, before his conqueror's chariot: he had begged of Æmilius to exempt him from the disgrace of this ceremony; but the Roman general made answer, that he had it in his own power to procure himself that exemption, if he pleased. This was plainly intimating, that the ignominy might be prevented by a voluntary death, which, according to the prejudices of the Pagans, was an honourable action. This triumph, so glorious to the republic, was contested with Æmilius, even by those who were to partake of the honour. His soldiers, dissatisfied with the severity of his discipline, and with his having reserved the greatest part of the booty for the public treasure, appeared in the comitia the day that the triumph of their general was to be decided, and with one voice refused him their suffrages. The senate, displeased with the affront done to so great a man, and alarmed at the bad consequences that might attend such a combination, which threatened to subject the general to his soldiers, prevailed on the tribunes of the people to defer polling, till the

the matter was more maturely debated. M. Servilius, a consular person, spoke in favour of Æmilius, and brought all those refractory men to reason.

The prætors Anicius and Octavius triumphed also, the former for subduing Gentius, the latter for compelling Perſes to surrender, and for the advantages obtained by sea.

587.

The consuls had no other provinces assigned them than Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul. For some slight expeditions in those parts they received the honour of a triumph: this was an inducement to the generals and soldiers not to be disgusted with those wars, in appearance unimportant, but extremely useful in a political view. C. Sulpicius, one of this year's consuls, had some skill in astronomy; for while he served under Paulus Æmilius, he predicted a lunar eclipse, which was to happen the evening before the battle of Pydna: this was doing great service to the Roman troops, who were generally (b) very much frightened at such events.

The Rhodians are received once more into favour by the senate, who seemed moved at their repentance, and at the severity with which they punished all those who were convicted of having joined either by word or act with Perſes.

588.

The war continued this and the following years in Liguria, without any remarkable event.

At this same time the poet Terence flourished at Rome: upon occasion of the *ludi Megalenses*, he brought his play, called *Hæcyræ*, on the stage, which, in the beginning, did not meet with all the success it deserved.

Terence
flourishes at
Rome.

589.

At the census this year, there appeared to be three hundred and thirty seven thousand four hundred and fifty two citizens fit to bear arms: this list was taken by the censors Paulus Æmilius, and Marcius Philippus.

Perſes dies at Alba, where he was held in cruel bondage (c). He had two sons, one of whom is thought to have died before him, the other

Death of
Perſes.

(b) Not only the Romans, but most other nations were frightened at eclipses; particularly in the Macedonian camp on the abovementioned occasion, the army were terribly amazed, and began to consider that phenomenon, as portending the extinction of their empire.

(c) We are told by Diodorus Siculus, that after the triumph, Perſes was sent back to the gail, and put among the meanest criminals, in which state he remained four days fasting. At last he besought some of the poor people in the prison to give him a part of their provision; which they accordingly did, and at the same time procured for him a rope and a sword, supposing that he would be glad to end his misfortunes by one of them; which however he did not, but continued to live on. Some time afterwards, at the request of Æmilius, he was taken out of this prison, and put into a milder custody at Alba, where he had a house, a table, and necessary attendants assigned

Death of
Antiochus
Epiphanes.

other survived his father, and was obliged to work for his bread (A). This year also died Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, and Antiochus Epiphanes, or the *Illustrious*, king of Syria; the death of the latter is related at large by the author of the book of Macchabees. He was struck from above, as he was hastening towards Jerusalem with an intent to extirpate the Jewish religion. Ariarathes Philopater, son and successor of the king of Cappadocia, immediately sent ambassadors to Rome, demanding a renewal of the alliance with his father, which was granted him.

Conduct of
the Romans
in regard to
the suc-
cession of Syria.

590. The succession of the throne of Syria was disputed by Antiochus Eupater, son of the last king, and by Demetrius, son of Seleucus, who was kept an hostage at Rome. The latter had an incontestable right, Antiochus Epiphanes having been no more than an usurper; yet the Roman senate declared against the legitimate successor, and of their own authority appointed three of their body to govern Syria, under the name of guardians to Antiochus, then but nine years old. It had been the case more than once, for kings to put themselves under the wardship of the Romans; but there never had been any instance that those republicans set themselves up for guardians to princes without being asked. This is a farther proof of their aiming at an authority over crowned heads. Their secret views were soon disclosed, by the orders sent to those pretended guardians to burn all the ships with decks, belonging to the king of Syria, and to disable his elephants.

An army, under the command of the consul Juventius, is sent over to Corsica, to quiet a revolt of the inhabitants of that island.

591.

Cn. Octavius Nepos, head of the deputation sent by the Romans into Syria, is assassinated upon entering that kingdom, by order of Lyfias, a relation of the late king, who pretended to the regency during the minority of Antiochus. This Octavius is the first of the family that obtained the consulate. Octavius Cæsar, surnamed Augustus, the second Roman emperor, was of the same family, but of another branch. The senate ordered a statue to be erected in honour of him we are speaking of, as had been the custom in regard to great men, who had sacrificed their lives for their country. Prince Demetrius makes his escape from Rome, and embarks for the East, by the advice of the

assigned him. After he had lived two years in this fond love of life, having displeased his barbarous keepers, they would not suffer him to sleep, so that by continual watching, they brought him to his end. This account of the vanity of human grandeur, and of the natural and innate humanity of the Romans, (as Diodorus is pleased to stile it) is preserved by Phot. in Biblioth. p. 1157.

(d.) The name of the eldest was Philip, of the youngest Alexander; the latter was put out to a joiner or carpenter, and grew an ingenious man in his profession; he addicted himself to the Latin learning, and became afterwards a clerk or secretary to the senate; which was a most remarkable instance of the Roman pride,

cele.

celebrated historian Polybius, at that time detained in Rome with a great number of Achæan noblemen, whom the Romans intended to arraign after the Macedonian war.

592.

The *Fannian law* against extravagant entertainments; it fixed the sums to be spent at repasts, and took its name from the consul Fannius, whom the senate commissioned to propose it in the comitia. The Greek philosophers and rhetoricians, whose schools began to multiply greatly in Rome, especially since the defeat of Perseus, are banished the city by order of the senate, at the motion of the prætor Pomponius. This magistrate insisted, that none but military exercises were suitable to the Roman youth. Demetrius, upon his arrival in Syria, is proclaimed king by the consent of all the inhabitants, and receives the glorious surname of *Soter*, or *Deliverer*. Eupater and Lycias are put to death by the soldiers. The death of those princes might be looked upon as a punishment of the outrages they had committed against God's people; and yet Demetrius Soter followed their example.

593.

Bacchis, one of his generals, defeats the celebrated Judas Macchabeus, high priest, and chief of the Jews; who had often routed the Syrian armies, but fell in this engagement. Before his decease, he did an important piece of service to his country, by putting it under the protection of the Romans, with whom he concluded a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance.

Death of *Æmilius*, a general, who appeared greater after his death than in his life time: he, who had brought such immense sums with him from Macedon to enrich the republic, died so poor, that a considerable part of his effects was obliged to be sold, in order to pay his second wife's dowry. This able captain, who had subdued the Spaniards, the Ligurians, and the Macedonians, was, nevertheless, so greatly beloved by them, that as many of those nations as were present, disputed who should have the honour of carrying his body to the funeral pile.

594.

The censors, Scipio Nasica and Popilius Lænas, demolish all the statues that had been made for private people, without the consent of the senate. During the administration of these magistrates, a census was made, by which there appeared to be three hundred and thirty eight thousand three hundred and fourteen citizens able to bear arms. Nasica was the first that introduced the use of *clepsydra's*, or *water clocks*, into Rome, to mark the hours of the night; for the Romans had hitherto no other contrivance to note the hours than *sun-dials* (b).

595.

(b) The Roman hours differed from those of the moderns. For they reckoned twelve hours of the day, long and short, according to the length and shortness of the day

595.

Ariarathes Philopater, king of Cappadocia, is constrained, by a decree of the senate, to share his kingdom with one Orofernes, who pretended to be son to the late king. Orofernes was only a supposititious son, and that was a fact very well known over all Cappadocia; but it was ever the policy of the Romans to weaken monarchical states by dismembering them. In pursuance of this principle they likewise obliged Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, to give half of his dominions to Ptolemy Evergetes, or Physcon, his younger brother.

596.

Embassy sent to Dalmatia, a province bordering upon, and heretofore part of, Illyricum. In the reign of king Gentius, the Dalmatians recovered their liberty: after the defeat of that prince, they employed themselves chiefly in making incursions upon their neighbours, without considering that they were now become the allies of Rome. The ambassador whom the republic sent to complain of this proceeding, and to desire the Dalmatians would repair the injuries committed, was very ill received; so that immediately upon his return war was declared. The senate were glad to have an opportunity of going to war.

War with
the Dalma-
tians.

597.

The conduct of this war was committed to the consul C. Marcus Figulus, who was beaten at first, as the Romans frequently were, when they came to engage with new enemies; but he soon had his revenge, and made himself master of a great number of towns, which he plundered and destroyed.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated at
first, but
afterwards
victorious.

598.

His successor Scipio Nasica, to put an end to the war, wanted only to reduce *Delminium* (c), the capital of the country: but as it was provided with a numerous garrison, he thought proper to make a diversion, and put the enemy upon a wrong scent. With this view he made a feint to attack some neighbouring place, which having

The taking
of Delmi-
nium.

day and night. But after the invention of bells, they divided day and night into twenty-four hours. The *clepsydra* served not only to mark the hours of the night, but also of the day, in cloudy weather. It was made in the following manner: they took a glass vessel, at the bottom of which was a small hole, with a gold rim, to prevent its being worn out by the water. On the other side of the vessel, they drew a straight line, on which were marked twelve hours. They filled it with water, which dropped through the hole; and upon the water they put a piece of cork, with a small hand or index, which pointed to the first hour; and as the water gradually dropped, it shewed all the succeeding hours. Thus they called it *clepsydra*, which signifies as if the water was stolen out.

(c) *Delminium*, by Strabo called *Dalmian*, was formerly a great city, from whence the country took the name of Dalmatia. There is no certainty in regard to its situation.

occa-

occasioned part of the garrison to come without the walls, he immediately turned back, and made himself master of the city. This expedition procured him the honour of a triumph; at least it was decreed him, but we know not whether he accepted of it: if he did not, it is to be presumed he acted thus through modesty, since he likewise declined the title of *Imperator*, which his soldiers would have unanimously conferred upon him.

Cato the censor, notwithstanding his advanced age, still made a figure at Rome: he frequently harangued the senate, and by his eloquence determined the suffrages of that august assembly: but he seemed rather to increase, than decline in his natural severity. Of this he gave a convincing proof in the speech pronounced before the senate, to persuade them to dismiss three celebrated philosophers and orators, Carneades, Critolaus, and Diogenes, who had been sent to Rome by the Athenians, in order to submit a dispute between them and the inhabitants of Oropus, a city of Bœotia, to the decision of the republic. Cato, alarmed at the eagerness with which the Roman youth crowded to hear those philosophers, went so far as to say, that he could have wished it was also possible to banish the physicians out of Rome, *a set of men whose profession was derived from too scrupulous a regard to health*: his advice was followed in regard to the former, but not to the latter.

599.

The Romans wage war for the first time in Transalpine Gaul, not against the Gauls, but against a people of Ligurian original, who had attacked the inhabitants of Marseilles, the ancient allies of Rome. Opimius quickly concluded this war, to the glory of the republic, and the advantage of her allies: having obtained several victories over the *Oxybians*, and the *Deceatæ* (these were the names of the enemy) he adjudged part of their lands to the people of Marseilles, and obliged them to give hostages, whom they were to change from time to time.

On the other hand, the consul Posthumius was ordered to *Further Spain*, to appease a very considerable insurrection of the Lusitanians. These people, harassed and fatigued with the enormous oppressions of the Roman prætors, had taken up arms, and were headed by a bold and enterprising Carthaginian, whose first essay was giving battle to the prætor Calpurnius Piso, and defeating the legion under his command. The prætor, and his quæstor Terentius Varro, were killed in the engagement. The consul Posthumius, whom the republic had commissioned to revenge her cause, was prevented by death: Acilius Glabrio, who was chosen consul in his room, did not go to Spain, but was sent to Cisalpine Gaul, where he made a campaign, and acquired no glory.

600.

The new consuls enter upon their office the first of January, which was not usual before the fifteenth of March; but in the present circumstances

The Romans penetrate into Transalpine Gaul.

The Romans unsuccessful in Lusitania.

State of affairs in Spain.

stances dispatch was necessary, because of the Spanish war; and this example became a precedent for future elections. The revolt had spread itself to Celtiberia in Hither Spain. The whole country was in a flame, when the consul Fulvius and the prætor Mummius arrived in Spain; the former at the head of thirty thousand, the latter of fourteen thousand men. The consul marched into Celtiberia, where he had an engagement with an able general named Carus, who killed six thousand of his legionaries in an ambuscade. Fulvius also lost four thousand men in a battle fought under the walls of *Numantia* (d), the capital of the *Arevaca* (e); and to complete his misfortune, the town of *Ocilis*, which he had made his magazine of arms, money, and provisions, surrendered itself voluntarily to the enemy. Thus deprived of every resource, he is obliged to pass the winter in his camp. In Lusitania, the prætor Mummius met in the beginning with a considerable check: but he had time to recover his loss; and his successes were such, if we may believe Appian, as to procure him a triumph.

PARTICULAR REMARKS.

A CELEBRATED writer (f) has defined the right of conquest, a necessary, lawful, and unhappy right, which is always indebted in immense sums to human nature. The same author has taken care to explain the several cases in which a conquest may be lawful; and he has shewn that those cases are only when it is become necessary for the preservation of the people that undertake it. Applying this principle to the ancient Romans, we shall find the reasonableness of what I have elsewhere advanced, that their conquests were only a continuation of their robberies. The primitive Romans were not a civilized people, but a gang of freebooters, who could be entitled to nothing more than an asylum.

We may proceed a step further, and affirm, that at the period we are now come to, the Romans were animated by something more than the spirit of conquest, which with them was a consequence of the thirst of plunder. They were excited by ambition, a natural consequence of independence.

Pargere subjectis, & debellare superbos: to pardon submissive, and to subdue proud, nations, was the maxim the Romans pursued, when they had no longer any pretext to make conquests.

(d) *Numantia* was a famous town of Celtiberia in Spain, upon the river *Durius*, now *Duero*, which, according to Florus, had no walls or towers, but was built in the manner of Sparta; however, he is singular in this account. Strabo speaking of it, mentions *τὸ τείχος*, and Appian *τείχος*. The remains of it are known by the name of *Puente Garay*, near the town of *Soria*.

(e) A people bordering on the river *Arevus*, now *Arlenzo*, in Old Castile, in Spain.

(f) M. de Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws*, book 10, c. 4.

Before Rome had acquired sufficient strength to have nothing to fear from her neighbours, she might have been deceived, and have thought herself authorized to subdue them all by degrees, in order to enlarge her power, and to render herself formidable to all Italy. But when those different people were become, either her fellow citizens, or her allies; when Italy had submitted to her yoke; and when Carthage, in fine, that rival more formidable by her naval force, than by her possessions in the neighbourhood of Italy, was completely humbled; what pretence had the Romans to invade the peace and liberty of other nations? Their conduct was founded on pretensions the most vain, the most frivolous, and at the same time the most dreadful, being formed in the center of independence, and in the midst of conquests. They gave out, that Rome was called to universal sway; that she was made to give law to nations, and to spare only those who would submit to her dominion. They would fain make all nations bend under the weight of their republic, and pay homage to this universal empress! What pride! what insolence!

How odious were the artifices, by which they attempted to justify these abominable pretensions! Let us hear what M. de Montesquieu says on this subject, in the sixth chapter of his Considerations on the Romans. "As they never made peace sincerely, or with any other design than to grasp at all, their treaties were, properly speaking, only a suspension of hostilities, which they clogged with such conditions, as generally portended the ruin of that state which accepted them After destroying a prince's armies, they ruined his finances by excessive taxes, or by a tribute, under pretence of making him defray the expences of the war: a new kind of tyranny, which obliged them to oppress, and of course to forfeit the love of their subjects. Whenever they granted peace to a prince, they took some of his brothers or children as hostages, which enabled them to cause what disturbance they pleased in his dominions. If they had the next heir, they intimidated the present possessor; if they had a distant relation, they played him off in order to excite the subjects to rebellion. Whenever either a petty prince or a whole nation shook off the allegiance due to their sovereign, they immediately granted them the title of allies of the republic, whereby they rendered their persons sacred and inviolate; so that there was no monarch, how great soever, that could be a moment sure of the fidelity of his subjects, or even of his own family. Though the title of their ally was a species of servitude, yet it was very much courted; because they who enjoyed it were sure of being injured by none but Romans, and they had reason to hope that those injuries would diminish: hence there was no manner of services, but both people and kings were ready to perform, no offices so mean, but they would willingly submit to, in order to obtain that title. Whenever they restored a city to its liberty, they immediately promoted two factions among the inhabitants: one defended the laws and liberties of the country; the other maintained

"there

"there was no law but the will of the Romans; and as the latter was
 "generally predominant, it is obvious that all such liberty was only
 "nominal. Sometimes they made themselves masters of a country,
 "under pretence of succession or inheritance In order to reserve
 "the military power to themselves, they disarmed even their very allies;
 "so that whenever there was the least dispute among the latter, the Ro-
 "mans sent their ambassadors, who obliged them to accommodate
 "matters When they happened to see two nations at war,
 "though they had no alliance, nor concerns with either of them, still
 "they would interfere; and like our knight errants, they were sure to
 "join the weakest side In case a country was involved in broils,
 "they took upon them to adjudge the matter in dispute directly; and
 "thereby they could depend upon having none for their enemies, but
 "the party condemned . . . If they were princes of the same blood,
 "who disputed the crown, sometimes they declared them both kings:
 "if one of them was a minor, they decided in his favour, and under-
 "took to be his guardians, as protectors of the universe: for they had
 "carried things to such a pitch, that whole nations and kings were
 "subject to their command, without knowing exactly for what; and
 "they had established it as a rule, that to have heard of their republic,
 "was a sufficient ground of submission Sometimes they made a
 "bad use of the chicanery of their own language; thus they destroyed
 "Carthage, pretending they had promised to preserve the city, and
 "not the town. It is well known in what manner they deceived
 "the Aetolians, who threw themselves on the honour and clemency
 "of the republic: they pretended that the signification of these
 "words, *to throw one's self on the honour of an enemy*, implied the
 "surrender of every thing, of persons, lands, towns, temples, and
 "sepulchres. They were even capable of giving an arbitrary inter-
 "pretation to treaties: thus when they wanted to humble the Rho-
 "dians, they pretended they had not made them a present of
 "Lycia, but had deposited it into their hands, as friends and allies.
 "When one of their generals made peace, to save his army from
 "destruction, the senate refusing to ratify it, took advantage of that
 "very peace, and continued the war. Thus when Jugurtha sur-
 "rounded a Roman army, and suffered it to escape upon the faith of
 "a treaty, they carried on the war against him with those very
 "troops, which he had so generously spared: and when the Numen-
 "tines had reduced twenty thousand Romans, ready to perish with
 "hunger, to sue for peace; that peace which saved the lives of so
 "many citizens, was broke at Rome; and they eluded the treaty,
 "by sending back the consul who signed it."

This whole chapter deserves to be transcribed; but I chuse to refer
 the reader to the book itself. There he will find that the Romans,
 to satisfy their ambition, blended the most artful chicanery with the
 most horrid injustice; that sometimes they made peace with a prince
 upon reasonable conditions, and when he had complied with them,
 they added such articles, as laid him under a necessity of recommencing
 the

the war; that as masters of the world, they laid claim to all its treasures, and sometimes by laws more iniquitous than their conquests themselves; that their magistrates and governors sold their unjust decisions to kings; and that in the administration of this scandalous traffick they did not even behave with the honour of common thieves, who observe a certain faith towards each other, &c.

Nothing is more offensive to pride than pride itself. The majesty of kings was always displeasing to the haughty Romans, and for this very reason was exposed to their most cruel insults: their fury and inveteracy against crowned heads are almost inconceivable. Juvenal had just reason to reproach them with having devoured kings even to the very marrow of their bones: *ossa vides regum vacuis ex-
hausta medullis* (sat. viii.) Sometimes they raised creatures of their own to the regal dignity; but then it was only to have the pleasure of making tools of them: *ut haberent instrumenta servitutis et reges*.

Let us therefore no longer extol the generosity of the Romans towards conquered nations. If brutal courage is only a consciousness of superior strength, the generosity that may attend it, is no more than a consequence of that very consciousness, and no way inconsistent with the pride and insolence of conquerors. To destroy one's enemy or rival, is but a momentary conquest; to keep him in servitude, is a continual triumph. The generous hero is far from being proud; he spares the unfortunate, not to make them feel the weight of his arm, but to exercise his humanity.

The Romans, when in their greatest prosperity, seemed as if their aim in conquering was only to give away; or rather they seemed to wage war, not so much for the sake of conquering, as for that of extending their authority; which plainly shews their ambition. This has deceived many celebrated writers, who extol the Romans for having only endeavoured to subdue, but not to destroy; for studying rather to make friends, than subjects. But to shed torrents of human blood, in order to deprive people of their liberty; and to extort homage without just pretensions, what is this but destruction with a vengeance? And what a strange manner is it of acquiring friends by the sword? Are friends to be made by conquest?

When we behold the Romans subduing such a number of nations, most of which were more polished than themselves, we are surprized, we are even concerned. Is it that the arts and sciences enervate the mind, and deprive it of that vigour and activity which are essential to courage? Or is it that civilized nations are destined, sooner or later, to become a prey to barbarians? Upon reflexion, we shall find that these gloomy ideas are ill founded: we shall be convinced, that though so many civilized nations have fallen a prey to barbarians, it is not because they were civilized; but, on the contrary, it is because they were not civilized enough. It is because they were not acquainted with that profound policy, by which all civilized nations are now connected together, and even the smallest states partake of the united force of their neighbours. True it is, that a ferocious and warlike people will

will always be superior in strength to a nation that only cultivates the polite arts. In vain however would they attempt to overpower a multitude of polite nations, if these were but well united among themselves: armies would soon be raised by means of such an alliance; armies of resolute men, who would have great reason to expect success, their courage being founded on reason and good sense, and excited by motives far more noble and generous, than the barbarous fury of conquerors.

"How simple soever the policy of an equilibrium of power may now appear, since the writings of some great men have made it familiar to us; let us but reflect, says the Abbé de Mably, what a slow progress it has made in Europe, and we shall not condemn the ancients for being strangers to it. Before modern governments could attain this high degree of policy, they were obliged to be long connected by a chain of negotiations, and to be actuated by the same hopes and fears." (Book IV. Observations on the Romans.)

Upon the whole, though it has been generally the bad fortune of polite and learned states to submit to the yoke of nations less civilized and more enterprising than themselves, yet we may venture to conclude, that this will not happen again, unless the inroads of barbarism should plunge mankind once more into a total ignorance of their natural rights, and real interests.



SEVENTH CENTURY.

Year of Rome 601.

Before Christ 153.

THE consul Marcellus retakes the city of Ocilis in Spain: the moderation with which he behaved towards the inhabitants, in requiring nothing more of them, than a sum of money, and hostages, engages the *Arevaci*, and other Celtiberian rebels, to sue for peace. Marcellus grants them a truce, in order to give time to their deputies to go and present themselves to the Roman senate. The prætor M. Attilius Serranus meets with some success in Lusitania.

Marcellus gains great advantages in Spain.

602.

The senate, upon the representation of such of the Spaniards as had continued faithful to the republic, send private orders to Marcellus to pursue the war with more vigour than ever: but this general had other views; he was ambitious of being stiled the pacifier of Spain, and therefore was in a hurry to treat with the Celtiberians.

His successor, Lucullus, was more eager after plunder than glory: finding nothing further to do in Celtiberia, he enters the country of the *Vaccæi* without any commission from the senate, makes himself master of Cauca (g), massacres all the inhabitants able to bear arms, and reduces old men, women, and children into slavery, without any regard to the capitulation which he had concluded with those people. Intercata, another strong city belonging to the *Vaccæi*, surrenders to the consul: but he miscarries before Pallantia. The inhabitants of Intercata refused to surrender to any other person, than to Scipio *Æmilianus*, who served in the consular army as a legionary tribune; and who, notwithstanding his youth, behaved with such honour and bravery, as were strong prefaces of his future greatness. He was rewarded with a mural crown for being the first that mounted the wall, at the unsuccessful assault of Intercata; and he was victorious over a Spaniard of a gigantic size, who had challenged any of the Romans in single combat, and Scipio accepted of the challenge with the consent of his general. We may likewise observe a particular circumstance, (in which he very much resembles his adoptive grandfather) that the Roman youth having refused to enrol themselves for the Spanish war, which was looked upon as very destructive, Scipio, in the midst of so general a consternation, offered to go himself into Spain, and to serve as a legionary tribune, or in whatever other capacity the consuls should think fit. His example had an effect upon all the rest, and there soon appeared more officers and soldiers, than were wanting.

Character of Scipio *Æmilianus*.

(g) A City of Spain, near the river Tagus.

The

Cruelty of
the Romans
in Spain.

The prætor Sulpicius Galba, who commanded the further province against the Lusitanians, behaved more infamously than the consul. Not satisfied with destroying the country by fire and sword, he had recourse to the foulest treachery to complete the ruin of a poor unhappy people. He made the Lusitanians believe, that he would transplant them to provinces far more fruitful than their own; and for this purpose he divided them into three colonies, which he took care to keep at a considerable distance from each other. When he had gained this point, he attacked them separately, and cut them in pieces. At this bloody scene, thirty thousand men, according to some authors, or according to others, only nine thousand, were inhumanly butchered. But out of their ashes rose an avenger, Viriathus, a young Spaniard, who having escaped the massacre, put himself at the head of his countrymen, and shed torrents of Roman blood.

603.

Lucullus and Galba continued in Spain the greatest part of the year; one in the quality of præconsul, the other as proprator.

Temple of
Piety, and
the occasion
of building
it.

It is thought, that Cisalpine Gaul fell to the lot of Quintius, as it had been the custom for some years to send a consul to that province, and that his colleague Acilius was detained at Rome about affairs of importance. This consul built a temple to *Piety*, to preserve the memory of an event worthy of being committed to posterity. A woman among the ordinary sort of people having been convicted of poisoning another person, was condemned to be put privately to death in a dungeon, according to the Roman custom in regard to women. They determined to starve her to death; in consequence whereof the gaol keeper took particular care that no provisions whatsoever should be brought her: but her daughter being admitted to see her often, her breasts administered a food capable of prolonging the unfortunate mother's life. The gaol keeper at length detected this pious fraud, and made his report thereof to the magistrates, who greatly commended the action, and out of regard to the daughter, generously pardoned the mother.

604.

The *Calpurnian law* against extortion. It is thought, that Lucius Calpurnius Piso, who was the author of it, being at that time tribune of the people, took from thence the surname of *Frugi*, an honest man.

The third
Punic war.

The third Punic war. The motives proposed to the people in comitia, for entering into this new war against Carthage, were, that the Carthaginians, contrary to the faith of the last treaty, had fitted out a great number of ships of war; that they had gone beyond their limits to attack Masinissa, an ally of the Romans; and lastly, that they had refused to receive Gulussa, that prince's son, into their harbours, though conducted by the Roman ambassadors, whom they had also insulted. All this was true in some respects, but it is proper to observe, that the Carthaginians did not arm against Masinissa, till after the Romans had

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Marcus Claudius Marcellus, 3 ^o .	601	153	<i>Antiochus</i> , a native of Ascalon, taught philosophy at Rome, the year of that city 674	<i>Kingdom of Judah.</i> Jonathan, who succeeded his brother Judas Maccabæus, as general of the Jews, is made high priest the year before Christ 153
L. Valerius Flaccus.				
Lucius Licinius Lucullus.	602	152	<i>Aquilius Gallus</i> , a Roman knight, and civilian, was tribune of the people the year of Rome 683	He renews the alliance concluded with the Lacedæmonians and Romans, and some time after is arrested at Ptolemais. Jonathan went thither with only a thousand men, trusting to the faith of Tryphon, who wanted to usurp the kingdom of Syria from his pupil Antiochus, son of Alexander Balas.
Anlus Posthumius Albinus.			He was afterwards prætor along with Cicero, who bestows very great encomiums on him in his book <i>de claris oratoribus</i> ; he commends him especially for having invented the formula <i>de dolo malo</i> , which this great orator calls <i>Evericulum malitiarum omnium</i> . There are several of his laws in the Digest.	Simon, brother of Jonathan, is chosen prince and high priest of the Jews, in 144
T. Quintius Flaminius.	603	151		He took care to send Tryphon the ransom he asked for Jonathan and his sons; but no sooner had the tyrant received the money, than he ordered the father to be killed, and carried the sons with him into Syria. Simon, highly provoked at this perfidious behaviour, shakes off the yoke of the kings of Syria, in 143
M. Acilius Balbus.				Ptolemy, Simon's son-in-law, hoping to have the command after him, causes him to be treacherously killed with two of his sons. The third named John, and surnamed Hyrcanus, was threatened with the same fate; but the assassins were discovered and put to death
Lucius Marcius Censorinus.	604	150		
M. Manilius Nepos.				
Spurius Posthumius Albinus.	605	149		
L. Calpurnius Piso Cætorius.				
P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus.	606	148		
C. Livius Mamilianus Drusus.				
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.	607	147		
L. Mummius Achæicus.				
Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus.	608	146	<i>Alfenus Varus</i> , a civilian, born at Cremona.	
L. Hostilius Mancinus.			It was he that made the first collections of the civil law, and gave them the name of <i>Digest</i> .	
Ser. Sulpicius Galba.	609	145		
L. Aurelius Cotta.				
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.	610	144		
App. Claudius Pulcher.				
L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus.	611	143	<i>Caius Trebatius Testa</i> . This civilian was also a poet; and as such Horace addresses two of his satyrs to him. He wrote nine books on religion, which are mentioned by Macrobius. It was he that introduced the use of codicils.	
Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.				
Cn. Servilius Cæpio.	612	142		
Q. Pompeius Nepos.				
Q. Servilius Cæpio.	613	141		
Caius Lælius Sapiens.				
M. Popilius Lænas.	614	140		
Cn. Calpurnius Piso.				
P. Cornelius Scipio Nafica.	615	139	<i>Hortensius (Quintus)</i> consul the year of Rome 684	
Decius Junius Brutus Callaicus.				
M. Æmilius Lepidus Porcina.	616	138	It is a sufficient eulogium of this orator, to observe that he disputed the prize of eloquence even with Cicero	
L. Hostilius Mancinus.				
P. Furius Philus.	617	137		
			U	cero
	Sextus			death

had in some measure denied them justice. The latter set themselves up for supreme arbitrators of all nations, consequently they ought to have behaved with the same impartiality to all: was it not therefore proper for them to pay some regard to the repeated complaints of the Carthaginians against the encroachments of the king of Numidia? Whereas, they were satisfied with sending commissioners, who determined nothing, merely that Masinissa might have full leisure to complete his undertaking. The Carthaginians are more inexcusable, in regard to their behaviour towards Guliffa and the Roman ambassadors; they are likewise to blame for having refused to submit to the determination of Cato the censor, who had been sent with full power to settle their disputes with Masinissa; and, in short, for having suffered Scipio Nasica, who was upon the same errand, to be insulted by the populace. They were both of opinion that war should be declared against Carthage: but how great a difference between the two men! The former acted merely from a spirit of revenge, his predominant passion: whenever he gave his opinion in the senate, (which, as hath been observed, he frequently did) he always concluded with these words, *I am also of opinion that Carthage ought to be destroyed*. On whatever subject the senate deliberated, this was the burden of his song. The latter, though he had a great deal more reason to complain, said that Carthage ought to be humbled and weakened, but not demolished. He was apprehensive, that after the destruction of this rival commonwealth, the Romans would no longer set bounds to their ambition; and that for want of foreign enemies, they would quarrel among themselves: the event plainly shewed he was not mistaken.

It is obvious, that the chief motive which determined the Romans to declare war the third time against Carthage, was the distress of that republic; for the Carthaginians had lately met with a terrible defeat in Numidia, where Masinissa cut their army of sixty thousand men in pieces. As soon as these unfortunate people heard of the great preparations which Rome was making for war, they sent ambassadors to offer every kind of satisfaction; but they received only vague and unsatisfactory answers: the people of Utica, the second city in Africa, having in the mean time surrendered themselves to the Romans, a resolution was taken to push things to extremity, and to demolish Carthage. The senate of this rival city at length perceived there was no other way to save their country, than to yield themselves up by way of *dedition*; and the proposal was made to the Romans, who seemed to be satisfied with it. Nevertheless, the two consuls were ordered to set sail for Africa, where they landed, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Utica, with an army of eighty four thousand men.

The Romans pass over into Africa.

Hard treatment of the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians, by the step they had taken, had already acknowledged themselves a conquered people, and naturally expected to be treated as such: they were afflicted, but not surprized, when the Romans demanded three hundred hostages, all sons of senators, or of the

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SEVENTH CENTURY.

291

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Sextus Attilius Serranus.			ceto himself. But he had some affected gestures, which were apt to render him ridiculous.	death upon the spot. John Hyrcanus succeeds his father Simon;
Ser. Fulvius Flaccus.	618	136		135
C. Calpurnius Piso.				His administration was long and happy.
P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus. 2°.	619	135	Lucilius (Caius) a Roman knight, born at Sueffa in the country of the Aurunci, died at Naples towards the year of Rome 651	Yet Jerusalem having been besieged by Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, John submitted to a tribute, as well to deliver the city, as out of acknowledgment to Antiochus, for his moderation in granting a seven days truce to the besieged in order to celebrate the feast of tabernacles, and in sending at the same time rich offerings to the temple. This tribute did not continue long.
C. Fulvius Flaccus.			This poet is considered by a great many writers as the first author of satyr, such as was afterwards written by Horace, Juvenal, and Persius. And indeed they have all three justified themselves by his example in following this kind of writing, which did not meet with general approbation.	John having renewed his alliance with the Romans, they ordered the Jews to be released from the tribute imposed by the kings of Syria, as contrary to the liberty of their allies. Among other exploits of John Hyrcanus, we may remark the taking of Garissim, where he demolished the temple that had been built about two hundred years before, upon the same plan as that of Jerusalem; his victories over the Idumeans, whom he obliged to receive the ceremony of circumcision and other observances of the law; and last of all, the taking of Samaria and several other cities.
P. Mucius Scaevola.	620	134		
L. Calpurn. Piso Frugi.				
P. Popilius Lænas.	621	133		
P. Rupilius Nepos.				
P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus.	622	132		
L. Valerius Flaccus.				
C. Claudius Pulcher.	623	131		
Marcus Perperna.				
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.	624	130		
M. Aquilius Nepos.				
Cn. Octavius Nepos.	625	129		
Titus Annius Luscus Rufus.				
Luscius Cassius Longinus.	626	128		
L. Cornelius Cinna.				
M. Æmilius Lepidus.	627	127		
L. Aurelius Orestes.				
M. Plautius Hypsæus.	628	126		
M. Fulvius Flaccus.				
C. Cassius Longinus.	629	125		
C. Sextius Calvinus.				
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Balearicus.	630	124		
T. Quintius Flaminius.				
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.	631	123		
Q. Fannius Strabo.				
L. Optimus Nepos.	632	122		
Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus.				
P. Manilius Nepos.	633	121		
C. Papirius Carbo.				
L. Cæcilius Metellus Dalmaticus. 2°.	634	120		
L. Aurelius Cotta.				
M. Porcius Cato.	635	119		
Q. Marcius Rex.				
L. Cæcilius Metellus Dalmaticus. 3°.	636	118		
Q. Mucius Scaevola.				
C. Licinius Geta.	637	117		

Q. Fa.

U 2

L:

John

the most eminent citizens: they gave them without saying a word. Neither were they surprized, when the consuls required them to deliver up their military machines, their arms, and ammunition, and moreover to suffer their ships to be burnt in their harbour: to all this they most patiently submitted. But how great was their astonishment and despair, when the ambassadors that had been sent to the Roman camp, came back to tell them that they must abandon Carthage, consent to see it levelled with the ground, and transplant themselves to some other spot, at the distance of ten miles from the sea! Instantly the whole city resounded with cries and lamentations. The people, in their first fury, fell upon the ambassadors, dragged them through the streets, and pelted them with stones; it was reckoned a crime in them to be messengers of such dismal news: at length, when they recovered themselves, they all with one accord declared for war. The temples and palaces of Carthage, in an instant were turned into workhouses, where people were employed in constructing military machines, and all sorts of arms: for want of tow and flax to make cords for working the machines, the slaves at first, and next the women, even of the highest rank, cut off their hair: for want of iron to fabricate their arms, they melted down all sorts of metals, brass, gold, and silver: the men worked day and night, without interruption; and the women brought their victuals to them at stated hours. In a few days the Carthaginians repaired the loss of their arms and ammunition, and raised an army under the command of a person named Asdrubal, considerable enough to escort their provisions, and to harass the enemy.

The siege of
Carthage.

The consuls, on the other hand, surprized to hear what had passed, came and invested Carthage: at first they attempted to take it by assault, but were repulsed, and obliged to besiege it in form. The obstinate resistance of the besieged, their vigorous and successful sallies, and their good fortune in burning part of the Roman fleet by the help of some old barks, which had been left them as useless, obliged one of the consuls to march off. His colleague Manlius staid behind to continue the siege; but the Carthaginians had like to have surprized his camp in the night, had not Scipio Æmilianus by his great conduct and vigilance preserved the Romans. The same officer distinguished himself more conspicuously by his intrepidity and valour: for at the head of only his own division, he made a stand against Asdrubal's whole army, which the consul imprudently attacked, contrary to the opinion of Æmilianus, in the strong camp before Nopheris. By this step he covered the legions while they passed a river, where in all probability they would have lost a great number of men: he likewise repassed this river to deliver four manipuli, who had been invested by the Carthaginians, and he brought them back safe to their fellow citizens: in short, he acquired the confidence of the enemy by acting with great sincerity on every occasion, so that they would treat with none but him. After this campaign, Scipio Æmilianus was looked upon as the greatest man in the republic, even in Cato's opinion; which

Conduct of
Scipio Æ-
milianus.

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus.			<i>Ut magnum, versus dictabat, stans pede in uno.</i>	John Hyrcanus dies in 107
M. Æmilius Scaurus.	638	116	<i>Cum fluere lulentus, erat quod tollere velles.</i>	Aristobulus succeeds to his father John Hyrcanus, and takes the title of king. He puts his mother, with Antigonus and one of his brothers, to death, and keeps the rest in prison. He dies in a year's time, after conquering Iturea, and obliging the inhabitants to embrace the Jewish religion, before Christ 106
M. Cecilius Metellus.			<i>Garrulus, atque piger scribendi ferre laborem;</i>	
Man. Acilius Balbus.	639	115	<i>Scribendi recte; nam ut multum, nil moror.</i>	
C. Porcius Cato.			Lucilius was great uncle by the mother's side of Pompey the Great; we have only a few fragments of his works remaining.	
Caius Cecilius Metellus Caprarius.	640	114	<i>Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus) born at Rome of an ancient and illustrious family, towards the year of that city 648</i>	Salome, the widow of Aristobulus, marries Alexander Jammæus, a brother of that prince, and raises him to the throne. This Alexander was a cruel man, and a conqueror; he extended his dominions very considerably, put one of his brothers to death, and massacred at different times above fifty thousand Jews, against whom he had taken a dislike. He died the year before Christ 79
Cn. Papirius Carbo.			<i>Died towards the year 700</i>	
M. Livius Drusus.	641	113	It was a bold undertaking, to draw up the whole Epicurean system in verse. Yet he has succeeded so, as to be very intelligible; and he has even found means to strew this stony ground with the finest flowers. His poem is extant in six books, intitled <i>de rerum natura</i> . He wrote it to divert a phrenzy, with which he used to be attacked by intervals; but at length he was overcome by it, and killed himself in one of his fits.	Salome his widow, otherwise named Alexandra, gets herself declared queen, and leaves only the pontificate to Hyrcanus, her eldest son. She dies in 70
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsanianus.				Hyrcanus II. reigns till the year 67
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.	642	112		Aristobulus II. brother of Hyrcanus, usurps the government. Hyrcanus is restored by Pompey, who makes himself master of Jerusalem, and renders the
Lucius Calpurnius Piso Bestia.				
M. Minucius Rufus.	643	111		
Spurius Posthumius Albinus.				
Q. Cecilius Metellus Numidicus.	644	110		
M. Junius Silanus.				
Serv. Sulpicius Galba.	645	109		
M. Aurelius Scaurus.				
L. Cassius Longinus.	646	108		
Caius Marius.				
C. Attilius Seranus.	647	107		
Q. Servilius Cæpio.				
P. Rutilius Rufus.	648	106		
Cn. Mallius.				
C. Flavius Fimbria.	649	105		
Caius Marius, 2 ^o .				
Lucius Aurelius Orestes, 2 ^o .	650	104		
Caius Marius, 3 ^o .				
Quint. Lutatius Catulus.	651	103		
Caius Marius, 4 ^o .				
Manius Aquilius Nepos.	652	102		
Caius Marius, 5 ^o .				
L. Valerius Flaccus.	653	101		
Caius Marius, 6 ^o .				
M. Antonius Nepos.	654	100		
A. Posthumius Albinus.				
Q. Cecilius Metellus Nepos.	655	99		
T. Didius Nepos.				
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.	656	98		
P. Licinius			U 3	There

Death of
Cato the
censor.

which is saying a great deal; because it was not his custom to commend any man. This rigid censor died towards the latter end of the present year, at the age of eighty four or eighty five, after having foretold that Carthage would never be reduced, till Scipio Æmilianus was employed in that expedition.

The Ro-
mans un-
successful in
Spain.

In Spain, Viriathus, of whom mention has been made already, cut out a good deal of work for the Romans. He was an active enterprising man, had been originally a shepherd, then successively a huntsman, a chief of freebooters, and general of an army. As his forces were much inferior to those of the prætor C. Vetilius, he had recourse to stratagem. He ordered his infantry to draw up in a single line, as if he intended to give battle; and to retire suddenly, when the Romans came on to attack them. After this, he put himself at the head of a thousand horse, and kept skirmishing with the enemy two whole days, till at length he escaped through defiles unknown to the Romans, when he thought his infantry safe at Tribola, the place of rendezvous. The prætor pursuing him lost four thousand men, and was killed himself, in a forest where Viriathus had laid an ambuscade. The quæstor immediately took upon him the command of the army, and sent for five thousand auxiliary troops, but they were all cut in pieces by the rebels.

Rebellion in
Macedonia.

In the mean time strange scenes were acting in Macedonia. One Andriscus, of the very dregs of the people, who took upon him the name of Philip, stirred up a rebellion in this new republic, already tired of the Roman yoke. From thence he removed to Thrace, where he met with a very good reception; and being supplied with troops by the petty sovereigns of that country, he soon made himself master of all Macedonia, which acknowledged him for its sovereign. This large and potent kingdom, the patrimony of Alexander the Great, would not satisfy the ambition of the new king; he therefore entered Thessaly, and made almost an intire conquest of that province.

Scipio Na-
sica sent into
Greece.

Thus were things situated when Scipio Nasica was sent into Greece, and found the evil much greater than was imagined at Rome. Assisted by the allies of the republic, he drove Andriscus out of Thessaly, and waited for the arrival of the prætor Juventius Thalna, who was coming from Rome with an army. This prætor having too great a contempt for an enemy, grown formidable by his successes, engaged him imprudently, but was defeated and slain.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated.

The Pseudo-Philippus, or sham Philip, shewed himself in his natural colours after his victory. This impostor was in a supreme degree possessed of every vice, the natural consequence of a mean education: as soon as he saw himself settled on the throne, he gave a full loose to his inordinate desires, and avenged the cause of Rome on the faithless Macedonians, who were now harrassed in a terrible manner with extortions, assassinations, and proscriptions.

605.

The consul Calpurnius Piso is sent into Africa, in the room of Manlius,

SEVENTH CENTURY.

195

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
P. Licinius Crassus.			There are still extant	the Jews tributary to the Romans, 64
Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus.	657	97	two very good poems of his intitled <i>Tiberias</i> and <i>Alexipharmaea</i> , which have been translated into Latin verse by John Gorree, a Paris physician.	Great disturbances in Judaea the following years.
C. Cassius Longinus.				<i>Kings of Egypt.</i>
L. Licinius Crassus.	658	96		Ptolemy Philometor, 146
Q. Mutius Scaevola.				Ptolemy Evergetes, or Phylcon, 116
Q. Domitius Aenobarbus.	659	95	<i>Patruinus (Marcus)</i> born at Brundisium, died at Tarentum, almost in his ninetieth year, the year of Rome 690	Ptolemy Soter, or Lathurus, is expelled the year before Christ 106
C. Caelius Caldus.			This poet applied himself to tragedy, and had great success in that kind of composition; he likewise cultivated the art of painting. We have some fragments of his works remaining, and his epitaph written by himself.	Ptolemy Alexander, brother of the foregoing, reigned till the year 88
Caius Valerius Flaccus.	660	94		Ptolemy Lathurus restored till the year 80
Marcus Herennius Nepos.				Berenice, named also Cleopatra, reigns alone six or seven months.
C. Claudius Pulcher.	661	93		With Alexander till the year 75
M. Perpenna.				Ptolemy Dionysius, or Auletes, till the year 58
L. Marcius Philippus.	662	92		Berenice during Auletes's exile.
Sextus Julius Caesar.				<i>Kings of Syria.</i>
P. Rutilius Lupus.	663	91		Demetrius Soter, 151
L. Julius Caesar.				Alexander Balas, 146
C. Pompeius Strabo.	664	90		Demetrius II. surnamed Nicanor, reigns till the year 145
P. Porcius Cato.				Antiochus son of Balas, 143
L. Cornelius Sylla Felix.	665	89		Diodotus Tryphon, 139
Q. Pompeius Rufus.				Antiochus Sidetes, 131
Cneus Octavius.	666	88		Demetrius Nicanor, restored till 129
L. Cornelius Cinna.				Alexander Zebina, till 127
Caius Marius. 7 ^o .	667	87	<i>Polybius</i> , a celebrated Greek historian, born at Megalopolis, in the hundred and forty third olympiad, died at the age of fourscore and two, and the year of Rome 630	Seleucus V. 126
L. Cornelius Cinna. 2 ^o .			His history treated of all the most remarkable events, from the beginning of the Punic wars, to the end of that of Macedonia, and was written at Rome in Greek. It contained forty books, of which we have only the five first intire. We are obliged to Pope Nicholas V. for the publication of his works.	Antiochus Gryphus, 114
<i>In the room of Marius is substituted</i>				Antiochus IX. 97
Lucius Valerius Flaccus.				Seleucus VI. 95
L. Cornelius Cinna. 3 ^o .	668	86		An-
Cn. Papirius Carbo.				
L. Cornelius Cinna. 4 ^o .	669	85		
Cneus Papirius Carbo. 2 ^o .				
L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus.	670	84		
C. Junius Norbanus.				
Cneus Papirius Carbo. 3 ^o .	671	83		
C. Marius.				
M. Tullius Decula.	672	82		
Cneus Cornelius Dolabella.				
L. Cornelius Sylla Felix. 2 ^o .	673	81	<i>Scaevola (Quintus Mucius)</i> killed at Rome the year of that city 666	
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.				
Pub.			U 4	Cicero

The siege of Carthage continued.

He carries on the siege but slowly; during which time the Carthaginians obtain several advantages over the Romans, which revive their courage. Scipio Æmilianus was likewise the only person that distinguished himself this campaign. Phameas, general of the enemy's horse, was so greatly afraid of him, that he durst not appear when it was Scipio's turn to go upon an expedition: at the same time he conceived so great a value for this young officer, that he desired a conference with him, and at length deserted with two thousand African horse, who were of great assistance to the Romans. Scipio likewise received a signal proof of the high regard which Masinissa had for him and his family. This old prince, upon his death bed, begged he would come and settle the partition of his dominions among his three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Manastabal.

Affairs in Spain.

In Spain, C. Plautius, who had succeeded Vetilius, and brought with him a reinforcement of ten thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse, lost four thousand men in the first action, where Viriathus had laid an ambush for him; and he was afterwards intirely defeated in a pitched battle. Viriathus makes himself master of Segobriga, a city in alliance with the Romans.

The rebellion quelled in Macedonia.

In Macedonia, Andriscus being defeated and taken by Q. Cæcilius Metellus, successor of Juventius, is sent to Rome loaded with chains. Metellus disperses a party that had declared for another impostor, who, in imitation of the sham Philip, wanted to pass for the son of Penses, and had taken the name of Alexander.

Scipio Æmilianus is chosen consul for the following year. He only stood candidate for the ædileship, his age not permitting him to aspire to any other curule office, for he was but thirty seven; however Rome, as we have already observed, knew very well how to make exception on proper occasions in favour of great men.

606.

Scipio Æmilianus has the conduct of the war in Africa.

Like his adoptive grandfather, he had the honour of being intrusted with the conduct of the war in Africa, without being obliged to draw lots with his colleague: and in imitation of that hero, he was attended in his expeditions by his intimate friend Lælius, son of that other Lælius, who had heretofore behaved so gallantly under the great Scipio. He likewise took along with him Polybius the Achæan, who had acquired a considerable share of his confidence, and whose counsels he greatly valued. Lælius and Polybius were also excellent scholars, as well as soldiers: the former is supposed to have had a considerable share, with Scipio, in writing those excellent comedies, which are still extant, under the name of Terence; and the other has immortalized his name by his Roman history.

The siege of Carthage continued.

Scipio found the siege of Carthage in less forwardness than at the first campaign. The inhabitants of that capital had taken advantage of the consul Piso's negligence, to provide themselves with all manner of necessaries, and to put the city into a better posture of defence. The first care of the new consul being to shut up all the avenues to the town,

C O N

Publius

Mauri

Appian

cher.

M. Æ

Q. Luta

Decimu

Mamer

Livia

Cneus

pos.

C. Scri

L. O

Caius

Lucius

culla

M. Av

M. T

Luc

C. Cal

L. Gel

Cn. C

lus.

Cneus

tes.

P. Cor

Sura

Cneus

nus.

M. F

Div

Q. He

Q. C

Cre

Quint

L. Ca

C. Ca

M. A

M. A

L. V

L. A

Luciu

qu

Luciu

C. M

M. T

C. A

Deci

L. L

M. P

M.

Ni

CONSULS.	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>	<i>Cotemporary princes.</i>
Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus.	674	80	Cicero says of him, that he was chief ora- tor among the civili- ans, and chief civilian among the orators. In the Digest we have up- wards of forty laws of Scævola's drawing, which justify the elo- gium that Cicero has bestowed upon him as a civilian. None of his orations are come down to us, but we may depend on Ci- cero's judgment of him. Scævola also composed one book of definiti- ons, and sixteen on the civil law. He was consul in the year 658, and afterwards procon- sul in Asia, where he governed with so much prudence, that he was always mentioned at Rome as a pattern to his successors, and the Asiatics instituted the <i>Mucian feasts</i> in honour to him. He was as- saffinated by order of Marius, though he could be reproached with no other crime, than that of being too honest a man for the times; this was the justice done him by Fimbria, who stabbed him in the temple of Vesta. He had been pontifex maximus in 664.	Antiochus X. 94 Antiochus XI. 93 Tigranes takes pos- session of the kingdom till the year before Christ 65 Syria is reduced to a Roman province. Athens is taken by Sylla, the year before Christ 87 <i>Kings of Pontus.</i> Mithridates V. 123 Mithridates VI. sur- named Eupater, died in 64 The kingdom of Pon- tus had been reduced to a Roman province, the preceding year. <i>Kings of Bithynia.</i> Prusias II. 149 Nicomedes II. 93 Nicomedes III. by his will bequeaths the kingdom of Bythinia to the Romans, 75 <i>Kings of Pergamus.</i> Attalus Philadelphus, 138 Attalus Philometos gives his dominions to the Romans. This kingdom is reduced to a Roman province, 130 <i>Kings of the Parthians.</i> Mithridates I. 136 Phraohates II. 127 Artabanus II. 124 Mithridates II. 87 Mnaskires, 76 Sinacrockes, 69 Phraohates III. 60 Mithridates III.
Appius Claudius Pul- cher.				
M. Æmilius Lepidus.	675	79		
Q. Lutatius Catulus.				
Decimus Junius Brutus.	676	78		
Mamercus Æmilius Livianus.				
Cneus Octavius Ne- pos.	677	77		
C. Scribonius Curio.				
L. Octavius.	678	76		
Caius Aurelius Cotta.				
Lucius Licinius Lu- cullus.	679	75		
M. Aurelius Cotta.				
M. Terentius Varro Lucullus.	680	74		
C. Cassius Varus.				
L. Gellius Poplicola.	681	73		
Cn. Cornelius Lentu- lus.				
Cneus Aufidius Ore- stes.	682	72		
P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.				
Cneus Pompeius Mag- nus.	683	71		
M. Licinius Crassus Dives.				
Q. Hortensius.	684	70		
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.				
Quint. Marcus Rex.	685	69		
L. Cæcilius Metellus.				
C. Calpurnius Piso.	686	68		
M. Acilius Glabrio.				
M. Æmilius Lepidus.	687	67		
L. Volcatius Tullus.				
L. Aurelius Cotta.	688	66		
Lucius Manlius Tor- quatus.				
Lucius Julius Cæsar.	689	65		
C. Marcius Figulus.				
M. Tullius Cicero.	690	64		
C. Antonius Nepos.				
Decius Junius Sillanus.	691	63		
L. Licinius Murena.				
M. Poppius Piso.	692	62		
M. Valerius Messala Niger.				
L. A-			owed	

town, he encamped on a neck of land, which joined the isthmus, whereon Carthage stood, to the continent. By this step he effectually prevented the besieged from receiving provisions that way; but still the sea was open, because the Roman vessels durst not come within reach of the military machines, for fear of being sunk. Scipio also deprived them of this last resource, by raising a mole in the sea, eighty feet broad at the top, and ninety two at the bottom; a work of immense labour. Yet the Carthaginians attempted, and executed another that was more surprizing. Their city contained seven hundred thousand inhabitants, who all fell to work as hard as they could, men, women, and children, to dig a new port, and to fit out a fleet. The Romans were surprized upon seeing a new squadron of fifty quinqueresmes appear at sea, ready to give battle, and to convoy their provisions. It is thought, that the Carthaginians committed a great mistake in not attacking the Roman ships upon this first surprize; for they did not engage till three days after, and then the advantage was not on their side. The consul having made himself master of a terrace that commanded the city towards the sea, took care to fortify it, and four thousand soldiers were quartered there all the winter.

Scipio being sensible that it was not proper to be idle during the cold season, attacks the Carthaginian camp near Nopheris, and forces the intrenchments. This camp was like a second Carthage, whither all the inhabitants of the open country, who could not find room in the capital, had retired with their effects: upwards of sixty thousand men were killed, and ten thousand made prisoners. Soon after this, the town of Nopheris was taken, where Asdrubal no longer had the command. This man, by intrigues and villany, had made himself governor, or rather tyrant of Carthage. He exercised an absolute sway over his expiring country; every action, every word, every gesture that did not please him, was punished with death: and as if he intended to insult the misery of the inhabitants, thousands of whom were perishing with famine, he feasted every day in a most sumptuous manner. Interview between him and Gulussa, one of the kings of Numidia, who had carried succours to Scipio against Carthage; but Asdrubal's intolerable pride was the cause that nothing could be concluded.

607.

Scipio had consented to this interview for no other reason, than through fear, lest one of the new consuls should deprive him of the glory of taking Carthage. The Romans did him more justice; it was agreed in the comitia, that he should continue general of the army in Africa, till the conclusion of the war.

Laelius makes himself master of a small island, called *Cotbo*, which commanded the entrance of the gulf where Carthage stood. Scipio much about the same time breaks down one of the city gates, and penetrates

SEVENTH CENTURY.

299

CONSULS.	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>
L. Afranius Nepos.	693	61	<p>owed him for the great number of excellent laws. Remarkable among others, are those relating to forgers, assassins, and poisoners; to injuries, proscriptions, and luxury; to wills, magistrates, tribunes, and judgments.</p> <p>From this multitude of laws, made by Sulla, M. Terasson takes occasion to rank him among the number of civilians.</p>
Q. Cecilius Metellus Celer.			
C. Julius Cæsar.	694	60	
M. Calpurnius Bibulus.			
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius.	695	59	
A. Gabinus Nepos.			
P. Cornelius Lentulus Spathæ.	696	58	
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.			
C. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.	697	57	
L. Marcus Philippus.			
Cneus Pompeius Magnus. 2°.	698	56	
Marcus Licinius Crassus. 2°.			
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.	699	55	
Appius Claudius Pulcher.			
Cneus Domitius Calvinus.	700	54	
M. Valerius Messala.			

Carthage
taken,

netrates through the streets as far as the citadel. The inhabitants, who had retired thither, had the courage to stand a siege of a few days. At length they surrendered: the women came first, and implored the mercy of the conqueror, asking no favour but life, which they obtained: the men next ventured to take the same step, and met with the same success. None but the Roman deserters being excluded from mercy, they withdrew to the temple of Æsculapius, in the very highest part of the citadel, and setting it on fire, perished in the flames, together with Asdrubal's wife and children. This vain man had boasted that he would never survive the ruin of his country; but when he beheld present danger, he thought it was enough for his family to perform the promise. In this cowardly disposition he stole away from Carthage, and threw himself at Scipio's feet, who granted him his life: but his wife remained in the hands of the deserters. This intrepid woman seeing her country just at its last gasp, appeared on the steps of the temple, where she stabbed her children in the presence of the Romans, and threw herself into the middle of the flames.

And utterly
destroyed.

Scipio had Carthage now at his mercy; but his good nature and compassion obliged him to suspend destroying that city, till he received further orders from Rome. It has been always observed, that the greatest heroes have a most tender feeling for the miseries of human nature; and of this we have a very strong proof on the present occasion. Polybius perceived that Scipio shed tears over the ruins of Carthage; and it was the fate of this same Polybius soon after to weep over the ruins of his own country.

The war
with the
Achæans.

The Roman power now spread itself like a torrent, and overbore every thing that opposed it. The Achæans being provoked with the republic for having detained in a kind of slavery some Achæan lords, whose cause she had reserved to herself, made some motions which plainly indicated they were meditating revenge. Immediately the prætor Metellus, who still commanded in Macedon, crosses Thessaly, and enters Peloponnesus. Battle of *Scarphia* (*b*), where Critolaus, general of the Achæans, is defeated and slain. Metellus seizes on Thebes in Arcadia, penetrates into Achaia, and makes himself master of Megara. He would have marched on directly to Corinth, the capital of the province, only that he wanted to settle matters before the arrival of Mummius, who was coming with a consular army to put an end to the war. He therefore sends deputies to treat of peace with Dizeus, successor of Critolaus; but the proposals are rejected. The consul Mummius appears before Corinth; Dizeus gives him battle, and is routed. The Corinthians had been very sanguine in their expectations of a victory: but so great was their consternation after their defeat, that they instantly deserted their city. Mummius apprehending an ambuscade, would not enter till three days after; and then all the men able to bear arms

Battle of
Corinth.

(*b*) A town of Locris in Achaia, now called *Bandoniza*.

SEVENTH CENTURY.

307

were put to the sword, the women and children were sold for slaves, and the town was plundered and burnt. It is said, that on this occasion, there was a vast mixture of melted metals, which ran down the streets in streams. Of all the cities in Greece, Corinth abounded the most in excellent artists, who worked with great taste in gold, silver, and brass: they had carefully concealed these precious metals; but the fire reached them; and of their mixture was formed an admirable composition, well known by the name of Corinthian brass, which no art could ever imitate. Yet there are celebrated writers who look upon this anecdote as apocryphal. Though the Romans even at this early period expressed a fondness for the productions of eminent artists, it does not appear that they had any connoisseurs, or men of taste among them: at least the consul Mummius was no such person. For he had made it a condition with the master of a vessel, who was to carry the statues, vases, and pictures of Corinth to Rome, that if any of them were lost, he would oblige him to find others of equal value.

Corinth
destroyed.

Corinthian
brass.

Rome had never beheld such a number of triumphs. Scipio triumphed over Carthage, Metellus over Macedon, and Mummius over Achaia. Nobody disputed with Scipio the title of *Africanus*, nor with Mummius that of *Achaicus*, which they took on this occasion, and retained ever after: but some found fault that Metellus should assume the surname of Macedonicus, which the manes of the great Paulus Æmilius seemed to claim. The Carthaginian state, as also Macedonia and Achaia, were treated as conquered countries, and reduced to Roman provinces. The lands of those who had assisted the Carthaginians, were given away in property to the allies; the inhabitants of Utica in particular were gratified with the whole territory between Carthage and Hippos. The Achæans met with greater lenity, out of regard to Polybius, who had many powerful friends in Rome, so that only a small tribute (i) was imposed on this nation, and the statues of their great men were restored. As an acknowledgment for so important a service, they erected a statue to Polybius.

At the census made this year by the consuls Cornelius Lupus and Marcus Censorius, there appeared to be three hundred and twenty two thousand citizens able to bear arms.

(i) The Romans used to lay different sorts of tributes on the conquered provinces. The *stipendium* was either a set sum of money to be collected by the provincial *quaestor*, which they called *pecunia ordinaria*; or a subsidy raised for particular occasions, and termed *pecunia extraordinaria*. The *portorium* was a duty upon importation and exportation. The *scriptura* was a tax upon pastures and cattle. The *decuma* was the quantity of corn, which the farmers were obliged to pay to the Roman state, commonly the tenth part of their crop. This was called *frumentum decumanum*, and the publicans who farmed it, had the name of *decumani*. Some provinces that deserved well of the Romans, were excused from paying tribute; whence the inhabitants were termed *immunes*, in opposition to the *vectigales*.

608.

The Romans unsuccessful in Spain.

The republic turns her whole attention to the Spanish war, which began to grow more serious every day. While the Romans were triumphing in Africa and Greece, Viriathus was humbling them in Spain. Claudius Unimanus and Caius Nigidius, who the two preceding years had led the prætorian armies into Lusitania, were successively defeated by that formidable rebel. The senate therefore thought proper to send a consular army against him, under the command of Fabius Æmilianus, son of Paulus Æmilius, and eldest brother of the second Africanus. From this general they expected mighty matters, and perhaps he achieved a great deal by not acting; that is, by keeping upon his guard, to prevent being surprized by the enemy. Fabius had only new levies with him, which it would have been dangerous for him to expose in the field against an army of veterans, flushed with a train of victories for six years together: he therefore contented himself with insuring them to fatigue and discipline, that they might be the better able to act on a proper occasion.

609.

The two new consuls were equally ambitious of having the conduct of the war in Spain; but a word from Scipio Africanus disappointed them both: *I think*, said he, *that they ought to be both excluded, because one has nothing at all; and the other has never enough.* Cotta was very poor; and Galba, though extremely rich, was excessively avaricious. Scipio judged that one would be influenced to protract the war by his necessities; the other by his avarice: and the senate stuck to his decision. The command is continued to Fabius Æmilianus, with the title of proconsul. He defeats Viriathus in two general actions, and takes two towns from the rebels.

Viriathus defeated by Fabius Æmilianus.

To this, or at the latest to the next year, we must refer a very considerable change, in regard to the office of prætors. Hitherto it had been the custom for two of them to remain at Rome for the hearing of causes; but this number was no longer sufficient, since the republic had so considerably enlarged her dominions. It was therefore regulated, that henceforward all the prætors should reside in Rome during the year of their magistracy, in order to administer justice, as well civil as criminal, and at the expiration of that term, they should set out for their provinces in the quality of pro-prætors.

610.

War with the Numantines.

This year properly beginneth the famous Numantine war, so troublesome to the Romans. Viriathus, weakened by the defeats he had sustained the preceding year, endeavours to get the assistance of the Celtiberians, who had been very quiet since the peace concluded with Marcellus. He therefore sends deputies to the *Tisbi*, the *Salitani*, the *Arrovaca*, whose capital was Numantia, and to all the other people of Celtiberia, who once more set up the standard of revolt. The consul Metellus marches against them, and obtains some considerable advantages.

sages. In Lusitania, the prætor Quintius gains a victory over Viriathus, but is soon after defeated by the Lusitanians in his turn.

Metellus's colleague was Appius Claudius Pulcher. The very name of this consul is capable of giving us an idea of his character, when we recollect that the whole Claudian family were proud, enterprising, and obstinate. The present Claudius commanded an army in Cisalpine Gaul, which had been long barren of lawrels, but he contrived to gather some. The *Salassi* (1), who inhabited the country now called the *Val d'Aoste*, had a quarrel with their neighbours; and Appius was commissioned to compromise the matter: he enters the country with an army; the *Salassi* put themselves in a posture of defence; a battle is fought, and Appius is defeated. He fights a second, in which he proves victorious: having killed five thousand of the enemy, he pretends that this is the present rule for obtaining a triumph, and therefore demands it upon his return; but his petition is rejected. Appius triumphed nevertheless, in spite of the senate and people, not on mount Alba, as had happened to some generals, but in the middle of Rome. It is true, a zealous tribune attempted to pull him down from his chariot, as he was mounting the capitol; and the consul must have complied, if his daughter, a vestal, had not opposed the tribune; so that here was a contest between two sacred persons. The tribune gave way at length, thinking it his duty to respect the sex and profession of Claudia.

The *Salassi* defeat the Romans. But are defeated in a second battle.

611.

Metellus being made proconsul, continues the war in *Hither Spain* with such success, that there remained only *Thermantia* and *Numantia* for him to reduce. We are unacquainted with the particulars of these expeditions; this we know only, that Metellus was very resolute in maintaining strict discipline among his troops, extremely humane in his behaviour to the conquered nations, and above all things, an observer of secrecy in conducting his expeditions. A person happening, one day, to ask him his intention in regard to the operations of the campaign; *If I thought*, said he, *that my coat was privy to my design, I would burn it this instant*. With such noble qualities, a general very seldom miscarries. In Farther Spain, Viriathus behaved so like an able commander, that, though he was several times attacked by the consul Fabius Servilianus, the engagements ended with dubious success.

The army of a new impostor in Macedonia, who took the name of Philip, is defeated and dispersed by the quæstor Cn. Tremellius, in the absence of the prætor Licinius Nerva. We have already beheld a quæstor taking upon himself the command in the prætor's absence; here is another example of it; and this abundantly proves, that the office of quæstors in the armies was not confined to the administration of the revenue.

(1) The *Salassi* were a people of Piedmont, whose chief town was called *Augusta Salassorum*, now *Aoste*.

Scipio Africanus exercised the censorship along with Mummius Achaicus. Several stories are related of Scipio, which serve to convince us, that he was on the one hand a great restorer of discipline and morality among the Romans, and on the other, that he was no enemy to mirth and good humour. I shall give only the following instance. A certain Roman knight at the siege of Carthage had served up at his table, among other curious dishes, a pye exactly in the form of a town besieged; and holding the glass in his hand, with great jollity and mirth he delivered it up to his guests. This man coming to Scipio to know the reason why he had condemned him; *it is*, said Scipio smiling, *because you encroached upon my rights: did not you give Carthage up to be plundered, before I had ordered it?*

Laws against
Luxury.

However, Scipio was not the only person that proceeded severely against the luxury of feasting; a considerable number of citizens were fined for breaking the *Didian* law enacted the preceding year, whereby the *Fannian* law was revived, and extended to all Italy. This luxury was a consequence of the exorbitant power of the Romans. Scipio was sensible of the inconveniency, and complained of it: for which reason he altered the form of prayer that used to be said at the closing of the *Iustrum*, whereby the gods were beseeched to increase the power of the republic: he substituted another, by which they were only desired to preserve the republic in the same state, and this was repeated ever after (1).

At the census made by Scipio and his colleague, towards the end of their office, there appeared to be three hundred and twenty thousand three hundred and forty two citizens.

612.

State of
affairs in
Spain.

Metellus Macedonicus had flattered himself that the same favour would be extended to him, as had been shewn to Scipio, of being permitted to finish the war in Hither Spain, which he had so happily begun. But great was his vexation, when he came to hear that the consul *Q. Pompeius Nepos* was appointed to succeed him: instantly all his virtue vanished: not reflecting that he was going to ruin his former glory, and to render himself most odious to his countrymen, he weakened his army as much as he could, by disbanding those who had a mind to serve no longer: he likewise exhausted the magazines, broke in pieces a great part of the arms, and let his elephants die for want of nourishment.

Pompeius Nepos was a man of no birth or merit, who had been raised to the consulate by a mean intrigue. One would think that the enemy had no occasion to fear such a general; yet as he had received considerable reinforcements, they made offers of peace. One single con-

(1) The luxury of the Romans increased afterwards to such a pitch, as is almost incredible. *Pliny* observes, that when Carthage was destroyed by Scipio Africanus, the whole treasure found in that city amounted to no more than what, in *Pliny's* time, was often laid out in the furniture of a table. *Nat. Hist.* l. 53. c. 17.

dution prevented the treaty from taking effect; he insisted on their delivering up their arms. Pompey lays siege to Numantia, but is obliged to raise it; he then makes an attack on Termantia, before which place he also miscarries. In his expedition against the town of *Lancia* (m), he is more successful; for taking the advantage of a fray that arose between the inhabitants, and the Numantines who came to their assistance, he scales the walls, makes himself master of the place, and puts the garrison to the sword.

In Farther Spain, the proconsul Fabius Servilianus takes several places from Viriathus. This brave Spaniard having intelligence, that the city of *Escitana* was very hard pressed by the Romans, gets into it by night, makes a vigorous sally, and drives them to a post, where they were hemmed in on all sides, so that there was no possibility for them to escape. In these circumstances he proposes a peace, and the Romans accept of it; it was agreed, there should be peace and friendship between the Romans and Viriathus, and that both sides should keep what they actually possessed. Thus a shepherd and a captain of freebooters treats upon a par with the conquerors of the world.

613.

This peace was soon broke by the base artifices of the Consul Q. Cæpio, to whose lot the command of *Farther Spain* devolved, in preference to his colleague Lælius, justly called the *Wise*. Viriathus was not taken unprovided, for he had too much policy to lay down his arms, before the peace was established on a lasting foundation. He therefore flies to his camp, but finding his army too weak to fight the Romans, who offered him battle, he gets off by a stratagem almost similar to that which he had used in the beginning of the war, and entrenches himself amongst inaccessible rocks. The consul being confounded, prevails, by force of money, with three pretended friends of this brave Spaniard, to murder him while he was asleep in his tent. The Lusitanians lost every thing by losing Viriathus: the person appointed to succeed him, rashly undertook to lay siege to Saguntum; but being surprised upon his march by the Roman army, greatly superior to his own, he was obliged to surrender at discretion; and thus Lusitania was intirely pacified. Is it a sufficient justification of the Romans, that they refused a triumph to Cæpio, notwithstanding the great advantages they had reaped from his expedition? There was a time when the republic would have punished so perfidious a behaviour with the utmost severity.

On the other hand, Pompeius Nepos, proconsul in *Hither Spain*, concluded a kind of peace with the Numantines: having greatly disgraced the Roman arms during the present campaign, he was apprehensive of being impeached before the people at his return; therefore, in order to convince the public that he had obliged the enemy

(m) Florus calls it *validissima civitas*.

to sue for peace, he persuaded the Numantines that he would grant them very advantageous terms, provided they would make the first overtures: accordingly he did grant those terms, but with a firm resolution of breaking them, as soon as ever he judged it convenient for his interest.

At Rome a senator, named T. Manlius Torquatus, banishes his son D. Silanus Manlianus, convicted of practising the most horrid extortions in Macedonia, where he had been prætor the last year: this shews that domestic trials were not yet intirely abolished. Silanus strangled himself through despair.

The Mem-
mian law.

The Memmian law (*k*) against informers, which forbade the accusing of any person who was absent in the public service, and decreed that every informer convicted of calumny should be marked in the forehead with the letter K, which, according to the orthography of that time, was the first letter of the word *Kalumniator*.

Tragedies
acted.

P. Licinius Crassus, being entrusted as ædile with the direction of the public games, entertained the people with the representation of the tragedies of Pacuvius, who still continued to write with applause at the age of fourscore. Attius, another tragic poet, began to acquire great reputation.

614.

A company of Chaldeans, who set up for astrologers and sooth-sayers, are expelled from Rome. Prohibition of a new worship of Jupiter *Sabazius* (*l*), introduced by the Asiatics; this infamous and superstitious worship was afterwards revived under the Roman emperors.

The Gabi-
nian law.

The Gabinian law for the establishing of suffrages by tablets in the electing of magistrates; which before that time used to be given *viva voce*: it is true, this restrained the freedom of elections, but, on the

(*k*) Valerius Maximus, lib. iii. 7. 9. calls it *legem Memmiam*, and the same reading is preserved in most of the editions of Cicero's oration pro S. Roscio; yet in the manuscript copies we always find it *Remmia*, and that is the name it bears L. 13. D. de testib. L. 1. §. 2. D. ad S. C. Turpil. So that what Pighius says in his Annals, viz. that this law was made by C. Memmius Gallus, tribune of the people, is very uncertain. The Remmian family was well known at Rome; for Aufellus Victor de Vir. illustr. LXVI. makes mention of Remmius the ædile; and Tacitus Annal. 2. 68. takes notice of another Remmius.

(*l*) The word *Sabazius* was a name given to Jupiter, and seems to have been of the same import with that of *Ægisthus*; because as the latter comes from the Greek word *αἴξ*, which signifies a *she goat*, the former comes from the Phœnician word *Ἰσβαοθ*, which signifies a *roe-buck*. There was a festival in honour of Jupiter, called *Sabazia*, concerning which, see Maurilius's *Græcia Feriata*. There was also a festival of the same name instituted in honour of Dionysius or Bacchus, who was said to be the son of *Caprius*, to signify that he was the son of this Jupiter called *Sabazius*. Cicero takes notice of this festival, lib. 3. de nat. Deorum: *tertium (Dionysium) Caprio pater (naturæ) cuiusque regem Asiæ præfuisse dicunt: qui Sabazia sunt instituta*. He likewise makes mention of the *Deus Sabazius*, lib. 2. de Leg. nocturnas purgationes sive Amphiopones, sanctissimas postea veteris comediæ, vocat, ut apud eum Sabazius, et quidam alii dii peregrini iudicati, ex civitate ejiciantur.

other

other hand, it behoved them the more to make a proper choice. Be that as it may, the manner of voting by tablets was successively introduced into the courts of justice by the *lex Cassia*, in the enacting of laws by the *lex Cornelia*, and even in judicial proceedings before the people, in cases of high treason, by the *lex Calpurnia*: the latter had been excepted by the Cassian law, doubtless because it was conceived, that no fear would ever restrain the citizens from giving their opinions freely and openly against crimes of so odious a nature. The several laws we have been mentioning, were so called from the names of the different tribunes, at whose motion they were made.

War is declared anew against the Numantines, under pretence that there had been no peace concluded with them: doubtless this treaty was made only *à viva voce*, since Pompeius Nepos finding it disagreeable to the republic, got rid of the affair, by denying the fact in presence of the deputies of Numantia. In this dispute a good part of the year was consumed, so that the consul Popilius, who had the command of the Roman army in *Hither Spain*, could undertake nothing.

War declared anew against the Numantines.

Disturbances at Rome, occasioned by a new attempt of the tribunes of the people, who would fain have a privilege of exempting ten citizens, that is, each of them one, from military service. They cause the consuls Scipio Nasica and J. Brutus to be imprisoned, for opposing their pretensions. Nothing could withstand the power of the tribunes, when they were all of one mind. The insult here offered to two consuls, more respectable for their personal accomplishments, than for their dignity, was only a prelude to the shocking scenes which the tribunes were now hatching.

The consul Brutus founds a colony towards the mouth of the river Turia (n), in *Farther Spain*, whither he transplants the Lusitanians, who had surrendered to the consul Cæpio: this is the city of Valentia, which became afterwards the capital of a kingdom of the same name. Though Farther Spain had been intirely subdued, still it was become necessary to quell a particular set of people, who during the war had been accustomed to live upon plunder. The enterprize was arduous: Brutus had not only to fight against brave warlike men, but moreover against women as resolute as their husbands, women who seemed to take a pleasure in exposing themselves to the severest hardships, and even to death, in the defence of their country. He spent several years in finishing this war, and had the surname of *Callaicus*, from the principal nation (o) that he subdued.

The conquests of Brutus in Lusitania.

The præconsul Popilius is defeated before Numantia, which city he intended to besiege.

(n) It is also written *Duria*; the modern name is *Durro*.

(o) The *Callaici* inhabited that part of Portugal, which is now called *Entre-Minho e Douro*, and part of Galicia in Spain.

The Numantines defeat the Romans.

Mancinus signs a treaty with the Numantines.

The consul Mancinus was still more unfortunate; the terror with which such a number of defeats had struck the Romans, was so great, that they trembled at the very sight of a Numantine. Mancinus despairing to effect any thing with troops so disheartened, moves off from Numantia in the night. The enemy hearing of his retreat, fall upon his army, cut numbers of them in pieces, and surround the rest among rocks and impervious defiles. As soon as day appeared, the Romans perceived the sad situation they were reduced to. The consul offers to conclude a peace with the enemy, and they accept of it under the mediation of the quaestor Tib. Sempronius Gracchus. This officer was agreeable to them, not only on account of his own personal reputation, but out of regard to the memory of his father, who had been formerly victorious in this same country, and had granted a peace to the Numantines, which he suffered them quietly to enjoy. They now had only the precaution to insist that the consul, the quaestor, and the other principal officers of the army, should bind themselves by a solemn oath to observe the treaty. The senate hearing of what had passed, recall Mancinus, and send in his room, *Emilius* the other consul, who expecting to reap more laurels than his colleague, falls upon the *Vaccæi*, and lays siege to *Pallantia*; but he is obliged to decamp, after losing a great number of men before the town, for want of provisions. The enemy attack him in his retreat, and kill six thousand legionaries.

The Romans break the treaty.

The Romans were not inclined to observe the treaty signed by Mancinus, and ratified by the solemnity of an oath: they remembered that in a parallel case, the consuls *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumius* had been delivered up to the Samnites. The senate therefore made a decree, importing that the treaty concluded by Mancinus should be considered as null and void, for not having had the approbation of the republic; and that this general, together with those officers who had joined with him in signing it, should be delivered up to the enemy by the consul *Furius*, attended by a *fecialis*. Mancinus himself harangued the assembly of the people, to make them approve of the decree. On the contrary, *Gracchus* distinguishing his own from the consul's cause, prevailed on them to determine that Mancinus should be delivered up alone: *Gracchus* was master of a soft persuasive eloquence, and we shall presently see him exerting it against the senate, to revenge the injustice he had received from that body.

The Numantines having refused to accept of Mancinus, he returns to Rome, and is reinstated in his rights as a citizen, contrary to the opinion of the tribune *P. Rutilius*, who pretended that he could not enjoy the right of returning to his country, called by the Romans *jus postliminii* (n). The people judged that Mancinus's decision, or surrender,

(n) *Postliminium* signifies the return of a person, who had sojourned elsewhere, or had

surrender, was not completed, since it had not been accepted by the enemy.

Historians do not inform us what was done by the consul *Furius* in his province of *Hither Spain*; they only observe to his praise, that he was not afraid to take *Q. Metellus* and *Q. Pompeius* for his lieutenants, though they had been his declared enemies.

618.

His successor *Piso* remained intirely inactive: both the officers and soldiers were seized with a panic ever since the melancholy adventure of *Mancinus*; and the affairs of the republic were much the same way in Spain as they had been in Africa, when *Scipio Æmilianus* was appointed to destroy Carthage. And now he was named, with the same confidence, to the demolition of *Numantia*. *Cicero* observes, that this great captain, whose fortune it was to destroy two cities that might be considered as the greatest enemies of Rome, was twice raised to the consulate without courting that dignity. And indeed he appeared this year in the comitia, with no other view than to offer his son-in-law, *Fabius Buteo*, as a candidate for the quæstorship. At that time *Scipio* was returned from the East, where he had been sent as ambassador, to watch the conduct and behaviour of the republics and kings, either subject or allied to Rome: in this embassy he was attended by *Panætius* the philosopher, for whom he had a sincere friendship. The consul *Fulvius Flaccus* obtains a triumph at Rome over the *Vardæi*, a people of *Illyricum*, who had revolted. *Illyricum* is reduced to a Roman province.

Scipio Africanus is sent against the Numantines

619.

Scipio was ordered without drawing lots to carry on the war in Spain; he had been chosen for no other reason than to match him against the *Numantines*, who were grown so formidable by the relaxation of discipline in the Roman army. *Scipio* knew it very well; so that as soon as he came to his province, he drove away a vast multi-

had been taken by the enemy, to his own country and estate again: as likewise a law whereby one recovereth again that which was lost. This word, according to *Gellius*, was derived from *post* and *limen*, as if it were *ad id limen post reditio*: where *limen* does not signify the bounds of the empire, as *Tribonianus* pretends, §. *Inst.* as well as *Menegius*, *Amen. Jos. Civ.* c. 39. but the street door: because it was the custom among the Romans, for those that were falsely reported to be dead in foreign countries, to be received upon their return, not through the door, but by taking them up to the roof of the house, and letting them in that way. The origin of which custom is thus given by *Varro*. In the Sicilian war there happened to be a false report that several were killed in a naval engagement, who afterwards returned home, and died in a short time. But one of them going to enter his house, the doors shut against him of themselves, and could not be opened by any that attempted it. This man falling asleep before the door, saw an apparition in his sleep, advising him to let himself down from the roof into the house; accordingly he followed the advice, and lived to a happy old age, from whence the custom was confirmed. It is true, *Plutarch*, who gives this account from *Varro*, looks upon it as fabulous. *Plut. quæst. Rom.* 5.

tude of brokers, sutlers, and prostitutes, that followed the camp, and encouraged the luxury and incontinence of the troops. He reckoned that none could be called soldiers but disciplined men; in pursuance of which principle he spent the best part of the campaign in insuring his troops to military toil. His expeditions were confined to sending out detachments to ravage the country round Numantia; till at length the Romans began to look at that city without trembling. Scipio resolved to attack the place as soon as he received a reinforcement of cavalry and elephants, that were coming from Numidia, under the command of Jugurtha, a young prince, whom we shall see hereafter making a very great figure in the Roman annals.

The siege of
Numantia.

Scipio is continued in the command, till such time as Numantia should be reduced. Upon his laying siege to this city, one would think that his conduct betrayed in some measure the fear which the Numantines had so strongly imprinted on the Romans. With an army six or seven times stronger than theirs, he did not so much as make one vigorous attack: he only surrounded the place with a double ditch, behind which was raised a rampart with towers and other military works: he likewise stopped the navigation of their river with a dike of stones, and of timber stuck with iron spikes, so that there could be no communication with the city by water. But we must form a more advantageous idea of this celebrated captain, when we recollect his African campaigns. He attacked the Numantines by famine, because this was the surest way to reduce them; and he did not think proper to expose his troops against a desperate enemy. Historians relate, that the Numantines chose rather to kill and to eat one another, than to surrender at discretion; and that at length, a small number remaining set fire to the city, and perished in the flames. Yet there were fifty of them left to adorn Scipio's triumph, and a greater number were sold into slavery. The demolition of Numantia, with the victories obtained by Brutus, who had then intirely subdued the *Farther Spain*, put an end, for some time, to the Spanish wars.

Numantia
reduced and
demolished.

Beginning
of the dis-
turbances of
the Gracchi.

This year appeared the first sparks of those domestic combustions, which at length destroyed the Roman commonwealth: I mean the affair of the Gracchi, the first sedition that polluted the city with civil blood. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, of whom mention has been made already, had got himself chosen tribune of the people, with a view of proposing a law extremely contrary to the interest of the nobility. He insisted, that by virtue of the *agrarian law*, made at the motion of the tribunes Sextius and Licinius, towards the year of Rome three hundred and eighty, whosoever possessed more than five hundred acres of land, should part with the overplus; that those lands should be distributed among the poor citizens; and that in cultivating them the proprietors should be obliged to employ no slaves, but freemen who were upon the spot. None but so enterprizing, and per-

Agrarian
law.

haps

haps so turbulent a man, as Gracchus, could have succeeded in an attempt, attended with such great difficulties. Every thing turned out as he could have wished; the law passed; and he was named commissioner, or triumvir, with his father-in-law Appius Claudius, and his brother Caius Gracchus, to make the distribution of lands. Luckily at this very time, Attalus king of Pergamus happening to die without children, after bequeathing his dominions and effects to the Romans, Sempronius seized on those treasures in the name of the public, and divided them among those citizens, who could not partake in the distribution of lands. His triumph was but short; for he was killed in the midst of his friends and adherents, the very day they were going to continue him in the tribuneship for the following year. An inconsiderate gesture was the cause of his ruin: he had agreed with his friends, that if he should judge necessary to maintain his cause against the nobles by force of arms, he would give them a signal from the *rostra*, by putting his hand to his head. This having made some of the assembly believe that he wanted to be crowned, instantly his enemies thought themselves sufficiently justified in using violence against him and his adherents; so that above three hundred were killed in the fray. It is generally agreed, that Gracchus's demand had the appearance of justice, and that the most reprehensible part of his conduct, was the violent method by which he attained his end. I have omitted the detail of this affair, out of regard to brevity; I shall only take notice, that he prevailed on the people to depose his colleague Octavius, for opposing the above law. This action, by subverting the right of opposition, the safeguard of the republic, gave a mortal wound to the state. And indeed it was very difficult, that out of ten tribunes, there should not be one prudent man, who disapproved of the rash proceedings of the rest.

Sempronius
Gracchus
is killed.

621.

The complaints which Gracchus had raised against the abuse of employing slaves to till the lands, were but too well founded. In consequence thereof, the poor freemen of the provinces found themselves reduced, for want of employment, either to perish with misery, or to fly their country; and besides such a multitude of foreign slaves might grow formidable to their masters. Of this they had now a fatal instance before their eyes. Six years were elapsed since near two hundred thousand slaves had taken up arms in Sicily (d), under the command of one of their own fraternity, named Eunus (e), who had prevailed on

(d) This revolt of the slaves was owing to the cruelty of their masters. They were all marked with an hot iron in their foreheads, shut up every night in close prisons, and led out early in the morning to their daily labour in the fields, though at the same time they were scarce allowed the necessaries of life.

(e) He was a native of Apamea in Syria, and having been taken prisoner of war, had passed through the hands of several masters, till at length he was sold to a Sicilian lord, named Antigenes.

the multitude to proclaim him king, and exercised over this beautiful province the most shocking barbarities. In vain did four prætorian armies march successively against them; those armies were all defeated. At length in the year 619, Scipio's colleague, Fulvius Flaccus, began to obtain some advantages over them; and the year following, Piso (a) defeated them in a pitched battle; but the glory of terminating the war was reserved for Rupilius. This consul had orders to attack forthwith the city of Enna (b), which Ennius had made his capital. It is said that the Sibylline oracles having been consulted on the present calamities, the answer was, that the Romans must go and pay their adorations to the goddess Ceres, in the most ancient temple she had in the world; and this was Enna: Rupilius however thought proper to begin with Taurominium, a maritime town, from whence the rebels had an opportunity of being supplied with men and provisions. In imitation of Africanus, he determined to reduce it by famine; on which occasion all the horrors of the siege of Numantia were revived; for the unhappy wretches killed and devoured one another. The town is betrayed to the Romans; and Enna undergoes the same fate. Ennius having shut himself up in that city, forces his way through the Roman army, and flies for refuge to a steep rock; thither he is pursued by the Romans, and is delivered up alive to the consul, who intends to send him to Rome, but he dies in prison.

This spirit of rebellion amongst the slaves spread itself to Italy, and even to the East: one hundred and fifty were put to death at Rome, four thousand at Sinuessa, four hundred and fifty at Minturnæ, a thousand in the neighbourhood of Athens, for different conspiracies. But all these troubles subsided, as soon as Sicily, the source of the whole mischief, was settled by the victories of Rupilius, and by the new code of excellent laws, which that general, in conjunction with ten commissioners, according to custom, drew up for the Sicilians.

(a) This was *Calpurnius Piso*, author of the famous law *de repetundis*, against the avarice of magistrates, who robbed the public by their extortions. The *repetundæ* were so called *de repetundis*, from *demanding* back, because private people (*impetores*) demanded back from magistrates, or persons in public office, the moneys which those magistrates had taken, either in the provinces, or at Rome, for the administration of justice, or for any public discharge of their duty. A certain prætor was appointed for the inquisition of this crime, and a great penalty was laid on the offenders. This same Piso was also called *Frugi*, for buying up, with the greatest dissipation and frugality, a large quantity of corn in Sicily, for the use of the people of Rome, who were afflicted with scarcity: he even resorted to the public treasury a considerable part of the money, which had been sent him for that purpose.

(b) A very ancient city in the heart of Sicily, famous for the rape of Proserpine, which is said to have happened in this neighbourhood. Diodorus commends it for the beauty of its meadows, and the fragrance of its violets and other flowers: *Id est in Sicilia, ubi Proserpina raptæ fuit, ubi etiam Proserpinae templum est.* Diod. lib. 9. The same author places it in *antiqua Sicilia*, *Emmæ* *quæ nunc Enna vocatur.* Claudian calls it *Enna parens forum*. Here was a famous temple of Ceres; hence Silius takes her, *Ennae armina Divæ*. It is also written with an aspiration, for we read in Pliny, *municipio Homunthæ*, lib. 3. c. 8.

continued until 1200 B.C. 628.

The civil broils still continued at Rome between the nobility and the tribunes of the people, about the *Sempronian* law, which survived *Gracchus* its author. His brother *Caïus Gracchus* enforced the execution of it with all his might, by means of a seditious tribune, named *Papirius Carbo*. It was he that made the motion for the *lex Cornelia*, of which we have already taken notice. He likewise proposed a *secessus*, importing that it should be lawful for the people to continue the tribunes so long as they thought proper. *Scipio* and *Laëlius* spoke so strongly against this seditious law, that it was rejected even by the suffrages of the people. *Scipio* was brother-in-law to the *Gracchi*, for he had married their sister *Sempronia*; but he did not espouse their quarrel. *Carbo* happening to ask him one day in full comitia, what he thought of the murder of his brother-in-law; I think, answered *Scipio* boldly, that if *Gracchus* intended to sow discord in the republic, he was lawfully put to death. But from that moment he became disagreeable to the populace.

New disturbances about the *Sempronian* law.

This year two plebeians were chosen censors, contrary to the custom that had prevailed 220 years, of joining a patrician and a plebeian in that office. The two persons chosen were *Q. Metellus*, surnamed *Macedonicus*, and *Q. Pompeius*. They closed the lustrum with a census, by which they found three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and twenty three citizens able to bear arms.

War is declared in Asia against *Aristonicus*, the natural son of War with *Eumenes* king of Pergamum, who had seized on the throne in preference to the Romans, after the death of *Attalus*. The consul *Crassus*, to whom this province fell by lot, was more fit for negotiation than fighting: he had prevailed on the Roman allies to supply him with troops, at the head of which he laid waste the kingdom of Pergamum. His army, or rather four armies, being greatly embarrassed by the number of waggons loaded with plunder, fell into an ambuscade laid by *Aristonicus*: the consul was taken prisoner and disarmed, in which state he provoked a soldier to kill him, that he might not survive his disgrace. *Crassus* was *pontifex maximus*, the first who held that dignity, and at the same time had the command of an army out of Italy.

623.

Perpenna, who succeeded him in the conduct of the war, was a soldier of fortune, raised by merit alone to the first dignity of the republic. He defeats *Aristonicus*, who flies to *Stratonicea*, (a), where he is besieged and taken prisoner. *Perpenna* died at Pergamum in his way home; and the triumph which he so richly deserved, was conferred on his successor *Aquilius*, who had rendered himself absolutely unworthy of that honour. In order to oblige a few cities to surrender, he poisoned the aqueducts; a practice contrary to humanity and the

(a) A city of Caria, and colony of the Macedonians.

Pergamus
subdued.

law of nations. The kingdom of Pergamus having been intirely subdued; was called the *province of Asia*; just as they had given the name of the *province of Africa* to the territory of Carthage.

The info-
lence of the
tribune
Labeo.

At Rome, Caius Atinius Labeo, tribune of the people, willing to be revenged of the censor Metellus, who had struck him out of the list of senators, condemned him without any form of trial, to be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock; and he would have executed his sentence immediately, had it not been for another tribune, who came and opposed the unjust decision, at the earnest desire of Metellus's relations. This despotic power of the tribunes, in the midst of a city so jealous of her liberty, is really amazing; and the ill use they made of it, may be looked upon as one of the principal causes of those disturbances, which ended in the total ruin of the republic. So far was Labeo from being punished, that he refamed his place in the senate by virtue of a new law, enacting that all the tribunes should vote in that assembly; to complete his triumph, he confiscated the effects of Metellus, and ordered them to be sold in the forum by sound of trumpet.

624.

The authority of a dictator was the only thing that could relieve the republic. On the one hand, the city was rent with broils and factions; on the other, the allies in the provinces loudly complained of the injustice with which the triumvirs or commissioners divided the lands, showing great partiality to the inhabitants of Rome, whose suffrages they might some time or other have occasion for. Scipio undertook the defence of the allies, spoke in their behalf before the senate and people, and demonstrated that it was necessary to take the execution of the Sempronian law out of the hands of the commissioners, and to lodge their whole authority in one single person. But who could discharge that important office with such dignity as Scipio? He did not dissemble it himself, for he openly aspired to the dictatorship. This being an unpardonable crime in the judgment of the commissioners, they caused him to be strangled in his own bed in the night, when Rome seemed disposed to make the next day the most glorious of his whole life. Thus died, in his fifty-sixth year, the second Africanus, whose talents and exploits equalled, if not surpassed, those of the conqueror of Hannibal. No inquiries were made after the authors of his death, because, says Plutarch, the people were afraid that if this matter came to be canvassed, C. Gracchus would be found among the persons concerned in the murder. The consuls at this time were employed; one, as we have already mentioned, in settling the kingdom of Pergamus; the other in quelling some disturbances in Istria, where he was attended with success.

Death of
Africanus:
the second.

625. 626.

The Romans would have shut the temple of Janus, had they not perceived the seeds of war ready to shoot up in Italy, from the

great

great discontent of the allies: for this reason the legions were kept on foot at all events these two years.

627.

This year was also spent in seeming tranquillity: but C. Gracchus was engaged in private cabals. The consul Aurelius having been called by a revolt into Sardinia, this gave an opportunity to Gracchus, who attended him as his quaestor, to raise his reputation greatly with the multitude. The army coming to want cloaths and provisions in a very severe winter, Gracchus, who was as eloquent and enterprising as his brother, went to the several towns that continued faithful to the republic, and prevailed with them to furnish the troops with the necessary cloaths, which they had absolutely refused the consul. At the same time, he solicited Micipsa king of Numidia, and obtained from him a supply of corn. The senate would have been glad to be obliged for so important a service to any other person but Gracchus: they were sensible of the consequences; to prevent which, they sent fresh troops to Sardinia, and recalled those upon that island: but this was bringing so many adherents of Gracchus and his associates to Rome. M. Fulvius Flaccus, one of the triumvirs, is raised to the consulate.

The disturbances of the Gracchi renewed.

Caius Gracchus a favourite of the people.

628.

He revives a project, in which Tiberius Gracchus had heretofore miscarried: this was to grant, by way of indemnity, the right of Roman citizenship to all those allies, who had no share in the divided lands. Fulvius seemed determined to push this affair with the utmost vehemence; but a war intervening, diverted his active genius another way. He was sent beyond the Alps to fight the Ligurians, the *Vacontii* (d), and the *Salvi* (e), who were waging war against the Massilians; and he returned triumphant towards the end of the next year. The allies finding their hopes frustrated by Fulvius's departure, began to meditate a revolt. Fregellæ declared itself the first; but was delivered up to the prætor Opimius by the treachery of one of the inhabitants, who had been the chief author of the rebellion: the town was immediately razed to the ground, in order to strike a terror into the rest.

The consul Fulvius sent against the Salvi, &c.

Fregellæ rebels, and is razed.

The coast of Africa was infested this year with a prodigious number of locusts, which devoured all the fruits of the earth. They proved more noxious after their death; for they infested the air, and caused a pestilence, which, according to Orosius, destroyed above a million of inhabitants in Numidia and in the province of Carthage.

(d) The *Vacontii* were a people of Dauphiny.

(e) Florus calls them *Salvi*, the epitomizer of Livy *Salvii*, and Pliny *Salluvii*; according to Strabo, they inhabited all that country which extends from the Rhone to the Var.

Caius Gracchus chosen tribune.

Caius Gracchus stands for the office of tribune of the people, and is chosen. On this occasion it appeared how greatly the plebeians were devoted to his interests; they flocked in such numbers from the country, and from the allied provinces, that the *campus Martius* was not able to hold them, so that the greatest part got upon the roofs of the houses, and the terraces round the *Comitium*, from whence with loud shouts they voted for Gracchus. Cicero informs us, that none before that time had carried the art of oratory to so high a pitch as Caius; and that if he had lived longer, he would have attained to such a degree of excellence, as no succeeding orator could surpass. Cicero ought to be believed upon his word; and besides the facts are sufficient to give us the highest idea of the eloquence of Caius Gracchus. He was justly accused of having quitted, without the consul's leave, the army in Sardinia, where he served as pro-quæstor; he was also charged, and not without probability, of having sown the seeds of rebellion among the allies: yet as soon as he spoke, the people declared him innocent.

630.

His new laws.

Further; he proposed a number of new laws in favour of the plebeians, and got them passed, notwithstanding the opposition of the nobility. The most remarkable, are those ordaining that every month a sufficient quantity of corn should be distributed to each citizen at a very low price, that the troops should be clothed at the expence of the republic, and that nobody should be compelled to bear arms before the age of seventeen. We may easily imagine what an effect such favourable laws must have produced in the minds of the people; they had now no other will but that of Gracchus; and they obeyed him as readily as if he was their sovereign. It was doubtless then in the transport of their joy, that the people erected a statue to the mother of Gracchus with this inscription, to *Cornelia mother of the Gracchi*. This illustrious daughter of the first Africanus, had often reproached her sons, before they were concerned in public affairs, that she was commonly called by none of honour, only the mother-in-law of the second Africanus (b). These words must have produced a proper effect in the minds of her sons, since it was afterwards imagined that she could be dignified with no higher title, than that of the mother of the Gracchi. This lady is represented by historians as a person possessed in an eminent degree of all the virtues that adorn a female mind, and even of abilities superior to her sex: yet she may be censured for having been too eager in exciting the ambition of her sons, which proved so fatal to themselves, and to the republic.

(b) She had a daughter named Sempronius, who was married to the second Africanus.

Gracchus

Gracchus was greatly seconded in his attempts by Fulvius, who returned from Transalpine Gaul in higher credit than ever. C. Sextius, who succeeded him in this province, set out too late, and was incapable of doing any thing till this year, when he was only pro-consul. He obtained a complete victory over the Salyes, in the neighbourhood of that very spot, where stands the town of Aix, which he founded, and is now the capital of Provence: in Latin it is called *Aqua Sextia* (i), from the name of its founder, and from the hot springs with which that spot is supplied. Sextius extended his conquests along the coast from Marseilles as far as Italy, and gave the whole country to the Massilians.

The consul Metellus subdued the Balearic islands, now called Majorca and Minorca: this was a mere undertaking of the consul himself, who wanted the surname of *Balearicus*. To acquire this, he had only to cut the throats of thirty thousand helpless people, who inhabited those islands. They had no other arms but the sling, at which, it is true, they were the most dextrous people in the world: but Metellus landed without the least danger, having covered the decks of all his galleys with hides. Finding the inhabitants of those islands dispersed in the cavities of rocks, which served for their habitations, he ordered the greatest part of them to be massacred: but in order to people Majorca, he built two cities upon the island, viz. *Palma* (k) and *Pollentia*, and transported three thousand Spaniards thither from the continent.

Gracchus is continued in the tribuneship.

631,

He draws the Roman knights over to his side, by getting a law passed, which gave them a right of judging all private causes in conjunction with the praetors, whereas this privilege had always belonged to the senators. Gracchus seemed to want nothing more at present than the title of king, so great was his ascendancy over the people. But the spirit of faction knows no bounds. This turbulent tribune wanted to increase the number of his adherents, by extending the right of suffrage at the comitia even to the allies. Upon which C. Fannius, one of the consuls for the year, openly declared against him, though he had hitherto professed himself his friend: he ordered his lictors to drive such of those allies out of Rome, as were come to give their suffrages; and Grac-

(i) Ptolemy calls it *Ἰσθία ἡλικία πόλις*, *Aqua Sextia colonia*; and from the following inscription in Oruterus, *Col. Jul. Aug. Aquae Senniæ*, it appears that this colony of Sextius was improved by Augustus. Sidonius in Narbonne gives it the elegant appellation of *Baia Sextia*.

*Nuper quadrupedante quum citate
Ires Phocida, Sextiasque Baias,
Illustres titulisque praefatisque
Urbes per duo consulum tropaea.*

Where by *Phocida* he means Marseilles, built by the Phocians.

(k) It is now called *Mallorca*.

chus having opposed the lictors but very faintly, his credit from that instant began to decline. The senate availing themselves of this conjuncture to set faction against faction, applied themselves to another tribune, named Livius Drusus, desiring him to court the people, by loading them with favours; a scheme artfully laid, and which succeeded beyond expectation. Gracchus contributed to it himself, by accepting of a commission to build a new city on the ruins of Carthage, which he called *Junonia*: but this undertaking was interrupted by pretended prodigies, and at his return he found Drusus had engrossed the affection of the plebeians. Having now only the dregs of the people on his side, he was reduced to solicit their favour by means the most abject and servile: he left the palace of his ancestors, and took a little lodging in the most populous part of the city; and lastly, without attending to the consequences of such a step, he ordered a scaffold to be pulled down, which his colleagues had erected in the public forum, to see more conveniently a show of gladiators. He pretended, that the scaffold was injurious to the common people, who had no money to hire places upon it. His colleagues found means to shew their resentment; for the election of new tribunes coming on, the old ones, whose business it was to collect the votes, contrived to exclude him without any difficulty.

632.

Gracchus
raises a sedition in
Rome.

Yet he still appeared on the rostra, and made more noise than ever. Whenever there were any debates at Rome about enacting or repealing a law, every citizen had a right to be heard pro or con. For want of some other object, Gracchus had recourse to the law concerning the colony of Carthage: he made a speech in favour of this settlement, and raised such a ferment among the multitude, that one of the lictors belonging to the consul Opimius was killed. The consul, who had long bore a grudge to Gracchus, embraces this opportunity to sound the alarm. The next day he assembles the senate, and prevails on them to draw up a decree, empowering him to do, in the present circumstances, whatever he should judge proper for the good of the republic. Instantly two Roman armies appeared in the middle of the city, ready to cut one another's throats: the one composed of consular troops, with the consul at their head, seizes on the capitol; the other consisting of a confused multitude, which still followed the fortune of Gracchus, had posted themselves on mount Aventine, and were commanded by the consular Fulvius. Opimius quitted his first post to attack the rebels, and began the engagement, by ordering a body of Cretan archers to make a discharge, which did great execution. The battle becoming general, they fought pell-mell, senators and knights mixed with common soldiers, till the consul took a more expeditious way to put an end to the affair. He proclaimed an amnesty for all those who should lay down their arms, and offered a reward of their weight in gold for the heads of Fulvius and Gracchus. In a moment those two chiefs of the sedition were abandoned; and the populace thought only

only of gaining the reward set upon their heads. And now the most shocking scenes of barbarity were acted; Gracchus's head was brought to the consul by L. Septimuleius, one of that unfortunate person's most zealous adherents, who snatched it out of the hands of the soldier that cut it off. The wretch shewed himself a cheat, as well as a traitor to his party; for in order to enhance the price of the head of his friend, he first took out the brains, and poured melted lead into the skull. It is reckoned that three thousand persons were either killed in the fray, or executed afterwards by Opimius's order: their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, and their relations were forbid to wear mourning. Licinia, Gracchus's widow, was even deprived of her dowry. The people were not sensible of their loss, till it was no longer time to repair it. The agrarian law died with the Gracchi. The senate began with engaging a tribune to take off the prohibition, by which the poor were restrained from selling the lands that had been adjudged to them; another, at their instigation, decreed that the lands should remain in the hands of the ancient possessors, upon paying certain sums, which should be divided among the poor citizens; and soon after the payment of these very sums was suppressed. The people finding themselves reduced to the condition they were in before the publication of the agrarian law, lamented the death of the Gracchi, erected statues to their memory, and consecrated the ground on which they had been slain, with sacrifices and festivals in their honour.

The war continued in Transalpine Gaul. The preceding year, Domitius Ænobarbus, one of the consuls, had some disputes with the Allobroges (i) and Arverni, who insisted upon the restoration of Teutomalus, king of the Salyes. The Allobroges inhabited all that tract of country, which extends from the Rhone and the Isère (k) as far as the lake of Geneva; the Arverni, if we may believe Strabo, occupied all the southern part of Gaul from the Rhone to the Pyrenees, and even as far as the ocean. The Ædui, another people of Gaul, between the Saone and the Loire, interfered in this quarrel as friends of the Romans, with whom they had lately contracted an alliance, and as particular enemies of the Allobroges and Arverni. The war broke out this year under the proconsulate of Domitius, who defeated the Allobroges and the Arverni towards the conflux of the Sorgue and the Rhone. But it was not the custom of the Gauls to reckon themselves conquered only for having lost a single battle. They raised another army of two hundred thousand men, and marched against the consul Fabius, who had only thirty thousand, yet gained a complete victory over the Gauls: so true is it that the

(i) Horace censures their infidelity, *epod.* 16.

Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox.

(k) The classic names of some places mentioned in this paragraph are, *Rhodanus*, the Rhone; *Isara*, the Isère; *Lemanus lacus*, the lake of Geneva; *Araris*, the Saone; *Liger*, the Loire; *Sulga*, the Sorgue.

strength of armies does not consist chiefly in numbers. This famous battle was fought near the conflux of the Rhone and the Isere. Historians assure us, that there perished on this occasion at least a hundred and twenty thousand Gauls, and only fifteen Romans: this would seem incredible, if we did not consider that the enemy were attacked in passing the Rhone, before they had time to form in order of battle; and that not being able to withstand the first onset of the Romans, they were soon put to the rout; and flying towards the river, multitudes of them were drowned. Fabius intirely reduced the Allobroges, and thence took the surname of *Allobrogicus*. The Arverni were not fairly conquered, but a method was contrived to keep them in a state of dependence. Domitius treacherously seized on the person of Bituitus their king, who was detained the remainder of his days in Italy, to answer for the behaviour of his subjects. Congeniatu, the son of this prince, was likewise sent for to Rome, where he was educated in a manner suitable to his rank; and the senate did not restore him to his dominions, till such time as they thought they might absolutely depend upon him.

633.

L. Opimius is accused before the people by the tribune P. Duilius, for having put to death a great number of citizens during his consulate (*m*), without observing the forms of justice: but he is acquitted. It is doubtless surprizing that the commons should pass such a decision, contrary to their own interest, and to the law enacting, that no citizen should be put to death but by the consent of the people. They were over-persuaded on this occasion by the eloquence of the consul Papirius Carbo, who had undertaken the defence of Opimius.

634.

No sooner was Carbo's office expired, than he himself was overpowered by the eloquence of young Licinius Crassus, one of the most celebrated orators the republic ever produced. When he ascended the rostra, he was so intimidated at the sight of the audience, that he seemed to lose himself even in the exordium: but the prator, at whose tribunal he pleaded, having the complaisance for him to adjourn the court to the next day, he took courage, and spoke with such energy, that Carbo sinking into despair, prevented his condemnation by poison (*n*). The charge against him was, that he had been concerned in the late troubles, and in the assassination of the second Africanus. He had been of the plebeian party, till he rose to the consulate by the interest of the nobility.

(*m*) The consulate of Opimius is celebrated for the best and most plentiful vintage that had ever been known. In Pliny's time, that is near two hundred years after, some wines of that very growth were sold at an extravagant price. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 14. c. 4.

(*n*) Valerius Maximus says, he killed himself with *cantharides*, to avoid a more ignominious death, lib. 3. c. 7.

Expedition of the consul Metellus Calvus against the Dalmatians, which procured him the surname of *Dalmaticus*.

The Dalmatians subdued. Marius tribune of the people.

This year the famous Marius discharged the office of tribune: his extraction was so mean, that even the place of his nativity was hardly known (a); but every body had heard what Scipio said to his officers, while Marius served under him at the siege of Numantia; *what man is better qualified to succeed me, than Marius, in case I should drop off?* Encouraged by so favourable a declaration, he dared to rise for civil magistracies, and began with the tribuneship, a plebeian office, which served him as a step to further preferments: on this occasion he met with great difficulties, which did not at all discourage him; on the contrary, his boldness was increased by opposition.

635.

Since the successful expeditions of the Romans to Transalpine Gaul, they sent every year a consul into that province at the head of an army. Q. Marius Rex, who was appointed to that command this year, is thought to have extended the Roman empire over the country bordering on the Mediterranean, from the Alps as far as the Pyrenees.

Further successes in Transalpine Gaul.

636.

There he founded the colony of Narbonne, and gave it his own name *Narbo Marcius* (a). Cicero called this colony the guard of the people of Rome, and their bulwark against the Gallic nations.

Narbonne built.

637.

Marius is raised to the pretorship, a curule office, which gave him admittance into the senate. He was charged with having purchased the suffrages of the people: and the senator Cassius Sabaco, for lending him a hand on this occasion, was degraded by the censors. Valerius Maximus makes use of a very proper expression, to mark the genius and conduct of Marius: where he says, *that he was not introduced, but forced his way into the senate, irrupit magis in curiam quam intravit*.

Marius created prætor.

638.

The consuls this year were M. Æmilius Scaurus, and L. Cassius Metellus. The former was of an illustrious family, that of the Æmilii, though of a branch long since fallen into poverty and oblivion: he had often distinguished himself by his great abilities; and during his consulate, the censors Metellus Dalmaticus, and Domitius Ahenobarbus.

(a) He was a native of the country of the *Arpinates*, in the territory of the *Vulturni*; his father's name was Marius, and his mother's *Fucinia*. He was a man of uncommon size, and strength of body; of excellent sense, and an enterprising genius: but at the same time had a fierce countenance, and had been brought up, great part of his youth, in rustic employments.

(n) It was the capital of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and is still called *Narbonne*, situate near a bay of the Mediterranean, and looking towards the Pyrenean mountain.

barbus, declared him prince of the senate. Those very censors struck two unworthy senators out of the roll, among whom was Sabato; they likewise proscribed games of hazard, and concerts of music. They finished their office with a census, at which there appeared to be three hundred and ninety four thousand three hundred and thirty six citizens able to bear arms.

Scaurus had the conduct of the war in Gaul, where he made several conquests, with such rapidity, that he had leisure sufficient at his return to employ his soldiers in digging canals to drain off the waters of the Po, and other rivers, which overflowing their beds in the territory of Parma and Placentia, made a kind of morafs, so as to render the country almost impassable. His colleague, M. Cæcilius Metellus, went over to Sardinia to quiet some fresh disturbances.

639.

This year the Romans began to govern the conquered part of Transalpine Gaul by a prætor: and from that time it was called a *Roman province*, a name which Provence has still preserved. It was the fate of the Romans to have Gauls to contend with in all parts. For no sooner was peace restored in Transalpine Gaul, than they were obliged to maintain a war against the Scordisci, a nation of Gallic original, but settled long ago on the borders of Thrace, at the conflux of the Save (o) and the Danube. Advice being received of their having invaded Macedon, the consul Porcius Cato was sent to oppose them; but having suffered himself to be drawn into a defile, his whole army was cut off, and he alone saved himself by flight. T. Didius, prætor of Illyricum, marches with all expedition against the enemy, who had spread themselves over Thessaly, as far as the coast of the Adriatic: he obtains a complete victory over them, and drives them back to the Danube.

The vestals Æmilia, Licinia, and Marcia, having been guilty of incontinency, were put to death with their gallants. To repair this scandal, a temple was erected to *Venus Verticordia* (p), a new appellation, to signify that this goddess should be invoked in this temple, to turn the hearts of the Roman women. It was ordained that the honour of consecrating the statue of Venus should be conferred on the

War with
the Scordisci.

The Romans defeated.

The Scordisci defeated.

Venus
Verticordia.

(o) The Latin names, *Savus* and *Danubius*.

(p) *Venus* was so called, according to Cicero, *quod per eam omnia proveniant*. *Verticordia* was the surname of *Venus Urania* or *Cælestis*, whom the ancients worshipped, that she might divert their thoughts from unchaste pleasures. The Greeks invoked her by the name of *Apostrophia*. Her temple was in the *via Salaria*, without the *porta Collina*. The young maidens that resorted to this temple, used to offer up to the goddess the babies, with which they had amused themselves in their infancy. The fact above mentioned is taken notice of by Ovid, lib. 4. *Fastorum*.

Roma pudicitia proavorum tempora lapsa est,

Cumæam; veteres, consuluisse anum.

Templa jubet Veneri fieri; quibus ordine factis,

Inde Venus verso nomine corda tenet.

most

most virtuous woman in Rome: this was deemed by the whole sex to be Sulpicia, daughter of Sulpicius Paterculus, and wife of Q. Fulvius Flaccus; as Scipio Nasica had heretofore the like honour conferred upon him by the senate.

640.

The consul C. Cæcilius Metellus, and his successor M. Livius Drusus, obtain new advantages over the Scordisci; of which people there is hardly any further mention made in history. Two other wars of greater importance engrossed the attention of the Romans; one against Jugurtha in Numantia; the other against the Cimbri (p) and Teutones (q) in divers parts. Those barbarians leaving their northern habitations to seek their fortune in more southern climates, encountered with the Romans for the first time in *Noricum*, which answers to the country now called Upper Austria and the circle of Bavaria. There they defeated the consul Cn. Papirius Carbo, who had advanced that way in order to stop their progress: but instead of directing their march into Italy, as Rome had reason to fear, they turned towards Gaul, and entered the country of the *Helvetii* (r). From this period, history loses sight of them for some years; so now we come to Jugurtha.

Inundation
of Cimbri
and Teuto-
nes.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated.

641.

This prince was the natural son of Mastabal, one of the three sons of Masinissa, who, after the decease of their father, followed the advice of the second Africanus, and divided the government among them. Micipsa, by the death of his brothers, remained sole possessor of the throne, which ought naturally, upon his demise, to have gone to his two sons Adherbal and Hiempsal; but that prince having adopted his nephew Jugurtha, out of regard to his extraordinary merit, made him his joint heir, and ordered him to have an equal share with his own children. But the third part of a kingdom could not satisfy Jugurtha's ambition. He therefore suborns a person to murder Hiempsal, makes war against Adherbal, and besieges Cirtha, his capital, where he obliges him to surrender upon terms, and afterwards treacherously murders him, contrary to the capitulation. Adherbal applied to the Romans, and had even laid his complaints in person before the senate; but he found all the avenues to justice stopt up by Jugurtha's gold. The senate were satisfied, for form sake, with sending, at three different times, commissioners and de-

War with
Jugurtha.
Birth, &c. of
Jugurtha.
Corruption
of the Ro-
man senate.

(p) The *Cimbri* were the inhabitants of the peninsula of *Jutland*, which the ancients called *Cimbrica Chersonesus*. They are said to have been originally descended from the Asiatic Cimmerians, and to have taken the name of *Cimbri*, upon changing their old habitations.

(q) The *Teutones* were a northern people bordering on the Cimbrians; afterwards all the Germans were called by this name, and it was not till towards Cæsar's time that they began to be known by the appellation of Germans.

(r) The *Helvetii* were the people of Switzerland.

puties, who returned from Numidia much richer than they went, and did nothing in favour of the unfortunate Adherbal. It is even said, that the illustrious Æmilius Scaurus, prince of the senate, who had been at the head of the last deputation, was not proof against the presents of Jugurtha, who, as Florus expresses himself, triumphed over Roman virtue in the person of Scaurus. At length, to the eternal reproach of the senate, an honest citizen, named Caius Memmius, who was chosen tribune for the next year, thought it his duty to lay the affair before the comitia: upon which the conscript fathers, to prevent the decision of the people, passed a decree, that one of the consuls of the ensuing year should march an army into Numidia.

642.

The consul
Calpurnius
Piso sent
to Numidia.

Unfortunately the conduct of the Numidian war fell to Calpurnius Piso Bestia, a man capable of withstanding any attack, but that of gold. The prodigious sums offered by Jugurtha, disarmed the consul, so that he is said to have acted in concert with Scaurus, who attended him as his lieutenant, in granting peace to that prince, contrary to the intention of the republic. For the senate had refused to treat with Jugurtha's son, whom he sent to Rome, unless he delivered up himself and his dominions, by way of *dedition* to the Romans. The consul only obliged him to give the republic a certain number of cattle and elephants, with a very inconsiderable sum of money.

The tribune
Memmius
stirs up the
people a-
gainst Ju-
gurtha.

This was a fresh opportunity for Memmius the tribune to display his zeal and eloquence. Sallust has preserved the fine speech he made before the people assembled in comitia, where it was decreed, that the prætor Cassius should go over to Numidia, and bring Jugurtha with him to Italy, under the safeguard of the people of Rome. Cassius gave likewise his own word and honour, on which Jugurtha relied as much, if we may believe Sallust, as on the public faith; so high a reputation had this honest magistrate. The king of Numidia was summoned and interrogated before the people by Memmius; but the tribune C. Bæbius, whom Jugurtha had bribed, forbade Memmius to speak, and had the impudence to persist in his opposition, to the great concern of all honest men.

This prince
comes to
Rome.

643.

Jugurtha
causes Mas-
siva to be
assassinated,

Jugurtha employs a person at Rome to assassinate Massiva, a Numidian prince, who had espoused the cause of Adherbal, and laid claim to the crown of Numidia, as natural son of Gulussa, one of the sons of Masipissa. After this base act, he makes all possible haste back to Numidia. The consul Albinus follows him; but returns without effecting any thing either by arms or negotiation. Being convicted of having connived at Jugurtha, he is condemned to banishment, together with Calpurnius Piso; L. Opimius the persecutor of the Gracchi; C. Porcius Cato, who was intangled in this affair, nobody can tell in what manner; and C. Galba of the college of pontifices, and

And goes
back to
Numidia.

(1) A-
it Mutba
(1) A-
Africa: j

and the first of that order that had ever incurred a criminal sentence. *Æmilius Seaurus* found means to be nominated at the head of the commission that tried the abovementioned persons for bribery, though probably he himself was more guilty than any of them. *Aulus*, brother of the consul *Albinus*, who was left as proprætor with the command of the army in *Numidia*, is defeated by *Jugurtha*, who obliges him and the Roman army to pass under the yoke.

The Romans defeated by *Jugurtha*.

644.

The consul *Silanus* is sent to *Narbonne Gaul* against the *Cimbri*, who threatened Italy with an invasion: the consul is defeated, and the *Cimbri* ravage the whole country beyond the Alps, subject to the republic.

The Romans defeated by the *Cimbri*.

The Romans wanted their revenge for the affront they had received in *Numidia*, an affront of a most ignominious nature, and unparalleled since the affair of the *Caudine forks*: and they found a general for their purpose in the person of *Metellus*, colleague of *Silanus*. This able commander would neither be amused with proposals of peace, nor corrupted by presents; but attacked and defeated the enemy on the banks of the *Muthus* (s). After this victory, he spread his troops all over *Numidia*, ravaged the country, and put a garrison into *Vacca* (t), a considerable city, where he established his magazines; and into several other places. But he did not succeed in his attempt upon *Zama*, which he laid siege to in order to draw the enemy to a second engagement. *Jugurtha* did not fall into the snare: without risking a battle, he harassed the besiegers with frequent skirmishes; and by constantly alarming the enemy's quarters, he encouraged the besieged to such a degree, that they held out to the end of the campaign. *Metellus* having missed his aim, took another step, which did him no great honour. Availing himself of the same arts which the *Numidian* prince had practised so often, and with such success; by specious promises he prevailed on *Bomilcar*, the king's most intimate confidant, to persuade his master to surrender himself without reserve to the Romans.

Metellus sent against *Jugurtha*. *Jugurtha* defeated by *Metellus*.

Let us but recollect the situation of the *Carthaginians*, when stripped of every thing by the consuls *Marcus* and *Manilius*, they were commanded to abandon their native city; such, or nearly such, was the case of *Jugurtha*. After he had delivered up to the Romans two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, with all his elephants, all the deserters, and the best part of his arms and horses, he was summoned by the proconsul to appear before him in person, in order to receive his sentence: but he took the same resolution as the *Carthaginians*, to renew the war.

Jugurtha delivers up his elephants, arms, money, &c. to the Romans.

He renews the war.

(s) A river in that part of *Numidia*, which belonged to *Adherbal*: *Cellarius* calls it *Mutbal*.

(t) A city of *Numidia*, and according to *Sallust*, the most considerable mart in all *Africa*: *forum rerum venalium totius regni maximè celebratum*.

645.

The Romans defeated by the Cimbri, And by the Tigurini.

Metellus is continued in the command of the army in Numidia, in the quality of proconsul. The inhabitants of Vacca massacre the Roman garrison; the proconsul marches in person to avenge the blood of the Romans, retakes and plunders the town, and puts the inhabitants to the sword. Bomilcar being solicited again by Metellus, forms a plot against Jugurtha, which being discovered, Bomilcar is executed. This disconcerted the views of Metellus, who reckoned to finish the war immediately upon the death of Jugurtha. In Narbonne Gaul, Aurelius the consul is defeated by the Cimbri. The year following his successor Galba lost another battle in the country of the Allobroges, against the Tigurini (*t*), an Helvetic nation, who were crossing the country in order to join the Cimbri. Here Cassius was killed, together with Calpurnius Piso, one of his lieutenant generals. The other lieutenant, by name C. Popilius, to save the remainder of the army, agreed that they should pass under the yoke, and deliver up one half of their baggage to the enemy. At his return to Rome he was accused before the people, and went into voluntary banishment, before sentence was pronounced against him.

646.

Marius supplants Metellus.

Marius chosen consul, and appointed to succeed Metellus.

Metellus is supplanted by Marius, who had served the two last campaigns under him, as lieutenant general. So very little notion had Metellus of Marius's obtaining the consulate, that when he asked leave to go to Rome, in order to make interest for this dignity, he answered him in the strain of irony, that it would be time enough for him to stand, when his son Metellus, who was then only twenty years of age, should be old enough to be his colleague. It was still less probable, that Marius should obtain the command of the army in Numidia, in prejudice to Metellus, who had so greatly retrieved the affairs of the republic in two campaigns. But no difficulties deter the ambitious. Marius making a proper use of the disputes, which at that time ran very high between the patricians and the plebeians, availed himself of the obscurity of his birth, to rise to the consulate; at a time when the people were extremely desirous of seeing a person of mean parentage, vested with this dignity, in order to mortify the patricians. By unfair practices he contrived to undermine Metellus, and to be considered himself as the only general capable of subduing Jugurtha. It is true, that the second Africanus never trained up so expert a warrior as Marius, except perhaps the Numidian prince. And indeed it was an object worthy of attention, to see two men, both of whom had been Scipio's pupils, and both old friends, to see them now grown rivals, and disputing the palm at the head of opposite armies.

(*t*) The inhabitants of the *Tigurinus pagus*, or canton of Zurich.

When

SEVENTH CENTURY.

327

When Marius arrived at the camp in Numidia, Metellus was gone. Marius lands in Africa.
 After crowning his exploits with the taking of Thala, a place reckoned almost impregnable, from its situation in the middle of a barren desert, after reducing the Numidian king to abandon his territories, in order to beg succours of the Gætuli and the Moors, Metellus returned to Italy, without waiting for the arrival of Marius, whom he had reason to hold in the highest contempt. He met with a much better reception at Rome than he expected; his presence, and his actions pleaded sufficiently in his behalf; his praises were sounded high, and he was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of Numidicus; lastly, the judges, before whom he was accused by an audacious tribune of having plundered the province committed to his care, refused to inspect his accounts, but took his own word; a triumph superior to the other.

Marius, on the other hand, remained some time in a state of inaction, to discipline the troops he had brought with him, which were mostly new levies. His first essay was against Capsa, such another place as Thala for strength and situation. After a severe march through burning sands, he unexpectedly arrived before that city, and signalized his cruelty, by putting the inhabitants to the sword, who had surrendered at discretion, on condition of having their lives spared. This bloody execution spread the terror of his name all over Numidia, to the borders of Mauritania; and wherever he came, the country submitted. None but the castle of Mulucha, where Jugurtha had lodged his treasures, refused to open its gates: it was situate on a steep rock, naturally so very smooth, that there was not the least hold for the hands, or projection for the feet to rest upon. Yet Marius attacked it with his usual intrepidity, by a way that had been cut by the inhabitants in the rock, so narrow, that there was hardly room for two men to walk abreast in it. His good fortune did the rest: a Ligurian soldier came and told him, that happening to amuse himself with gathering snails in a moist part of the rock, he had insensibly climbed up to the citadel, which he found intirely deserted. On that side Marius taking advantage, ordered a false attack to be made by the way cut in the rock; while a chosen band, under the conduct of the Ligurian soldier, climbed up to the foot of the wall, scaled it, and made themselves masters of the citadel. The expedition to Capsa had raised Marius in the opinion of the soldiers, Marius takes and razes Capsa.
 to an equal degree of reputation with Metellus; but this affair of Mulucha, made them look upon him as an inspired person, highly favoured by the gods. He was now upon his march to put the troops into winter quarters, when he was attacked towards the evening by Jugurtha, and his son-in-law Bocchus, king of the Mauritanians. As the Romans were surprized, they had not time to draw up in order of battle; the most they could do, was to form in platoons, till they got to two neighbouring hills, where they passed the night: at break of day they surprized the enemy in their turn, put them to flight, and made a terrible slaughter. Marius was supported on this occasion by the Marius defeats Jugurtha.
 of the army. This was the famous Sylla, who distinguished himself in a very eminent

Sylla serves
under Ma-
rius.

eminent manner, and soon acquired the esteem and friendship of his general, though he had been greatly despised by him at first, upon the notion of his being enervated by vice and debauchery. The enemy attack the Romans a second time, and are absolutely defeated. Bocchus, tired of Jugurtha's alliance, treats privately with Marius, by means of Sylla, and obtains a truce, with permission to send ambassadors to Rome.

647.

These deputies being admitted to the senate, declare that Bocchus had been imposed upon by Jugurtha, that he was sorry for his fault, and that he desired the friendship and alliance of the Romans. The answer he received was *that the senate and people of Rome do not easily forget either services or injuries. Yet since Bocchus repents his misconduct, they forgive him. But as to their friendship and alliance, it is incumbent on him first to deserve it by some important service.*

Jugurtha
betrayed by
Bocchus, and
delivered up
to the Ro-
mans.

Sylla and Marius wanted to be continued in their employments, the one as proconsul, and the other as proquaestor. The former was commissioned to give Bocchus to understand what that important service was, which the republic expected from him. Sylla was a person of great eloquence: yet it was a difficult task to persuade a king to betray his father-in-law, his friend, his ally. Bocchus remained long in suspense whether he should deliver up Jugurtha to Sylla, or Sylla to Jugurtha; but fear at length prevailed, and Jugurtha was sacrificed. Under pretence of coming to a conference, where he was to negotiate a peace between him and Rome, Bocchus drew him into an ambush, cut his attendants in pieces, and seizing on his person, delivers him up to Sylla, who carried him to Cirtha, where the Roman army was still in winter quarters, and from thence he was sent to Rome.

Cæpio reco-
vers To-
losa.

In Transalpine Gaul, the consul (l) Q. Servilius Cæpio takes Tolosa (m) by intelligence, a city which had been heretofore an ally of the Romans, but had surrendered itself to the Cimbri, after their victory over Crassus. He gives it up to be plundered by the soldiers, and appropriates to his own use the greatest part of the immense treasure (n) which the superstition of the Gauls had consecrated to the temple of Apollo. It was observed that Cæpio, and those who shared in the plunder of this sacred treasure, all ended their days miserably. Hence came the proverb, *he has had some of the gold of Tolosa, when speaking of a very unfortunate person.*

(l) During the consulate of Cæpio were born two great men, viz. Pompey the Great at Rome, and Cicero at Arpinum, in the territory of the Volsci.

(m) Now Toulouse.

(n) This treasure is said to have amounted to a hundred thousand pounds weight of gold, and as many of silver. Some writers say, that the *Teltesages* brought it from Delphi, after plundering the temple of Pythian Apollo; but Strabo, Pausanias, and Polybius assure us that not one of that sacrilegious race returned home, but were all extirpated: most likely this treasure was dug out of the silver and gold mines, with which the country of the *Teltesages*, according to Strabo and Pausanias, formerly abounded.

648.

Surely Cæpio's avarice and rapines were not known at Rome, when he was declared proconsul in Narbonne Gaul. It fell to the lot of the consul Cneius Manlius, a man whose character was still more contemptible, to be joined with him in command. These two generals happening not to agree, separated their forces; which brought the republic into greater danger than she had ever been exposed to since the foundation of the city. A great number of the Gauls, provoked at the plundering of the temple of Apollo, had joined the Cimbri; this would have been a formidable army, even to abler generals than Cæpio and Manlius. Their armies were attacked at the same time, one by the Gauls, and the other by the Cimbri; and were both cut in pieces. Fourscore thousand Romans and allies perished on this fatal day; only ten soldiers escaped with the two generals; the rest were either slain in battle, or hanged up by the barbarians, who had made a vow to sacrifice the prisoners, as well as all the spoils they took, to the gods. The money found in the two camps was thrown into the Rhone, with the baggage of the Romans; and the horses were drowned.

Cæpio and
Manlius de-
feated by
the Cimbri
and Gauls.

The consternation which this defeat occasioned in Rome, was increased by the spreading of a report that the enemy were preparing to pass the Alps. In order to put the capital into a state of defence, all the young men able to bear arms were obliged to enlist. On this occasion fencing masters were introduced into the Roman camp, under the name of *campi doctores*, to instruct the young soldiers how to handle their arms, though hitherto they had been only employed in teaching gladiators. All this was managed by the consul Rutilus: for Cæpio had been recalled and deposed; and after a series of misfortunes, died at length of misery in prison (a).

Marius is chosen consul the second time, though he was still in Numidia, regulating his new conquests. Thus the republic broke through all rules, in order to place this general, in such a critical conjuncture, at the head of her armies: for it was not only against law to raise an absent person to the consulate, but likewise to chuse him consul a second time till ten years after the first.

Marius a
second time
consul.

649.

The first of January was a glorious day to Marius, when he was vested with his second consulate, and made a triumphal entry into Rome: on which occasion, the unfortunate Jugurtha was led in chains before the victor's chariot. This prince, after being made a shew to the populace from the triumphal gate to the capitol, was thrown into a dungeon, where he died at the expiration of six days, of hunger

His tri-
umph.

Death of
Jugurtha.

(a) This is the account given by some authors; but Cicero says in express terms that Servilius Cæpio, being banished Rome, retired to Smyrna.

and misery (p). That part of his dominions which bordered upon Mauritania, was given to Bocchus; that which lay next to the province of Africa belonging to the Romans, the republic reserved for herself; and the rest was divided between Hiempsal and Mandrestal, princes descended from Masinissa by concubines.

Marius appointed to command against the Gauls and the Cimbri.

The road into Italy had been open to the Cimbri and the Gauls ever since their last victory; hence it was a matter of great surprize, to see them turn off, without any apparent reason, and direct their march towards Spain. Marius, who had the conduct of the war in Gaul, found no other enemies, upon his arrival, except the *Tectosages*, whose capital was *Tolosæ*. Against these people he sent his lieutenant Sylla, who defeated one of their kings, named Copillus, and took him prisoner. For his own part, he employed his time in disciplining the new levies, which he had sent for from Italy, and from the several nations in alliance with Rome.

The second servile war in Sicily.

The second servile war in Sicily. It was occasioned by the horrid injustice of the prætor P. Licinius Nerva, who refused to execute a decree of the senate, whereby all men of free condition, whom the publicans had brought by force from the East into Sicily to cultivate the lands which they farmed of the government, were ordered to be set at liberty. The malecontents chose a slave for their king, whose name was Salvius, of Italian extraction, to judge by the Latin termination of his name: but, to ingratiate himself with his subjects, most of whom were Orientals, he changed it for that of Tryphon. He was soon in a condition to lay siege to Morgantia, a strong city on the banks of the Simæthus (r), where he defeated the prætorian army, that was come to raise the siege; and he would have taken the place, had it not been for the vigorous defence made by the slaves of the town, encouraged by a promise of liberty. The prætor opposed the execution of this promise; and this second act of injustice so incensed those brave men, that they all deserted to the enemy. Tryphon seizes on *Triocala* (s), a very strong place, and makes it his ordinary residence: his army, at that time, amounted to upwards of thirty thousand men.

At Rome the tribune Domitius transferred the power of electing the pontifices and augurs from their own college to the people: in return for which service the people soon after created Domitius *Summus pontifex*. Marius is continued in the consulate, and command of the army in Gaul. There is reason to think, that a remarkable instance of his impartiality in the administration of justice, which was transacted

(p) Livy informs us, that as soon as the triumph was over, he was carried back to prison, and there strangled. His two sons survived him, and spent their lives in captivity at *Venusium*.

(r) A river that runs between Lentini and Catania, and now called *La Giarretta*.

(s) A town in the southern part of Sicily, on the river *Isturnus*, and now called *Troccoli*.

before the whole army the last campaign, conducted very much to his gaining the suffrages at Rome: this does him too much honour to pass unnoticed. Marius had a favourite nephew, named C. Lucius, The equity who served under him as legionary tribune, a man of great valour, but of Marius in extremely addicted to unlawful lust: he was even so abandoned, as to his nephew's offer to force a young soldier, who, finding no other way to get out of his impure hands, drew his sword and killed him. Nobody would undertake to defend the young man at his trial: however he had the courage to relate the whole matter himself to the consul, who not only judged him innocent, but moreover worthy of praise and reward; and accordingly with great ceremony gave him one of those military crowns, or garlands, the usual prize of extraordinary valour. In order to judge of the impression which such an action must have made on the Romans, we should recollect how zealous they were on all occasions to avenge the cause of injured chastity.

650.

In Sicily the prætor Lucius Licinius Lucullus, after defeating the slaves in a pitched battle, miscarries in the siege of Triocala. Tryphon The slaves defeated in Sicily. no longer commanded in that town, having abandoned it in a cowardly manner after the battle. This man died the ensuing year, and was succeeded by a courageous slave, named Athenio, who after having in vain attempted to erect a sovereignty himself, came and served under Tryphon.

The year passed on without hearing any thing of the Cimbri in Gaul. At this time Marius had leisure to employ his troops in digging a great canal, in order to open a new mouth for the river Rhone; the old one being stopped up with heaps of sand and mud, which hindered the transports from coming up to his camp with provisions. This canal was called *Fossa Mariana* (1), and there are still vestiges of it in a village named from thence *de Foz*. He detaches Sylla against the Marfi, a new swarm of Germans, who are supposed to have come from the banks of the Luppia (2) to join the Teutones; but Sylla made use of no other force than that of eloquence, to prevail on them to come over to the Romans. And perhaps this new kind of glory raised Marius's jealousy; for it is certain that they parted soon after, and that Sylla served the next year under Catulus (3), who was colleague

(1) It began at the Rhone, a little below the city of Arles, was carried cross the fields of *Crau*, beyond the village of *Foz*, and ended at the tower *de Boue*, or *d'Emboue*: it has now for many ages been stopp'd up with sand and mud. Some think that the name of *Camargue*, which the neighbouring district bears, is a corruption of *castra Marii*.

(2) The river *Lippe* in Westphalia.

(3) This was *Quintus Lutatius Catulus*, a famous orator, historian, and poet, and greatly commended by Cicero. He wrote historical memoirs of his consulate after the manner of Xenophon, and employed his leisure hours in poetical performances. Aulus Gellius has preserved one of his epigrams on a youth named Theotinus,

league with Marius in his fourth consulate. It is very extraordinary that this dignity should have been so often conferred successively on the same person. In order to succeed in so tender a point, Marius had recourse to intrigue and artifice. He concerted the matter with the tribune Saturninus, so as to make a shew of refusing a dignity, which he passionately desired. This game was so artfully played, that Saturninus publicly called him a traitor, for resisting the will of the people, and refusing to serve his country. The multitude were duped: but what determined the sensible part of the citizens to join with the rest, was the undoubted intelligence they had received, that the Cimbri and the Gauls had been driven out of Spain by the prætor M. Fulvius, with the assistance of the Celtiberians, and that they were returned to Gaul with a view of joining the Teutones, and pouring their whole force into Italy.

651.

The Romans defeated by the slaves in Sicily.

Athenio, chief of the rebel slaves in Sicily, defeats the prætor C. Servilius, and takes possession of his camp. After this he forms an attack upon Messina, in which he miscarries; he then lays siege to Macella, and makes himself master of that place. The Cimbri and the Teutones separate; the former take a circuit to enter Italy at the extremity of the Eastern Alps, towards the country of the Carni (x); the Teutones and the Gauls direct their march by the Western Alps, across Transalpine Liguria. But in order to stop their passage, Marius, that consummate general, had posted himself in a kind of island, which was formed on one side by the sea, on the other by the Rhone, and on the third by a new branch of that river, which, as we have already mentioned, his men had lately dug with immense labour. There he securely waited for a favourable opportunity of coming to an engagement with the enemy. Nothing could force him from thence, neither the complaints of his own soldiers, nor the insults of the barbarians, nor the challenge sent him by a Teutonic officer, a man of a gigantic size, to whom Marius sent for answer, *that if he was in a hurry to die, he might go and hang himself*. He did not quit this strong hold, but to follow the enemy, who after consuming all their provisions were obliged to decamp, in order to draw nearer the Alps. Their army

tinus, which he produces as a master-piece of elegance and politeness; *quibus* (i. e. *versibus*) *mundus, venustus, limatus, pressus, Græcum, Latinumque, nihil quicquam reperiri puto*, Noët. Att. lib. 19. c. 9. I shall transcribe the verses themselves, but doubt very much whether they will answer the idea which those who are judges of Latin poetry, may conceive from the extraordinary commendation of Gellius.

Auspit mihi animus, credo, ut solet, ad Theotimum

Devenit. sic est, perfugium illud habet.

Quid si non interdixem, ne illunc fugitivum

Mitteret ad se intro, sed magis ejiceret?

Ibimus quæsitum verum ne ipsi teneamur

Formido. quid ago? da Venus consilium.

(x) The inhabitants of Carniola.

was

was so numerous, that they were six whole days in marching by the Roman camp; on which occasion they cried out to the soldiers on the ramparts, by way of derision, *if you have any messages for your wives, we shall quickly deliver them at Rome.* Marius saved them the trouble: he came up with the enemy in the neighbourhood of Aix in Provence, and engaged at first with the Gauls, on the banks of the little river *Cenus* (y), and obtained a complete victory. Two days after this, he defeated the Teutones with prodigious slaughter. Marius obtained both these victories by the precaution he had taken in drawing up his troops in battalia on the declivity of a hill, with orders not to stir, but there to wait for the enemy: he knew that the natural impatience of those barbarians would not permit them to defer the attack, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground. Historians, least suspected of exaggeration, make the number of the enemy slain, or taken prisoners in those two battles, amount to a hundred thousand. Never had citizen done more important service to the republic than Marius; and never was citizen more gloriously rewarded. The soldiers made him a present of all the booty; the officers crowned him with laurels; the people created him consul a fifth time; and the senate sent messengers to him with the decree, which gave him leave to triumph. It is said that upon reading the decree, he declared he would not accept of a triumph, till he had made his victory complete, by defeating the Cimbri as well as the Teutones; and he was so fortunate as to succeed in this also.

Marius
defeats the
Gauls,
and the
Teutones.

652.

The Cimbri did not come down the Noric (z) Alps till the beginning of this year: as there was a great likelihood of its being remarkable for battles, the augurs gave a scrupulous attention to every extraordinary event, that was usually looked upon as ominous. Among the enormous crimes which the Romans thought necessary to expiate, historians mention the parricide committed by Publicius Malleolus, who killed his mother. Some authors take notice of this parricide as the first that was ever committed in Rome; if so, the punishment of this unnatural crime was invented for him. The criminal was sown up in a leathern sack, with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and so thrown into the Tiber (a). A new kind of punishment and expiation was also practised, which consisted in loading a goat with the public execration, and then driving him out of Rome through the

Punishment
of parricide,

(y) Now the *Arque*.

(z) The Noric Alps were so called from *Noricum*, a part of old Illyricum, bordering upon Bavaria and the country of the Grisons.

(a) Another enormous crime, which had never been heard before this time, was that of mutilation; a slave having mutilated himself, in imitation of the priests of Cybele. But the senate, apprehensive of the consequences of so dangerous a delusion, banished the eunuch for ever from Rome. Diod. Sic. The horror of this crime seems to be intirely lost among the modern Romans,

gate called *Nevia*: a ceremony which seems to have been borrowed from the Jewish religion.

Battle of
Vercellæ, in
which the
Cimbri are
intirely de-
feated by
Marius.

Catulus, who was only proconsul, waited for the Cimbri on the banks of the *Athesis* (b), intending to dispute their passage: but the Roman foldiers were seized with such a panic, upon the approach of the barbarians, that they fled shamefully before the enemy in spite of their officers, and did not think themselves safe, till Catulus made them repass the Po. Marius is recalled from Gaul, and declared commander in chief of the forces of the republic; upon which, he joins his troops to those of Catulus. Battle in the plain of Vercellæ (c), where the Romans obtain a complete victory over the Cimbri. This plain, and the day of battle, had been fixed upon by Marius, in consequence of a challenge for that purpose from the enemy; hence the two armies were equal in this respect, only the consul had the precaution to draw up his troops in such a manner, that their backs were turned to the south. The sun shining at noon with violent heat, had such an effect upon those barbarians, accustomed to the northern snows, that they were scarce able to hold up their bucklers to defend their faces; so that they were soon defeated with a most terrible slaughter: historians reckon the number of slain to have been a hundred and twenty thousand, and that of prisoners sixty thousand. The Romans were obliged to fight a new battle when they came to the enemy's camp: here the women were inclosed in a kind of entrenchment formed by carts and waggons, from whence they discharged showers of darts against friends and foes with equal fury; and upon being refused such conditions as became their sex, they either died fighting desperately, or laid violent hands on themselves. Thus the formidable nation of the Cimbri, who seemed ready to swallow up all Italy, were almost intirely destroyed by the loss of a single battle.

Affairs would in all probability have taken a very different turn in regard to those people, had they marched directly to Rome after the flight of Catulus. Florus pretends, that they would have made themselves masters of that capital with as much ease as the *Senones* after the battle of Allia. What hindered them, was the promise they had given the Teutones, not to attack Rome, till they had joined them in Italy. They were ignorant of the defeat of the latter till a few days before the battle of *Vercellæ*, when upon sending their ambassadors to Marius, with offers to lay down their arms, if he would assign lands in Italy to them and their brothers (for thus they called the Teutones) Marius gave an insulting answer; *as for your brothers, you need not trouble your heads about them; they are possessed of lands,*

(b) Now the *Adige*; it riseth in the county of Tyrol, passeth by Trent, and running through Verona, emptieth itself into the Adriatic.

(c) A city of Piedmont, still called *Vercelli*, situate on the river *Sessia*, or *Sessius*, near the *Campi Raudii*, where the above battle was fought.

which I have assigned them; and those lands they shall possess for ever. As a proof of what he had been saying, he shewed them the chiefs of the Teutonic army in chains.

At Rome the people gave the whole honour of the battle of Ver- cellæ to Marius, though it was due to Catulus and Sylla, if we can credit the authorities quoted by Plutarch. Marius and Catulus triumphed together; but the people made a great difference in their demonstrations of respect to those generals: they offered up libations to Marius as to a deity, and gave him the glorious title of *third founder of Rome*; as formerly that of *second founder* was conferred on Camillus, after his victory over the Gauls. Catulus erects a temple to the fortune of this day; and Marius builds another to Honour and Virtue, pursuant to a vow each of them had made in the last battle. The contempt which Marius had for the polite arts, was visible on this occasion: he caused the abovementioned temple to be built by a Roman architect, of common stone, and without any ornament: besides, he appeared only for form sake at the public games, with which he was obliged to entertain the people the day of the dedication of his temple; and then he immediately withdrew.

Triumph of
Marius and
Catulus.

Aquilius, the colleague of Marius in his present consulate, was intrusted with the conduct of the war in Sicily, which had been exposed to the depredations of rebellious slaves ever since the defeat of the prætor Servilius. He determined at length this war so shameful to the Roman name by a single combat with Athenio, whom he laid dead on the ground, after he had been wounded himself in the head. Out of that great multitude of slaves, who had taken up arms, there remained only a thousand, who surrendered themselves by composition along with Satyrius their commander: the consul gradually destroyed all the rest, either by famine or the sword. It is said that the Romans lost a million of slaves in this and the preceding war.

Aquilius
puts an end
to the servile
war.

Marius obtains a sixth consulate, by money, and by the intrigues of that same L. Apuleius Saturninus, who had served him so well on the like occasion two years before. The consul, out of gratitude, enters into a stricter connexion with Saturninus than ever, and lends him a hand to assume a second tribunate by violence. Saturninus, by means of Marius's soldiers, causes A. Nonnius one of the tribunes for the following year to be assassinated, and gets himself elected in his stead at a tumultuous assembly.

Disturbances
at Rome.

653.

Saturninus insults the ambassadors of Mithridates king of Pontus, and being called to an account is acquitted by the senate through fear of the people.

These violent proceedings plainly shewed the melancholy situation of the republic, oppressed by a perpetual consul, who had taken care to get himself a colleague to his own mind, one Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a person of weak abilities, especially if compared to such a man as Marius. Ever since the people had begun to split themselves into fac-
tions,

The agrarian law revived.

Metellus banished.

Marius's double dealings.

Rebellion of Saturninus.

tions, and to sell their suffrages, the elections were all decided at Rome by bribery, or open force: the *forum* was now a market-place, where public offices were sold to the highest bidder; and now a field of battle, where the strongest was sure to obtain the victory. Saturninus was all powerful at those meetings; among other things, he undertook to revive the agrarian law, ordaining the distribution of lands, and the settling of several colonies: he carried his point by means of the country tribes, who being more particularly concerned in that law, came to blows with those of the city, and drove them out of the forum. So little did Saturninus disguise his sentiments, that when the nobles, in order to break up the assembly, told him, *that they heard it thunder (d)*, which, according to law, ought to suspend all proceedings for that day, he answered coolly, *well, if it thunders now, it will be a storm presently, unless you are quiet*; and indeed, the affair ended at last in a storm of blows. Metellus Numidicus is condemned to banishment at the instigation of the factious leaders, for having refused to swear to the observance of the agrarian law; which was a snare laid by his enemies, knowing that he was a man of that character, as not to approve of a law obtained by violence. All this was managed by a kind of triumvirate, viz. by Marius, who, as hath been already mentioned, had quarrelled with him in Numidia; by Saturninus, whom he had stigmatized when censor, in 651; and by Servilius Glaucia, who was in the same case. This Glaucia stood for the consulate of the following year; but as he had a competitor of far superior merit in Memmius, Saturninus to get rid of him caused him to be assassinated, and then broke out into open rebellion.

This last step ruined him. The senate, at an extraordinary meeting, as in times of the greatest danger, passed one of those decrees, which gave the consuls unlimited power to do whatever they judged proper for the public welfare. Marius being obliged to abandon his old friends, besieges the capitol, whither they had retired with their adherents: they surrender to him upon promise of saving their lives. Accordingly he would have saved them; but the people in their fury fell upon the rebels, and tore them in pieces. All the acts of Saturninus's tribunate were repealed, except the sentence pronounced against Metellus; but Marius's faction, and the tribune P. Furius, whom Metellus during his censorial office had deprived of the equestrian rank, obstinately opposed his recall.

(d) Thunder was one of the several sorts of auguries mentioned by authors; as whether it came from the right, or the left; whether the number of strokes were even or odd. In taking this augury, the observer stood upon a tower, with his head covered, in a gown peculiar to his office, called *lena*, and turning his face towards the east, marked out the heavens into four *templa*, or quarters, with a short straight rod, called *lituus*, only a little turning at one end. Some thunders were called *bruta fulmina*, which portended nothing; and others *fatidica*, which were ominous; but none were such, unless confirmed by another of the same sort.

654.

Furius was accused before the comitia by Canuleius, one of his successors, of such a number of crimes, that the people killed him upon the spot, without waiting to hear his defence. Metellus is also recalled from exile.

Metellus recalled.

The tribune Sex. Titius is condemned to banishment, because a portrait of the seditious Saturninus had been found in his house: besides he was grown odious to all well-meaning citizens, in consequence of his attempting to revive the Gracchian law, the source of so many troubles. Titius was a pretty good speaker, but he was foiled by the celebrated M. Antonius.

655.

The eloquence of this orator triumphed still more gloriously in the affair of Manius Aquilius, who was accused, and even convicted of having plundered the Sicilians after his victory over the rebel slaves. His cause seemed the more desperate, as he had neglected to solicit the judges, and to appear before them in a mourning habit, such as the accused were accustomed to wear, in order to excite compassion. This very circumstance Antonius most artfully laid hold of, by representing his client as a man superior to all fear: he then put the people in mind of his expeditions against the enemies of his country, of the honourable wounds he had received in different engagements, and tearing open Manius's gown, he shewed to the whole assembly the scars with which the body of that brave general was covered. Such oratory was irresistible; even the rough soldier Marius, who sat as one of the judges, was moved to that degree as to shed a few tears: in short Aquilius was acquitted. This is a very remarkable fact, as it plainly shews, according to M. Rollin's observation, "that the eloquence of the bar among the Romans was very different from ours; and that if our pleading is more nervous in arguments and proofs, theirs by taking bolder flights had more of the sublime." Soon after this trial, Marius went into Asia, to avoid being witness to the acclamations with which Metellus was received at Rome: the people treated him in the same manner as at his return from Numidia, so that he made a kind of triumphant entry.

Eloquent defence of Aquilius made by M. Antonius.

The consul Didius is sent to *Hither Spain* against the Celtiberians, who had taken up arms again since the departure of the Cimbri. Didius was five years employed in quieting this province; at which time Sertorius, whom we shall often have occasion to mention, served under him in the degree of legionary tribune, which he owed intirely to his valour, for he was a man of no family: and now he had leisure enough to distinguish himself by further exploits.

The consul Didius sent to Spain.

Sertorius serves under him.

656.

Marcus Antonius is created censor with L. Valerius Flaccus. They strike M. Dronius out of the list of senators, for having abused his authority,

Z

authority, when tribune of the people the preceding year, by procuring the repeal of a law, which regulated the expence of private tables. Duronius got it repealed, as *partaking of the rust of antiquity*.

Human
victims
forbid,

Human victims are forbid by order of the senate. Dio pretends, that Cæsar afterwards revived this murdering practice; and Pliny relates, that even in his time several of those horrid sacrifices were exhibited, to the shame of humanity.

657.

Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica (e), having bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, they lay a small tribute on the inhabitants, and grant them their liberty. Cyrenaica had been formerly made a part of the kingdom of Egypt; but it was dismembered from it by Ptolemy Physcon, in favour of Apion his natural son. The Romans afterwards reduced it to a province, under the administration of a prætor.

658.

A law made at the motion of the consuls Licinius Crassus and Mucius Scaevola, to put a stop to the usurpation of the right of Roman citizenship. It ordained an inquiry to be made against those who falsely pretended to be Roman citizens; and that even such as were born at Rome of foreign parents, should be sent to their respective countries. This law, though just and reasonable, was one of the principal causes of the *fatal war of the allies*, which broke out three years after. The consul Scaevola distinguished his prætorship by the vigorous stand he made against the extortions of the publicans in his province of Asia.

659.

Defence of
Norbanus.

We meet with nothing remarkable this year, except the famous trial of Norbanus. This man, who had been formerly tribune of the people, was accused by P. Sulpicius Rufus, a young orator of great reputation, of having incurred the guilt of high treason, by raising a sedition in the comitia: the fact was proved; and among other witnesses, the ancient prince of the senate, M. Æmilius Scaurus, shewed the marks of a cut which he had received on the arm with a stone. Upon this occasion M. Rollin observes, that the Roman judges looked upon themselves rather as arbiters of life and death, than as ministers of the law: and this reflexion seems to be confirmed by the particulars which Marcus Antonius himself gives of his pleading, in *Tully de Oratore*: "I begged of the judges to take into consideration

(e) A country of Africa, betwixt Marmarica and the port of Sabia, now called *Barca*. The capital was *Cyrene*, or *Cyreneæ*, now *Cairoan*, one of the five which made the *Pentapolis*. This place abounded with *benzoin*, whence Catullus called it, *Laserphiferas Cyrenas*.

" my

" my age, the public employments with which I had been honoured, " the services which perhaps I had done to the republic, and lastly, " the sincere and deep concern with which they saw me affected." What should we think, says M. Rollin, of a council, who for want of proofs and arguments, should plead his age, his services, and his sorrow, to prejudice the judges in favour of his client? But Marcus Antonius proceeds; and what he says further, seems to corroborate this reflection. " I begged they would not refuse me a favour, which " was the first I ever asked of them, &c." No doubt but this orator was a person of too much sense, to ask a favour of men that could not grant it, or at least that did not think they had a right to grant it.

Father Catrou observes, that this was the first time that persons of the first nobility were admitted into the college of tribunes; among whom at this time were to be seen the names of Sextius, Marcellus, Junius Brutus, in a word, citizens of the first distinction.

660.

Sylla is raised to the prætorship, which had been refused him the preceding year, for no other motive, than because the people were willing he should previously discharge the office of ædile, in hopes that by means of his connexions with Bocchus king of Mauritania, he would entertain them with some African wild beasts at the public games. If this was their view, they had reason to be satisfied. Sylla made them ample amends during his prætorship, when he entertained the circus with a combat between a hundred lions, and some Mauritanian hunters used to this kind of fighting. Caesar Strabo, a person commended by Cicero for his vein of pleasantry, pretended that Sylla had bought the prætorship; and he taxed him with it very agreeably one day, when Sylla threatened to let him feel the weight of his office: *you say right*, answered he with a smile, *your office is really yours, since you purchased it.*

Sylla made prætor.

661.

Sylla, after spending the first year of his prætorship in Rome, pursuant to custom, was named to the government of the province of Asia; and had the glorious commission of restoring Ariobarzanes to the throne of Cappadocia, to which he had been elected by that nation, with the consent of the Romans. The famous Mithridates, king of Pontus, a prince more known in story for his cruelty, than even for his great exploits, had destroyed all the princes of the royal family of Cappadocia, either by assassination or poison, and placed a son of his own upon the throne, under the guardianship of Gordius one of his courtiers. Against this Gordius, Sylla was obliged to fight; and one single battle determined the affair. Before he left Asia, he received an embassy from the king of Parthia, who desired to conclude an alliance with the republic. On this occasion he behaved with such state, and at the same time with so noble an air, that one of the standers by could not help saying: *either this man is at present, or soon will be, lord of the world.*

Sylla named to the government of Asia.

Z 2

Ruti-

Rutilius
unjustly
banished.

Rutilius, a consular person, is unjustly accused of extortion. It is proper here to observe, that the knights were still possessed of the judiciary power at Rome: and of all the injustices ever laid to their charge, this was one of the most shocking; for they really could reproach Rutilius with no other crime than his having opposed, in conjunction with Mutius Scævola, the exactions of their brethren the publicans. Among his accusers was Apicius, a person most infamous for gluttony. Rutilius weathered the storm like a man superior to fortune, and who despised alike her favours and frowns. At that time there were several in Rome, who made profession of philosophy; but the number of those who acted up to their profession, was very inconsiderable. Rutilius was one of this number: he retired to Asia, where the inhabitants received him as their deliverer; and it is to be presumed that in this retirement he wrote his Roman history in Greek, which is lost, as well as the memoirs of his life. Some years after he refused to return to Rome, when the people recalled him.

The censors Lucius Licinius Crassus, and Cneus Domitius Ænobarbus forbid the Latin rhetors to follow their profession. Crassus himself gives the reason of this decree in Cicero's treatise de Oratore, where he takes notice, "that those masters only taught their disciples "to speak with too much liberty and freedom, which ought always "to be avoided, even when we have the best things in the world to "say." The Latin rhetors came into vogue again, as had been the case at the time we have been now mentioning, in regard to the Greek rhetors, who had been formerly expelled from Rome.

662.

The social
war breaks
out.
Occasioned
by the
schemes of
Drusus tri-
bune of the
people.

Beginning of the social war, or the war of the allies, which is sometimes called also the Marsian war, because the Marsi had a principal share in it. Their discontent was occasioned, though undesignedly, by the promise which the young tribune Livius Drusus had given, of admitting them all to the full privilege of Roman citizenship; a promise which it was not in his power to observe. The same tribune had formed several other schemes, which proved ineffectual: but his principal design was to restore to the senators the judiciary power, which had been conferred on the knights; or at least to share it between those two orders. With the same view he had, in concert with the senate, endeavoured to render himself agreeable, not only to the people, by proposing to give away a certain quantity of corn among the poor, and to make a new distribution of lands; but also to the allies, by promising to invest them with the privileges of Roman citizens. The whole succeeded, except the last article. Most of the citizens pretended it would be striking at their privileges, if they were obliged to extend them to such a multitude of allies. The latter maintained that they asked nothing but what was just and right, in desiring to be admitted to the right of suffrage, and to have a share in the government of a state which they had helped to aggrandize. At length they had recourse to arms; and Pompeius Silo, one of the lead-

ing

ing men among the Marſi, advances towards Rome, at the head of ten thouſand men. Drufus being conſidered as the author of all theſe troubles, is aſſaffinated. There is reaſon to believe that he had no bad intention, were we to have no other foundation than his generous behaviour to the conſul Philippus, his bittereſt enemy, to whom he ſent notice of the plot which the allies had formed, to murder him and his colleague during the ceremony of the *Feria Latina*. Philippus requited him very ill for that ſervice, being ſtrongly ſuſpected of having had a ſhare, together with the ſenator Q. Servilius Cæpio and the tribune Q. Varus, in the murder of Drufus. He gets all Drufus's laws repealed by the ſenate, as having been paſſed inauſpiciously. The knights by this method having recovered the judiciary power, ſummon the principal ſenators before their tribunal, under pretence that they encouraged the rebellion of the allies. The chief perſons involved in this accuſation, are Cotta nephew to Rutilius; Scaurus prince of the ſenate; and Marcus Antonius the orator. Cotta went into baniſhment of his own accord, Scaurus extricated himſelf out of danger by his firmneſs, and Marcus Antonius by his eloquence. The orator Craſſus was dead when theſe troubles firſt broke out.

The allies erect themſelves into a republic, and pitch upon *Corſinium*, a town in the country of the Peligni, for their capital. There they eſta- bliſh a ſenate, and chooſe two conſuls, and two prators who were to command the troops under the conſuls.

663.

In order to quell the revolted provinces, Rome was obliged to increaſe the number of her generals. The ſeat of the rebellion was chiefly in Samnium, and in the country of the Marſi: the conſul Rutilius was ſent againſt the former, and his colleague, L. Julius, againſt the latter. Several excellent generals were appointed under them, with a power of commanding in chief occaſionally, like proconſuls; of which number were Marius and Sylla.

Rutilius comes to an engagement with the enemy, contrary to the opinion of Marius; but is defeated, and killed. Cæpio, one of his lieutenants, meets with the ſame fate ſoon after. The command of theſe ſhattered armies was given to Marius, who did nothing conſiderable: whether it was owing to prudence, or to the natural cautiousneſs of old age, for he was now ſixty eight, he continued a long time in his entrenchments, in the preſence of the enemy, who inſulted him with impunity. Pompeius Silo, one of their conſuls, coming to challenge him to fight, cried out aloud, *If you are a great general, Marius, why don't you fight?* All the answer he made, was; *but if you are a great general, why don't you compel me to fight?* Fortune envied him the only opportunity he had to diſtinguiſh himſelf; for after he had defeated the Marrucini, who attacked him in his camp, Sylla paſſing accidentally that way, fell upon the runaways, cut them in pieces, and reaped almoſt the whole glory of the day. Marius reſigns his command, under pretence of illneſs.

Conſiderable advantages gained by the allies.

The Marrucini defeated by Marius and Sylla.

The consul
L. Julius
victorious in
Samnium.

In Samnium, the consul L. Julius obtained a signal victory, though preceded and followed by considerable losses. The magistrates of Rome had laid aside the badges and ornaments of their dignity, upon hearing the news of Rutilius's defeat, according to the custom observed in times of the heaviest calamities; and did not resume them till after the news of another victory, obtained by Cn. Pompeius, who commanded in Picenum. How fatal would it have been to Rome, had the allies continued to be victorious! No doubt but such a number of nations, subject to her dominion, would have embraced the opportunity of throwing off the yoke; and then she would have been in much the same condition, as when she first undertook the conquest of Italy.

The right
of Roman
citizenship
granted to
the faithful
allies.
Gallant
behaviour of
Sertorius.

The right of Roman citizenship is granted to the several nations that continued faithful to their alliance. This was an excellent method to bind them to their duty, and to reclaim the rest: but why did not the republic begin with it?

Sertorius, though he had as yet been invested with no command this war, still acquired a great deal of honour in it. He was quaestor in Cisalpine Gaul; but as soon as he fulfilled his commission, his courage led him to the seat of war, where he was wounded and lost an eye: but so far from complaining of this accident, he gloried in it as a singular happiness; *I shall ever, said he, wear a proof of my courage, more conspicuous by far than crowns and laurels.*

664.

The Marfi
defeated.

This as well as the preceding year, was productive of a great number of very bloody battles: for we scarce meet with a more destructive and more cruel war in the Roman history. The particulars most worthy of our attention are the expeditions of the two consuls, and those of Sylla. The consuls successively defeat the Marfi. Porcius was killed in one of those engagements, by a dart discharged at him, as was suspected, by young Marius, in revenge for the affront which the consul had offered his father, in boasting that Marius had not performed greater exploits than himself. The preceding year Cn. Pompeius, then only lieutenant general, had laid siege to the city of Asculum, which the Romans were very desirous of chastising, because it was the first that committed hostilities. This year he appeared before it again, but could not take the place, till he destroyed an army of sixty thousand Marfi, who had marched to relieve it. About the same time Sylla made himself master of Bovianum, a strong city, where the Samnites held their general assembly. With this exploit he finished the most glorious, or perhaps the most fortunate campaign he had made yet; for he himself allowed that fortune had always a greater share in his successes, than military skill: in short, he loved to hear himself called the *fortunate Sylla*. Among the several exploits which he performed this year, we must reckon the taking a great number of important towns, the reduction of the Hirpini, and two considerable victories over the Samnites.

An army of
Marfi
destroyed.

Great ad-
vantages ob-
tained by
Sylla over
the allies.

At

At Rome, A. Sempronius Asellio, the *prætor Urbanus*, is murdered in the forum at noon day by a body of usurers, for endeavouring to put a stop to their exactions. This horrid crime escaped unpunished, as was but too much the custom of those iniquitous times. It is probable, that upon this occasion (g) the tribune M. Plautius Sylvanus got the law passed, *de vi publica*. By another law of the same tribune's proposing, the senators recovered possession at length of part of the judiciary power: it was enacted, that each tribe should chuse every year fifteen citizens, indifferently out of the order of senators, knights, or common people, to take cognizance of civil causes. The censors, L. Julius Cæsar, consul of the preceding year, and P. Crassus, formed eight new tribes out of the allies, who had received the right of citizenship: at the same time they made a regulation, that these new tribes should not be admitted to give their suffrage, till the ancient tribes had voted; so that the latter had still intirely the advantage. It is obvious that this plan was borrowed from that of Servius Tullius in distributing the centuries.

The law *de vi publica*.

Cn. Pompeius was honoured with a triumph, a favour never yet granted to generals, who had only recovered what before belonged to consul. Sylla is chosen consul for the ensuing year, notwithstanding the intrigues of Marius.

665.

These two men seemed to have been born enemies to each other, so different were their temper and disposition, though they had the same abilities and passion for war. Marius, bred among plowmen and shepherds, by the roughness of his manners betrayed the meanness of his education: his awkward air, his disagreeable voice, his fierce looks, his haughty address, had something in them extremely forbidding. Sylla, on the other hand, was born of noble parents, and had received an excellent education, so that all his actions were stamped with an air of urbanity. The former was violent and overbearing, and seemed to bid defiance to the whole world. The latter with all his vices had a winning deportment, and by studying to please, gained the affections of the people; till he raised himself to the highest pitch of fortune. Marius con-

Civil war between Marius and Sylla. Characters of Marius and Sylla.

(g) This is a mistake of our author, the *lex Plautia* or *Plotia de vi* was made by P. Plautius, tribune of the people in the year 675, in the consulate of Catulus and Lepidus. Upon the death of Sylla in that very year, Lepidus, being of the Marian faction, attempted to set aside the laws of Sylla, and was opposed by Catulus, of the opposite party. This occasioned great disturbances in the city, and Lepidus having been expelled from thence, and afterwards killed in Sardinia, Catulus joined with Plautius in passing this law. It was designed against those who attempted any force against the state or senate, or used any violence to the magistrates, or appeared armed in public upon any ill design, or forcibly expelled any person from his lawful possession. The punishment assigned to the convicted, was *aquæ & ignis interdictio*. *Suet. in Julio, Cic. pro Milone, Sigon. de Judiciis.*

tracts a friendship with the tribune P. Sulpicius, to get the command of the army, which was to be employed against Mithridates, though the senate had conferred it on Sylla. The social war was in its decline, and may be said to have been absolutely put an end to by the death of Pompædus Silo, who had been the very soul of it: he was defeated and taken prisoner by the lieutenant general Cæcilius Pius.

The people
appoint Ma-
rius to com-
mand in
Asia.

Sylla
marches to
Rome.

The first step the tribune Sulpicius took, was to admit all the allies, that had been honoured with the right of Roman citizenship, into the ancient five and thirty tribes. This privilege had been granted to the allies as fast as they laid down their arms, so that the new comers were considerably more numerous than the ancient citizens. Sulpicius therefore was become absolute master of the suffrages (a), and found no difficulty in obtaining what he asked for Marius. Sylla was encamped before Nola, in Campania, when hearing of the indignity offered him, he assembles his troops, reminds them of the victories they had obtained under his command, sets before their eyes the rich spoils they should gain in the war with Mithridates, and exaggerates the disgraceful campaign of Marius, that very Marius whom, contrary to all justice, Sulpicius wanted to make their commander. Immediately a general shout spreads through the whole army, *let us go to Rome, and avenge the cause of oppressed liberty*. The trumpet sounds, the troops march towards Rome with colours flying; and after a faint resistance from Marius's adherents, they make themselves masters of the capitol. The next day Sylla assembles the comitia, and obliges them to pass a decree, importing, "that Sulpicius's laws should be declared void and null; "that henceforward no law should be proposed by the tribunes, till it "had been approved by the senate; and that the comitia, in the field "of Mars, should not for the future be held by tribes, but by centuries." He obtains a decree of the senate, proscribing the two Marius's, father and son, the tribune Sulpicius, and nine other senators of the same party. So far there is no doubt but the consul acted justly, having had recourse to arms, in order to check the insolence of faction, and to establish a reformation, which the republic greatly wanted. The outrages of the tribunes amounted to open tyranny: Sulpicius had been lately seen to domineer in the forum at the head of a band of three thousand pensioners; and he had deposed the consul Quintius Pom-

(a) During these disturbances, Sylla was recalled from the camp before Nola to restrain the insolence of Sulpicius; and the consuls having assembled the senate in the temple of Castor, the furious tribune let loose a band of ruffians upon them, which obliged the conscript fathers to make their escape. Sylla being closely pursued, took shelter in Marius's house, who, though naturally cruel and revengeful, did not chuse to imbrue his hands in the blood of a consul who had taken refuge in his house. He therefore let him escape by a back door; after which Sylla repaired in all haste to his camp near Nola.

peius, Sylla's colleague. But he soon met with his deserts; for having been betrayed by one of his slaves, his head was brought to Rome, and fixed upon a stake, over against the rostra, a fatal omen of the following proscription. Marius, the son, escaped by sea to Africa. His father's adventures are too well known to need a long description. It Flight and adventures of Marius. will suffice to mention, that after having long wandered about the country, abandoned by his friends, stripped of every thing, and oppressed with hunger, he was discovered and seized by Sylla's soldiers, in the marshes of *Minturnæ*, where he had hid himself up to the chin in water: thence he was removed to *Minturnæ*, and condemned to be beheaded in prison; but his presence and speech disarmed the executioner. The *Minturnienses*, struck with this adventure, furnished him with a small vessel to carry him over to Africa, where he joined his son near the ruins of Carthage. It was some consolation to him, to contemplate the remains of that once formidable city, which had undergone, like himself, the most cruel vicissitudes of fortune; but he was soon obliged to quit this melancholy retreat. On the one hand, the prætor of Utica; and on the other, Mandrestal, an African prince, who, with the consent of the Romans, reigned over part of Numidia; were determined to sacrifice the two Marius's to Sylla and the senate. But they embarked just at the time that a troop of horse were going to seize them, and spent the winter in a small island in the neighbourhood of Africa (b).

Sylla's example, in rendering the soldiers too strongly attached to his person, was of dangerous consequence. Nothing was more common, than to hear people say, *the troops of such or such a general*; but there was no longer any mention made of the troops of the republic.

The præconful, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, causes his soldiers to assassinate the consul Q. Pompeius, who was come to succeed him in the command of the army.

666.

Cinna, one of the new consuls, was entirely devoted to the popular Cinna is faction; but his colleague, Cn. Octavius, held with the senate; so that chosen it was natural to expect new disturbances between them. The former consul, undertook to revive the tribune Sulpicius's law, for putting the allies and raises new disturbances, upon a level with the ancient citizens. On this occasion, a violent sedition was raised in the *Campus Martius*, and a battle ensued, in which ten thousand of the new citizens were killed, and the rest were obliged to abandon the city, together with the consul Cinna. The senate pass a decree, by which he is divested of his consular dignity, and L. Cornelius Merula is appointed to succeed him. Cinna has recourse to the allies, and in a short time raises an army of thirty legions, allies

(b) The island of *Cercina*, which lay near the little *Syrtis*, and is now known by the name of *Cercara*.

and

Marius
recalled.

and Roman malecontents; which enabled him to recall Marius and the other exiles. Sertorius, who had followed the fortune of Cinna, less out of affection to him, than hatred to Sylla, disapproved of this step; for he looked upon Marius, though old and proscribed, as a person whose revengeful temper was to be dreaded. Rome is blocked up by Cinna, in conjunction with Marius, Papirius Carbo, and Sertorius, each of whom commanded a separate corps. The latter begins hostilities against Cn. Pompeius Strabo, under the walls of Rome; on which occasion two brothers meeting in the heat of the action, one kills the other without knowing him (c). Cinna undertakes to get Pompeius Strabo assassinated; but the prudence and valour of young Pompey saved his father's life. Heaven punished the crimes of Pompeius Strabo in a more signal manner: a terrible plague carried off eleven thousand of his men in a very short time; and the general himself was killed with lightning.

Cinna and
Marius enter
Rome.

Marius's
cruelty.

The senate having been reduced by famine and desertion to treat with Cinna, and to acknowledge him as consul, he entered Rome in a triumphant manner, at the head of his army. Marius stopped at the gate, saying with a sarcastical tone, *that it did not become a banished man to return to Rome without being recalled*. Cinna marched directly to the forum, assembled the people, and made them pass a decree for that purpose. Marius entering the city, gave orders for murdering all those who came to salute him, and to whom he did not return the civility (d). The most illustrious senators were massacred by the command of this cruel old man; their houses were plundered, and their estates confiscated. His guards (e) were about six thousand of the most detestable banditti in Italy, who carried their lust, cruelty, and avarice, to such excess, that at length Cinna and Sertorius took a resolution to exterminate them; and accordingly they were surprized in their quarters in the night, and all destroyed.

(c) Hearing the voice of his dying brother, he ran to embrace him, but finding him ready to expire, he killed himself with the sword, which was yet stained with the blood of his brother. This moving accident ought to have given the Romans a distaste for civil wars, but faction and party had hardened their hearts.

(d) On this occasion Plutarch observes that the most sacred ties of friendship and hospitality were not proof against treachery: yet in that general defection, the fidelity of the slaves of Cornutus deserves to be recorded. Cornutus had retired to his country house, and his slaves observing a company of soldiers hovering about the neighbourhood, concealed their master in the most private manner; then taking up the body of a person, whom the tyrant's officers had just murdered, they carried it to the house, hung it up by the neck, put a gold ring on the finger, and shewed it in that condition to the soldiers, pretending it was the body of their master. They buried it soon after with great pomp and solemnity, and by this innocent artifice, saved their master Cornutus, and conveyed him into Gaul.

(e) Plutarch calls them *Bardians*, a name which has greatly puzzled the commentators; but perhaps it may be a fault in the text, and instead of *Bardians*, the above-mentioned Greek author wrote *Magians*, that is the *Marians*, or life-guard of Marius.

Among

Among the victims, whom Marius sacrificed to his fury, we reckon chiefly Marcus Antonius, who drew tears even from his assassins; the senator P. Crassus, who killed himself, after seeing one of his two sons murdered in his own presence; Q. Lutatius Catulus, who triumphed over the Cimbri along with Marius; and Cornelius Merula, who had been substituted as consul in the room of Cinna, and who had abdicated so generously, when the senate entered into a treaty with the tyrant. Merula being high priest of Jupiter, went to the temple of that god, and ordering his veins to be opened, died in his pontifical chair, in which no Roman sat till seventy seven years after his decease. The heads of the senators still reeking with blood, were stuck up before the rostra, where, as an ancient author expresses it, they continued to form a kind of dumb senate, who nevertheless demanded vengeance. Cinna on the other hand exercised his cruelty on his colleague Octavius, whom he caused to be beheaded; and of his own authority he named himself and Marius consuls for the following year.

Proscrip-
tions, mur-
ders, &c.

667.

At length death put an end to the cruelty of this bloody tyrant, in the fifteenth or sixteenth day of his consulate: he was carried off by a distemper, which he had brought upon himself by excessive drinking, to stifle the remorse of conscience (e). His crimes may be said to have deserved all the rigour with which fortune persecuted him in the latter end of his days: yet if we recollect the glorious services he had done his country, it must be allowed that he merited some of the favours, which that goddess had heaped upon him in the former part of his life. Though he had nothing amiable in his character, he was adored by the common people, because he courted their favour, in order to serve his own ambition. Without any other good quality than that of an excellent commander, he had long figured as the greatest man in Rome: this was owing to the circumstances of the times, when his country, threatened by an inundation of barbarians, was obliged to place him at the head of her armies; and men always appear great in proportion to their services. The roughness of his manners was not the consequence of reflection or reason, but of the meanness of his education. He was of a sanguinary disposition, which made him the scourge of humanity; and when his country had no more enemies, he grew formidable to his fellow citizens. In short, he was out of his sphere, when he had done fighting with the Cimbri and the Teutones, against whom he was well matched.

The hopes of the nobility, and of the few remaining senators, were all now centered in Sylla; but he was at a great distance from Rome, while these bloody scenes were transacting. He had embarked for the East the beginning of the preceding year, at the head of five legions,

Beginning
of the Mi-
thridatic
war.

(e) A remedy scarce known in those days, but too common in ours.

and with the title of proconsul: there he found the affairs of the republic in a very bad situation. Mithridates had seized the opportunity of the social war, to carry on his conquests in Asia: he not only aimed at Cappadocia, which had been given by the Romans to Ariobarzanes, but likewise at Bithynia, where Nicomedes, the grandson of Prusias, swayed the sceptre under the protection of the republic. The commissioners sent by the Romans to examine into affairs on the spot, did but increase the evil by their unseasonable pride; so that the two nations came to an open rupture. Mithridates after assisting his son-in-law Tigranes king of Armenia, to repossess himself of Cappadocia, appeareth on the borders of Bithynia, at the head of an army of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and forty thousand horse.

Mithridates
dethrones
Nicomedes. Nicomedes is defeated, and dethroned; and it was only a day's work for Mithridates to beat all the little detachments, which the Roman commissioners, and L. Cassius proconsul of the province of Pergamus, had under their command in different places. The Asiatic provinces, subject to the republic, soon submitted to the king of Pontus; and this conquest was followed by a general massacre of all the Romans in those parts, to the number of upwards of fourscore thousand. Manius Aquilius, a consular, and chief of the Roman commissioners, paid very dear for his insolent behaviour to Mithridates. This proud conqueror led him about the country upon an ass, and obliged him, by blows and whipping, to proclaim aloud, *that he was Aquilius, heretofore Roman consul*. At length, he brought him to Pergamus, where he ordered melted gold to be poured down his throat, to revenge, as he said, the wrongs which the Pergamenians had sustained by the avarice of the Romans. The universal defection that followed, and the fury of this general massacre, plainly shew how greatly the people were tired of the Roman yoke. Of all the towns in Asia, none but Magnesia and Rhodes continued faithful to the republic. Mithridates came in person to lay siege to Rhodes, and was obliged to raise it. But he was soon indemnified on the side of Greece, a great number of the petty states of that country having submitted to Archelaus, one of his generals; and among the rest, the famous city of Athens, seduced by the declamations of one Aristio a sophist.

General
massacre of
the Romans. This was the first place that Sylla attacked. Archelaus, though far superior in numbers, could not maintain his ground against the Roman legions. Sylla drove this general before him, and laid siege to Athens and the harbour of Piræum, which formed as it were a separate town of considerable strength. But the year being expired, and money beginning to fail in the Roman camp, Sylla, ever fruitful of expedients, had recourse to one of a very extraordinary nature. This was to order all the rich utensils of gold and silver in the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, of Apollo at Delphi, and of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, to be delivered up to him by way of loan: after they had been melted down, and converted into money, he said by way of jest; *that he was confident of victory, since the gods themselves had undertaken to pay his troops*. Neither did he spare the famous

Athens
revolts. Sylla lays
siege to
Athens.

famous walks of the academy and the Lyceum; since he ordered the trees to be felled for the use of military machines. It would be too tedious to enter into a detail of the several means by which he reduced Athens and the Piræum; the chief were valour and perseverance. Yet it must be allowed, that he was much indebted to the ingenious contrivance of two of the inhabitants, with whom he kept a secret correspondence, and who gave him notice of every thing that passed in the town, by means of leaden balls which they flung into his camp with a sling. Athens at length was taken by storm, and plundered, and the inhabitants were all put to the sword: the slaughter was so great, that according to the accounts of historians, the market-place was like a pool of blood, which rose so high as even to overflow the suburbs. The city was preserved out of respect to the muses, whose seat it had been, as it afterwards continued, for many ages. Aristio, who during the siege had behaved in the most tyrannical manner, was almost the only person that escaped from the massacre: he retired to the castle, where the want of water obliged him to surrender. Sylla commanded him to be put to death with all his tyrannical accomplices; and Archelaus being obliged soon after to evacuate the Piræum, the proconsul ordered it to be set on fire.

Athens
taken by
storm, and
plundered.

Sylla marches out of Attica towards Bœotia to meet Mithridates's generals, who having made forced marches in hopes to come time enough to raise the siege of Athens, at length joined Archelaus.

Battle of Chæronea. Sylla had concerted his measures so well, that he obliged the enemy to fight upon a rocky ground, where their numerous cavalry, and chariots armed with scythes, in which their chief force consisted, could be of no use: the slaughter was terrible on the field of battle, but still more so in their camp, where the legionaries entered pell-mell with the flying enemy. It is said, that on those two occasions, a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy were killed, and only twelve on the side of the Romans; a most amazing instance of Sylla's felicity, if the account however be not exaggerated. Mithridates sends another army into Greece, under the command of Dorylaus; and Archelaus joins the latter with ten thousand men, whom he had saved after the battle of Chæronea.

Battle of
Chæronea,
gained by
Sylla.

Battle of Orchomenus. This time the enemy had the whole advantage of the ground: the plain of Orchomenus, where the two armies engaged, was smooth and level, consequently well adapted for the evolutions of the enemy's cavalry, and for their chariots armed with scythes. Sylla, notwithstanding, took such precautions, that he had but little to apprehend from that quarter; for he enclosed the enemy with ditches and trenches, which he strengthened with redoubts; and the moment the battle began, he placed his second line behind palisades. As soon as the chariots advanced to attack the first line, it retired all of a sudden through the intervals left between the palisades; and at the same time, the archers and slingers throwing a vast shower of darts and stones upon the horses and charioteers, obliged them to fly. The attack of the cavalry was more difficult to sustain, for they had like to have deter-

Battle of
Orchome-
nus gained
also by
Sylla.

mined

Greece
reduced.

Mithridates
sues for
peace,

mined the victory in favour of the Asiatics; but it declared at length for the Romans, and was followed by the taking of the enemy's camp. All Greece returns under the Roman government. Several nations of Asia revolt against Mithridates, because of the cruelties which he had lately exercised against the Gallogrecian tetrarchs, and the inhabitants of the isle of Chios, merely upon suspicion of being attached to the Romans. Mithridates is forced to sue for peace, and makes proposals to Sylla by means of Archelaus. The articles of the treaty are drawn up, importing, that Mithridates should evacuate all those countries, which were not heretofore subject to his dominion; should furnish Sylla with a fleet of seventy ships; should deliver up all the Roman prisoners and deserters, and pay a certain sum to defray the expences of the war. Mithridates was not in a hurry to ratify this treaty.

668.

Valerius
Flaccus ap-
pointed to
succeed
Sylla,

He was in hopes that the arrival of L. Valerius Flaccus, who had just landed in Greece with two legions, would make some alteration in his favour. Flaccus had been chosen by Cinna the preceding year, to succeed Marius in the consular dignity, and was appointed to command the troops in the East in the room of Sylla, with a commission to notify to that general a decree of the senate, by which he was declared an enemy to the republic, if he refused to obey. Things were likely to come to this extremity, and the two Roman generals to wage war against each other; and this is what Mithridates expected. But we must not be surprized to see the senate proceed in such a manner against Sylla, though all their hopes were centered in this commander: they were forced to act thus in compliance with Cinna, who was absolute master of Rome. The beginning of this year he declared himself consul the third time, without assembling the comitia, or observing any of the usual formalities, and chose for his colleague Cn. Papirius Carbo, one who was an accomplice in all his iniquity. He had conferred the dignity of censors on M. Perpenna, and M. Marcius Philippus; the latter expelled his uncle Ap. Claudius from the senate, because of his attachment to the nobility. These same censors took a list of the citizens, who were found to be four hundred and sixty three thousand fit to bear arms.

Valerius
Flaccus slain
by his lieuten-
ant Fim-
bria.

Caius Flavius Fimbria, lieutenant to Flaccus, stirs up the army to mutiny against their general, declares himself chief commander in his stead, and puts him to death. When Flaccus first entered upon his consulate, he passed a most unjust law, which discharged all debtors from any obligation to their creditors, upon paying one fourth of what they owed. By this step the consul pretended to remedy, in some measure, the scarcity of specie, occasioned by the civil wars, and by the loss of Asia and Greece; but he rather increased than diminished this scarcity, since he rendered it more difficult to borrow. Another counterfeit remedy was used on this occasion, namely, debasing the value of specie.

Fimbria's

Fimbria's only good qualities were bravery and experience. With the two legions under his command, he undertook to carry the war against Mithridates into Asia, while Sylla was employed in repulsing the Thracians, who had made incursions into Macedonia. Having gained a complete victory over this prince's son, who had the same name as his father, he laid siege to Pergamus, where the king of Pontus then resided, and from whence he obliged him to retire to Pitane, a sea-port town. As he wanted ships to intercept Mithridates' retreat by sea, he had recourse to Lucullus, Sylla's quaestor, who was in the Aegean sea with a good fleet, which he had been two years collecting among the allies; but he refused to send any succours to Fimbria, whom he detested for many reasons. Mithridates makes his escape by sea to Mitylene.

Fimbria carries on the war against Mithridates.

Mithridates besieged in Pitane by Fimbria;

From whence he makes his escape,

And concludes a peace with Sylla.

Sylla marches against Fimbria.

Fimbria kills himself,

The bad situation of this prince's affairs obliges him to desire an interview with Sylla, which is held at Dardanus a city of Troas. There he submits to the several conditions, that had been signed by Archelaus.

Sylla had concluded this peace with no other view than to fall upon Fimbria, whom he overcame without fighting. Upon the approach of Sylla's army, Fimbria's men passed over to the opposite camp, and deserted their general; for he was universally hated, not only for the great cruelties he had committed at Rome, when he acted as minister of Marius's revenge; but for his enormous oppressions in Asia, where he behaved as a public robber, neither paying any regard to the laws of war, nor to those of nature. He kills himself through despair. Sylla raises a contribution of twenty thousand talents on the cities of Asia, and quarters his soldiers in their houses, to punish their infidelity to the Romans. A moderate chastisement, which proved fatal however to the Romans, by corrupting them with debauchery, drunkenness, and extravagance.

669.

Sylla sets out on his return to Italy. Cinna, who had declared himself consul the fourth time with Carbo, sent a detachment to meet him in Dalmatia; but the rest of his army refused to embark. A violent mutiny happened, on account of young Pompey, who was already adored by the army: he served under Cinna, but as he had withdrawn himself suddenly, upon some discontent, they imagined that the general had made away with him. Cinna was killed in this mutiny by a centurion of his own army, which prevented his falling into the hands of Sylla. He had married his daughter Cornelia to the famous Julius Caesar, who afterwards became the rival and conqueror of Pompey. Carbo remaining sole consul, obliged the senate to declare Sylla an enemy to the republic; and to support their declaration, they raised an army of upwards of two hundred thousand men. Though Carbo had great authority in Rome, still it was far from being equal to that of Cinna. The senate therefore ordered him to proceed to the election of the consuls of the following year in the usual

Sylla sets out upon his return to Italy.

Cinna killed by one of his own soldiers.

Several armies raised against Sylla.

Sylla lands in Italy.

He defeats the consul Norbanus.

The consul Scipio deserted by his troops.

Pompey declares for Sylla.

usual forms; and he thought proper to obey: but he took care to get two persons nominated, who were intirely devoted to his interest.

670.

Sylla lands in Italy with all the confidence of a conqueror, who was marching to chastise a parcel of rebels. There were two hundred thousand men to oppose him, while he had only forty thousand under his command; but he depended greatly on the affection of his troops, as well as on his own personal bravery and good fortune. After making proposals of peace in vain to the consul Norbanus, he attacks him in his camp, defeats him, and takes six thousand prisoners. This victory draws almost all the nobility over to his side, at the head of whom was Q. Cæcilius Metellus, surnamed *Pius*, from the great love he had always shewn to his father. Sylla was at a greater loss how to extricate himself from the other consul Cornelius Scipio, who had surrounded him with a multitude of flying camps, which prevented him from stirring. In this distress he had recourse to artifice; for he pretended to be desirous of peace, and a truce was agreed upon, during which his soldiers found an opportunity to seduce the whole consular army. Scipio was greatly astonished, when Sylla's troops entered his camp one day without resistance, and joining familiarly with his own soldiers, came and took him in his tent, and carried him to Sylla. Upon hearing this news, Carbo said: *Sylla acts against us both as a fox and as a lion; but the fox is more formidable than the lion.* It was the fate of Cornelius Scipio to meet with adventures of this sort; for no sooner had he raised a new army, than he marched to meet Pompey, who had just declared for Sylla, and mustered three legions in Picenum, with which he defeated several consular detachments: but the moment the action was going to begin, the consul's troops went over to Pompey.

We must reckon it no inconsiderable part of Sylla's good fortune, to have gained Pompey over to his side, a general almost as fortunate as himself, and certainly his superior in military virtues and amiable accomplishments. Sylla shewed a very great regard for him even at that time, though he was but three and twenty years of age; and therefore he honoured him with the title of *Imperator (f)*, which the Roman legions gave but rarely to their ablest generals.

The

(f) In the times of the republic, the title of *imperator* was an occasional mark of honour, which the armies sometimes bestowed on their generals in their acclamations, and which the senate confirmed in favour of those, who had distinguished themselves by signal victories. The general excelled all other officers, not only because he was invested with the chief command; but especially as he was allowed the *auspicia*, or the honour of taking omens, by the help of the divines, which made a very solemn ceremony in all military expeditions. Hence they were said, *gerere rem suis auspiciis*, and *suis divis*. But under the Cæsars, the title of *imperator* became a mark of sovereignty. The *legati* commanded in chief under the general, and managed all affairs by his permission, whence Cæsar calls their power *opera fiduciaria*. Though their

first

The consuls draw near to Rome, in order to cover the capital, for which they began to be in pain since the augmentation of Sylla's forces. Carbo having the command of a body of troops on that side, enters the city, and once more becomes master of the senate and the comitia; so that he gets himself named consul the ensuing year, together with young C. Marius, the nephew and adopted son of the celebrated Marius, and then only twenty six or twenty seven years of age.

The capitol was burnt the sixth of July this year in the space of one night, but by whom was never discovered. The citizens were much the more alarmed at this misfortune, as the fire pierced to the very chest under ground, where the Sibylline books were religiously preserved, and reduced them to ashes. These accidents were looked upon as forerunners of the fatal events that followed.

671.

Sylla's lieutenant generals were successful in every battle they fought. He secures the different provinces of Italy in his interest, by promising them the privilege of Roman citizenship. Young Marius beginning to look upon his affairs as in a desperate way, orders Damasippus, prætor of Rome, to murder all the rest of the senators that adhered to the patrician interest: of this number were the *pontifex maximus*, Q. Scævola, who was slain at the foot of the altar of Vesta, where he took refuge; Carbo Arvina, a near relation of the consul; and P. Antistius, father-in-law of Pompey: his wife Calpurnia would not survive him, but laid violent hands on herself. The battle of Sacriportus (g), in which young Marius is entirely defeated by Sylla. Of the consular army twenty thousand were killed on the spot, and eight thousand taken prisoners. Sylla mentions in his Memoirs that this great victory cost him only three and twenty men. Marius flies to Præneste, where Sylla orders him to be blocked up by Lucretius Ofella, while he himself marches to Rome, and enters that city without any resistance. Historians take notice that Lucretius Ofella was a man of base extraction, and that for this reason Sylla preferred him to such a number of patricians, who followed his standard at the hazard of their lives. It is impossible to form a right judgment of men's characters, till they come to act without constraint. Sylla appears to have had sentiments of gratitude and moderation, so long

first institution was not so much to command as to advise. They were chosen commonly by the consuls, with the concurrency of the senate: their number was not certain, but is supposed to have depended on the pleasure of the general.

(g) This place was in the neighbourhood of Signia, now *Segni*, in Latium, as appears from Plutarch, who says, that the battle was fought *επι Σιγνῶν*. Appian speaking of young Marius, turns this word into Greek, *ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ Σιγνῶν λαοὺς ἀγέῃ*. There is an elegant tmesis of it in Lucan, lib. 2.

Jam quot apud sacri cecidere cadavera portum?

But whether it was a town or a village, we are not informed by ancient historians, only that it was between Signia and Præneste.

Telefinus
the Samnite
joins the
Marian
faction.
The Sam-
nite army
defeated.

Sylla's
cruelty.

His pro-
scriptions.

as he stood in need of the assistance of his friends, and had reason to dread the power of his adversaries; but as soon as he triumphed over all opposition, he gave full swing to his cruelty and ingratitude. After the victory of Sacriportus, he caused all the prisoners of war, that were natives of Samnium, to be put to death, under pretence that their nation had been long the avowed enemies of Rome. Hereupon their countrymen took up arms, under the command of Pontius Telefinus, and struggled for some time against Sylla's good fortune. They first of all endeavoured to relieve Præneste, then formed an attempt against Rome, in which they had like to have succeeded; but were at length overpowered. The last battle which Sylla gained near the Collatine gate, determined the fate of the Samnites and of Rome. Præneste surrenders soon after, and young Marius, who had taken shelter in that city, orders a slave to kill him. Carbo the other consul had abandoned Italy, and retired to Africa, immediately after the battle of Sacriportus. He was taken in the island of Cossura (b) and condemned to death by Pompey, whom Sylla commissioned to maintain his faction in Africa and Sicily. In Spain, Metellus Pius had the conduct of the war against Sertorius, at that time prætor of the province.

Sylla takes the surname of *Felix*, or *Fortunate*, which he would have more justly deserved, says Velleius, had he ceased to live the day he completed his conquests. The remainder of his life was one continued scene of injustice and cruelty. He ordered six or seven thousand prisoners of war to be massacred in the Circus, though he had promised them their lives. The senate were then assembled in the temple of Bellona, which stood near the Circus, and the fathers appearing to be greatly moved by the cries and groans of such a multitude of dying persons, he said to them without being in the least concerned, *let not your attention be diverted, conscript fathers, from what I am saying; the noise you hear is occasioned by a few rebels, whom I have ordered to be chastised.* Such a specimen sufficiently delineates the tyrant's character; so that we ought not to be surprized at the horrid proscription that followed. Every day the names of persons, whom he had devoted to destruction, were fixed up in all public places. Rome, and the several provinces of Italy (i), were stained with murder and slaughter; the slave who brought his master's head, or the son who slew his father, were rewarded. On this occasion Catiline distinguished himself: after murdering his brother, whose name had been inserted among the proscribed at his desire, he

(b) Or *Cossura*, an island in the Mediterranean, between Tunis and Sicily, and now called *Pantalasia*; it is said to be about thirty miles in circumference, and belongeth to Sicily.

(i) Plutarch mentions, that after the battle of Sacriportus, twelve thousand prisoners were inhumanly massacred in the presence of the tyrant; but that upon his excepting one out of the number of the victims, because he had formerly entertained him in his house, the generous Prænestine rejected the offer, saying, *I scorn to owe my life to the butcher of my country.*

undertook to inflict the most exquisite torments on Marius Gratidianus. Accordingly this barbarous agent pulled out Marius's eyes, cut off his hands and tongue, broke his bones, dislocated his joints, and last of all cut off his head: as a recompence, Sylla gave him the command of the Gaulish soldiers, who were employed in most of these cruel executions. The number of those who perished by this proscription, is said to have amounted to four thousand seven hundred, of whom two thousand were senators and knights: neither ought we to be surprized at this, since to have displeased Sylla or any of his friends, or even to be rich, was a sufficient cause of proscription. Plutarch relates, that one Q. Aurelius, who had never concerned himself in public affairs, happening to see his name in the fatal list, instantly cried out, *unhappy me! it is my Alban estate that proscribes me*; and within two or three minutes after, he was murdered.

672.

The republic being fallen into an interregnum by the death of the two consuls of the preceding year, and by the expiration of the offices of prætors and curule ædiles, Sylla retired into the country for a few days, and sent word to the senate, that they must chuse an *interrex*. The choice fell upon Lucius Valerius Flaccus, at that time president of the senate. The Romans flattered themselves a short while, that they were upon the point of recovering their liberty; but they were soon made sensible of their error. Sylla gave orders to Valerius to declare to the people, *that it was proper a dictator should be created; and that if they would lay this burden upon him, he would accept of it for the good of the republic*. Accordingly he is named dictator by the people for an unlimited time. Hitherto there had been no instance of a dictator created by the people; and besides, the administration of this office had been always limited to six months. The very naming of a dictator might be considered as a third innovation; for this supreme dignity had not been conferred these hundred and twenty years on any citizen. "Since ambition had taken place of patriotism, says father Catrou, it appeared dangerous to entrust a single person even with a temporary sovereignty." Sylla appoints Flaccus his general of the horse; and M. Tullius Decula, and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, men of his own faction, were chosen consuls, agreeably to his will. He orders Lucretius Ofella to be beheaded for standing for the consulate contrary to his express command, and in contempt of the law by which no man was to be elected consul before he had served the office of prætor. To make the world believe that he intended to restore the ancient constitution, he had revived this and several other laws, such as that which empowered the college to chuse new priests; another which prohibited any person to be raised to the consulate a second time, without an interval of ten years; another which reduced the tribunes to their primitive station of bare protectors of the rights of the people; another which restored the judiciary power to the senate; and lastly, that which retrenched the extravagance of entertainments.

His triumph, and public games.

ments. But while he pretended to revive the ancient laws, it is plain his real design was to abolish all those which might thwart his ambitious views. Upon being named dictator, he got a law passed to ratify all his former, and all his future acts: *a very unjust decree*, says Cicero, *which could not be so much as called a law*. Another political step which Sylla took, was to enfranchise a thousand (k) slaves, who served as his body guard. In the provinces he distributed the old legionaries, by whose assistance he had subdued Asia, Greece, and Italy: and he bestowed upon them the confiscated lands of the towns which had declared against him. He decreed himself a magnificent triumph for his victories over Mithridates, which lasted two days, and was succeeded by the most pompous games that Rome had ever beheld. He added five new members to each of the colleges of pontifices, augurs, and priests appointed to take care of the Sibylline books, the loss of which he repaired to the best of his power, by making an exact search for all the copies extant (l). He created two new prætors, and ordained that henceforward twenty quæstors should be annually chosen. It is to be presumed that he likewise increased the number of senators, since of a sudden he raised three hundred Roman knights to this dignity; which would oblige one to conclude, in the contrary supposition, that there was not so much as one of the ancient senators remaining. He enlarged the inclosure of Rome, an honour reserved for those who had extended the bounds of the empire.

Pompey's successes in Africa.

In Africa, Pompey obtains a victory over Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, Cinna's son-in-law, who is slain in the engagement. He carries the war into Numidia, against Hiertas, or Hiarbas, king of part of that country. This prince had sided with Domitius, but met with the same fate as the latter, and his kingdom was given away to Hiempsal: the whole affair was transacted in forty days.

Sylla gives to Pompey the surname of Great.

Pompey obeys the order he received to return to Rome, notwithstanding the mutiny of his soldiers, who wanted him to despise the commands of the dictator. So pleased was Sylla with this behaviour, that he went out to meet him, and embracing him, gave him the surname of *Great*, which he did not assume himself till several years after, when he had arrived to a full maturity of glory. For the present, thinking himself worthier of a triumph than of so grand a title, he solicits strongly for it, and meets with an obstinate refusal from Sylla: *remember then*, said Pompey, *that more people worship the rising than the setting sun*. These words were not heard by the dictator, but upon their being repeated to him by one that stood by, he expressed a great surprize at his boldness, and then cried out bluntly, *let him*

(k) Others say, ten thousand.

(l) He charged the quindecimvirs to make the above search, and out of this collection, they formed a new book, which indeed was larger, but not so authentic as the originals that had been preserved at Rome ever since the time of *Tarquin the Proud*,

triumph, let him triumph. Pompey took him at his word; and this was the first instance that a private Roman knight was honoured with a triumph. Pompey's triumph.

673.

Sylla, though dictator, gets himself elected consul in conjunction with Metellus Pius. It is said; that he took this step to render himself popular, and to shew that he did not think the consulate beneath him: and the emperors afterwards, for the same reason, imitated his example. The laws he had passed were vigorously executed, peace and order seemed to be established, and Rome, in appearance, enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, at the very time that she laboured under the most cruel oppression. The dictator chose often to sit on his tribunal, where, with very little regard to justice, he disposed of several rich inheritances, with the revenues of cities, and intire provinces, to comedians, dancers, and prostitutes. It appeared, however, upon an occasion of this kind, that he was a man of wit and humour. A very indifferent poet happening one day to present him with a copy of verses, he ordered him a part of the effects exposed to sale, upon condition that he would scribble no more. We have already taken notice, that Sylla's friends shared with him in the plunder of his country; and of this we shall give a very strong instance. Upon the murder of Sextus Roscius, a wealthy citizen, Chryfogonus, a freedman, and favourite of the dictator, contrived to have Roscius's name inserted among the number of the proscribed; and his estate, which was worth six million of sesterces, he found means to purchase for two thousand. Then, to get rid of Roscius's son, who had great reason to complain of this injustice, he accused him of the murder of his own father. Under so heavy a charge the youth was in danger of sinking, which was but too often the fate of people in his case. Cicero undertook the defence of so good a cause, and though it was the first time of his speaking in public, he pleaded in such a manner, as to captivate the minds of his hearers, and determine the judges in his favour. Yet our orator was not satisfied with his own abilities, but left Rome soon after, and retired to Athens, where he spent two years in improving himself under the most celebrated orators of Greece; till he out-stripped his masters. Apollonius Molo, one of the most celebrated of them all, was so well convinced of this, that upon hearing him declaim one day in Greek, he sat silent a considerable time, and seemed to be in a deep study, while the rest of the company were vying with one another in their encomiums on the young orator. Cicero having asked him the cause, *alasi!* answered he, *I admire your abilities; but at the same time, I lament the fate of Greece. The only glory we had left, was that of eloquence; and now you are going to strip us even of that, and to transplant it to Rome.* Cicero was about seven and twenty when he undertook the defence of Roscius, being born in the year of Rome 647, the same year with Pompey; and they were both of equestrian families. To this year we may also refer the triumph of Muraena over Mithridates; a triumph which, in the opinion of historians, was granted him by Sylla for no other reason, Sylla consul and dictator at the same time.

Cicero's first pleading, in defence of Roscius Amerinus.

Cicero goes over to Greece for his improvement.

Cicero and Pompey born in the same year.

Muræna
triumphs
over Mithri-
dates.

than to match it against the trophies raised by Mithridates, after a victory which he pretended to have obtained over the Romans. The fact is, according to Appian, that Mithridates and Muræna fought a drawn battle. Muræna had been left by Sylla in Asia; and as he was extremely desirous of a triumph, he recommenced the war under pretence that Mithridates was making formidable armaments, and still kept possession of several towns in Cappadocia. It concluded with the battle just mentioned, Sylla having sent orders to put a stop to all hostilities.

674.

Sylla abdi-
cates the
dictatorship.

Sylla declines the consulate, and abdicates the dictatorship. Rome was surprized, and posterity is still surprized at this event, which is commonly looked upon as an heroic act on the part of Sylla. To view it in a favourable light, which would be shewing some regard to the memory of this celebrated Roman, one might say, that being of a good natured disposition, but of weak understanding, he suffered himself to be intoxicated by success; that having attained the highest pitch of human grandeur, he was mistaken in his notions of happiness, and therefore made an ill use of his prosperity; but reflection and experience convinced him of his error, and finding that there is no real happiness for him who endeavours to make others miserable, he returned to that station of life which became him best. This notion might be partly confirmed by the moderation with which he behaved before the proscriptions, and after his abdication. It will never be forgot how a young man having dared to insult him, as he came down from the rostra, he only turned to a few friends about him, and said: *this usage will deter any man for the future, from resigning such power as I have had, if he once gets into possession of it.* But on the other hand, when we consider his vindictive spirit, his thirst of power, his avarice, his perfidiousness, and wanton cruelty, we must conclude that he abdicated not through magnanimity, but from uneasiness and perturbation of mind. There is a term beyond which human sensation, instead of being quickened, is blunted; because nature, as a prudent economist, has prescribed bounds to pleasure as well as to pain. When we offer to force her, she makes a vigorous and effectual resistance. He who indulges his appetites to excess, is soon deprived of the relish of pleasure; in the same manner as the sense of pain is extinguished, whenever it becomes excessive violent. No doubt but Sylla experienced something of this nature: as he no longer felt the same delicacy of sensation; in order to revive it, he was obliged to vary the object: and then what idea could be more agreeable to his mind, than that of changing once more the whole face of government, and restoring the republic to her former liberty? To be possessed of some of those qualifications, which form the hero, avails but little; unless we are also masters of those which form the man, that is, unless we have humanity: and this is what Sylla wanted.

Is insulted
by a young
man.

He consecrates the tenths of his estate to Hercules, and on this occasion makes a grand feast, to which the people are all invited.

The

The profusion was so great, that they were daily obliged to throw a great quantity of provisions into the Tiber; and he regaled the people with wines of the growth of Opimius's consulate, that is, upwards of forty years old. Metella his wife having been seized with a mortal illness, during these entertainments, he was divorced from her, and had her removed to another house, by the advice of the pontifices, who did not approve that a religious ceremony should be disturbed by funeral rites. By this marriage he had a son and daughter, whom he named *Faustus* and *Fausta*, to correspond with the surname of *Felix*, which he had taken himself. He afterwards married Valeria, sister of the famous orator Hortensius, who was Cicero's rival in eloquence (n).

675.

He is attacked by a pedicular distemper at his fine country house near Cumæ, to which he had retired. It is imagined he brought this distemper upon himself by his debauchery, to which he gave a full scope, in order to silence all remorse of conscience; if so, his case was like that of Marius. He was very credulous, giving faith to soothsayers, astrologers, and dreams; thus he wrote in his Memoirs two days before his death, of his having been told in a dream, that he should shortly rejoin his wife Metella. This was not difficult to foresee in his present situation; but he hastened his end a few days, by straining his voice in the heat of passion, which broke an imposthume in his bowels, so that he voided a great deal of blood and corrupt matter. He died the following day, aged sixty. His funeral occasioned a dispute between the consuls; Lepidus was for having him buried without any mark of distinction; but Catulus, supported by Pompey, insisted on his being interred (o) with the honours due to the merit

His death.

(n) The manner of Sylla's getting acquainted with this lady is curious enough. As he entertained the people with a show of gladiators, a young lady of extraordinary beauty placed herself near him, and resting her hand gently upon his shoulder, took a little of the knap from off his robe, and then returned to her seat. The dictator seemed to be much surprized with the familiarity: the lady told him, that it was not out of disrespect she had done this, but because she was desirous to partake of his good fortune. Sylla pleased with the answer, and smitten with the lady's charms, sent privately to inquire who she was; and found that she was Valeria, the daughter of Metella, and sister to the famous orator Hortensius. The lady was gay and lively, though of an unblemished reputation; and had been a few days before divorced from her husband. The old warrior from that time paid his addresses to the beautiful Valeria, till at length he married her. *Plut. in Sylla.*

(o) The most ancient way of burying among the Romans, was interment; but afterwards, to prevent the ill treatment of their enemies, they burnt their bodies, as the Grecians did. However, it is probable that the poorer sort were still interred, as being the cheapest way, and that only persons of condition used burning. Infants, who died before the breeding of the teeth, were inclosed unburnt in the ground; and the burying place was called *suggrundarium*. The same superstition was observed in regard to persons, who had been struck dead with lightning or thunder.

Funerals were divided into *indictivum* or *publicum*, and *tacitum*: the *funus indictivum* was so called *ab indicendo*, from inviting, because there was a general invitation of the people by the public crier; this was celebrated with splendor and magnificence.

merit of the late dictator; and their opinion was followed by the whole senate. Sylla's corpse dressed in a triumphal robe, and preceded

The *funus publicum* was sometimes intirely the same with the *indistinctus funeral*, such as was usually made for rich and great men; and sometimes only a species of it, when it signified the proclaiming of public sorrow, or defraying the charges of the ceremony out of the public stock. According to the dignity of the deceased persons there were several sorts of public funerals, as *Prætorium*, *Consulare*, *Censorium*, and *Triumphale*. The *funus tacitum*, called also *vulgare*, *plebeium*, and *translatitium*, was kept in a private manner. The *funera acerba*, were those of children.

When they perceived a body dying, the nearest relation or friend received his last gasp of breath into his mouth, to shew how unwilling he was to part with him; and as soon as he was dead, closed his eyes. Then the dead body was washed, anointed, and embalmed, either by the women whom they termed *Funerae*, or in richer families by the *Libitinarii*, so called from *Libitina* the goddess of obsequies. These had a number of servants under them, such as the *Polliniferae*, the *Vespillones*, &c.

If the deceased was a man of quality, they dressed him in a garment suitable to his rank, then placed his corpse in a bed near the threshold, called *lectica*, covered with purple, and his head crowned, either with an honourable coronet, if he had obtained any in his life-time, or with chaplets of flowers. This was called *collocatio*, or *laying out*. On the eighth day they carried him to the funeral pile. During these seven days, his friends met together, and made great outcries about his body, hoping to awake him, if he were not perfectly dead. This was called *conclamatio*; hence the proverb *conclamatum est*, when we give a thing for lost. The carrying forth the corpse was termed *elatio*; and for this purpose they anciently made use only of the night; hence the word *funus à funalibus*, from torches, and *vespillones* from *vesper*, the evening: but this custom was not long observed, at least in public funerals, though the bearing of torches still continued. At the head of the funeral pomp were carried the marks of his nobility, the trophies he had taken in war, and the busto's and statues of his ancestors, either done in wax, or painted. Then came the *suscinae*, the *præfæcæ*, the *ludii*, and *bistriones*. The *suscinae* were so called from *situs*, and *cano*, from singing to the dead: they were of two sorts, some sounded on the trumpet, others on the flute. The *præfæcæ*, so called à *præficio*, i. e. *planctuum principis*, were the mourning women, hired on purpose to sing the *nenia* or *læsus*, the funeral song. The *ludii* and *bistriones*, were the mimics and players, that went before the funeral bed, and danced after the satyric manner. The bier, or the funeral bed, was generally carried by the nearest relations, or the heirs of the deceased; and sometimes by the chief magistrates. The corpse was followed by the friends and relations of the deceased, with their hair dishevelled, and in black, which was the common wear for mourning; hence the word *ænequæ à sequendo*, from following. If the person had done great services to the commonwealth, the body was carried to the *forum*, where a funeral oration was delivered in his praise by one of his nearest relations, the invention of which custom is generally attributed to Valerius Poplicola. This being done, they carried him to the place where the body was to be burnt, where they erected the *pyra*, a large pile composed of the wood of resinous trees, garnished with branches of cypress. After they had cast his arms and apparel upon this pile of wood, his body was to be burnt; and for this purpose, they laid it on the *rogus* or *pyra*; and the nearest relation to the deceased, turning his face aside, set it on fire with a torch. About this pile they sometimes shed human blood, either of captives or gladiators. The gathering up the bones and ashes, and putting them into the urn, was termed *ossilegium*. After this the company was sprinkled with *aqua lustralis*, and the eldest of the *præfæcæ* dismissed the people, by crying out aloud, *ilicet*, i. e. *ire licet*, you may go; and they took their leave of the deceased with the *novissima verba*, which were *Vale, vale, vale, nos te ordine quo natura permiserit, cuncti sequemur: farewell, fare-*
well,

ceded by four and twenty lictors with their fasces, was brought from Cumæ to Rome on a rich bier; the troops followed with their eagles and colours; a multitude of trumpets made the air resound with lugubrious notes; at Rome the whole college of vestals, the pontifices, the senate, all the curule magistrates, the Roman knights, with an immense crowd of people, joined in mournful train, singing several hymns in praise of the deceased. The procession moved on to the forum, where his funeral oration was pronounced; and from thence to the field of *Mars*, where the funeral pile was raised. Sylla had ordered by his will that his corpse should be burnt; from an apprehension of the same treatment as he himself had shewn to Marius, whose body he caused to be thrown into the Tiber. Plutarch takes notice that Sylla's monument was still extant in his time in the *Campus Martius*, with an epitaph said to be of his own composing, the substance of which was: *that no friend had ever done him so much good, nor enemy so much harm, but he had returned both with usury.*

Sylla was no sooner dead, than the contrary faction began to raise its head. The consul Lepidus was their leader: under pretence of restoring the forfeited estates, and of recalling the proscribed citizens, he wanted to repeal Sylla's laws: and perhaps he would have involved the republic in the same unhappy broils, as those she had lately experienced, had his capacity been equal to his ambition. Lepidus seemed to have justice on his side, but, as Florus observes, *Rome was now in the same situation as a wounded person that wants repose: to touch*

His funeral.

New disturbances raised by Lepidus.

well, farewell, we will follow you in our turns, when it shall please nature. As they went away, they had a custom of wishing for *light earth*, to lie on the relics, *se tibi terra levis*. The bones and ashes were carried to a sepulchre, before which an altar was built, and upon it they burnt incense. Then the next heirs gave a private feast to his relations, and sometimes a public one to the people. The private feasts were called *silicernia*, from *silex* and *carna*, as if we should say, *suppers made on a stone*, because they were kept at the tomb of the deceased. On occasion of the public feasts, it was customary to distribute a parcel of raw meat among the poor people, which they called *visceratio*.

If the deceased was a person of mean fortune, he was carried by the *vespillones*, or *sandapilones*, in a common bier, called *sandapila*, to the *puticula* or *puticuli*, without the Esquilian gate, which were burying places for the poorer sort. For by a law of the twelve tables, none but the vestal virgins were allowed to be buried within the city; though some few, by particular reasons, as Valerius Poplicola, and Fabricius, obtained this honour. Their motive for burying without the city, seems to have been chiefly, that the air might not be corrupted by the stench of putrified bodies, nor the buildings endangered by the frequency of funeral piles. They generally interred them near the high-way, to put passengers in mind of their mortality; hence we meet with the word *viator* so frequently in old inscriptions. The place assigned for the burial of great persons was the *Campus Martius*; but this honour could not be obtained without a public decree of the senate. It was also customary to erect *cenotaphia* or *honorary* tombs, either to persons buried in another place, or to those whose remains could not be found. In the month of February they celebrated the *feralia*, or the feast of the ghosts, and then they offered sacrifices called *inferiæ* to the *manes*. The time settled for mourning, was the old year of Romulus, ten months, *luctus annuus*. In public mourning it was usual to express their sorrow by putting a stop to all business, even in the courts of law, and settling a vacation till such a period.

her,

her, only in order to dress her wounds, would expose her to the danger of making them bleed anew. Lepidus advances to the gates of Rome at the head of an army, with a view of compelling the comitia to grant him a second consulate: upon which the elections are deferred, and the republic falls into an interregnum.

676.

Lepidus defeated by Catulus and Pompey.

The senate pass a decree, empowering the inter-rex Appius Claudius, and the proconsul Lutatius Catulus, to take such measures as they should think conducive to the safety of the republic. This commission invested them with a power almost unlimited. Catulus, assisted by Pompey, defeats Lepidus, who retires to Hetruria. The liberty of suffrages being restored in Rome, Decimus Brutus, and Mamercus Aemilius are chosen consuls. Pompey marches into Cisalpine Gaul, where M. Brutus commanded a considerable detachment, and had declared for Lepidus; but at the approach of Pompey, he retires to Mutina. Being closely besieged, he is obliged to surrender himself to Pompey, who orders him to be beheaded. In Hetruria, Lepidus is defeated a second time by Catulus: this victory was also owing to Pompey, who came up with his forces from Cisalpine Gaul, just at the very time that the enemy began to have the advantage. Lepidus flies to Sardinia, where he dies of chagrin, and the senate grant an amnesty to the conquered.

Pompey appointed to command against Sertorius in Spain.

Character of Sertorius.

Pompey had hitherto, without either titles or public character, commanded armies with success, and had the glory of destroying the several branches of the Marian faction in Africa, Sicily, and Italy; so that he was pitched upon as the only commander able to cope with the famous Sertorius, who supported the remains of the declining party in Spain. That flourishing province was brought to take part in the war, merely through affection to Sertorius. This gallant man was affable, obliging, and generous; in short, he was addicted to no vice, and had a great many virtues. Yet he was obliged for some time to give way to Sylla's superior good fortune. Annius having been sent against him by that dictator, corrupted one Calpurnius Lanarius, who opened the passes of the Pyrenees, and introduced him into the heart of Spain. Sertorius passed over into Africa, where he made several expeditions, and did not think of returning to Spain till he had rendered himself famous in that country by the variety of his adventures. It is said that in a melancholy fit he thought once of retiring to the Atlantic (o) or Fortunate Islands, taken with the account he had

(o) It is uncertain what country the ancients meant by the Atlantic or Fortunate Islands. Plutarch gives a description of them, exactly like that in the fourth book of the Odyssey. According to the same author, they were only two in number, divided from each other by a narrow channel, and distant about 10,000 furlongs from the coast of Africa. Plato describes them in such a manner in his *Timæus*, as made several believe he meant America. But according to the most probable opinion, the Atlantic islands are the Canaries and Azores.

heard

SEVENTH CENTURY.

369

heard of those happy regions, and that he had formed a design there to spend the remainder of his days in peace and retirement. His gentle disposition might prompt him to such a resolution; but the love of glory brought him back to Lusitania. Hearing that Annius His exploits, was advancing towards this province, and that the Lusitanians in this extremity had chosen him for their general, he accepted of the command, and obtained some advantages over the Romans. Metellus Pius was thereupon sent to Spain: he was an able general, but too slow to deal with so enterprizing an enemy as Sertorius. His miscarriages determined the senate to send Pompey to his assistance, in the quality of proconsul.

When this new general arrived in Spain, Sertorius was in the very height of his prosperity, having received a considerable reinforcement from Perpenna, who had collected the remains of Lepidus's army. He had a numerous court, composed of illustrious Romans, whom Sylla's proscriptions had obliged to leave their own country; he gave laws to almost all Spain; and had formed, as it were, a new republic, with a senate, and other officers, according to the Roman form of government: he likewise civilized the Lusitanians by setting up public schools, and took care that the children of the nobility should be instructed in the Greek and Roman learning. The parents were extremely well pleased with this regard for their children, and the lower class were still more attached to him, from a certain motive, that never fails to influence the vulgar. He had made them believe, that he had a communication with heaven, and that he received frequent intelligence of the enemy by means of a milk-white fawn, which he had reared up with care, and which followed him, even in battle. We have seen many a great Roman making use of the like artifices. Pompey's first essay against so renowned a general, was not successful; for he received a considerable check before the town of *Lauron* (e), the siege of Pompey receives a check before Lauron. which he had attempted to raise. Sertorius takes it, and burns it before his face, after cutting off ten thousand of his men in small parties; he likewise breaks a Roman cohort that had been infamous for its debaucheries.

677.

Metellus obtains a signal victory in Bætica over L. Hirtuleius, Sertorius's quaestor. This battle he gained by his great caution, but had been always unsuccessful against Sertorius in person: he took care not to let his troops stir out of their camp, till the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle in the morning, had suffered greatly by the excessive heat, without being able to take any nourishment. The battle of *Sucro* (p) in Tarraconian Spain, between Sertorius and Pompey. The victory was undecided; the left wing, commanded by Ser- Hirtuleius defeated by Metellus. The battle of Sucro.

(e) Now *Liria*, a strong town on the banks of the *Turia*.

(p) A river of Valentia in Spain, now *Xucar*; there was also a town of the same name at the mouth of that river, now *Almira*.

torius,

torius, defeated the right wing under the command of Pompey; while Sertorius's right wing was intirely defeated by Afranius, who penetrated even to the enemy's camp, and there made some havock. The loss Sertorius regretted the most, was his hind, which had been of great use to him. But she was found a few days after by some of his soldiers, whom he engaged to keep it secret; then pretending to have been apprized in a dream, that his favourite animal would soon return, he told this important news to his troops with a very chearful countenance; upon which the hind being let loose, came bounding to her master, and licked his hand, amidst the acclamations of the whole army. By such puerile artifices were those credulous Lusitanians deluded. Sertorius drew up his army, as if he intended to engage Pompey a second time, but hearing that Metellus was coming up to join him, he retired, saying, *had it not been for the old woman, I would have sent the boy back to Rome, after whipping him as he deserves.* As Sertorius called Metellus an old woman, the latter, on the other hand, used to stile Sertorius, *Sylla's fugitive, one that had escaped from Carbo's shipwreck.* Thus did those great men, notwithstanding their mutual esteem, treat each other; actuated rather by the spirit of party than by reason, as it too frequently happens.

Metellus and Pompey having united their forces once more, obliged Sertorius to come to a general engagement in the neighbourhood of Segontia. The victory was snatched from him just at the very time that he was repulsing Metellus, after defeating the other wing commanded by Pompey. Metellus being wounded on this occasion, his troops, who really loved him, returned to the charge, and fell upon the Spaniards with an impetuosity that nothing could withstand. This victory, which had been owing to chance, proved the *ne plus ultra* of Metellus's glory: he stained it by his intolerable pride, which he carried to such excess, as to suffer divine honours to be paid him in the towns through which he passed; and by his baseness in fixing a price on Sertorius's head; a behaviour, says Plutarch, *which plainly showed that he despaired of subduing Sertorius by force of arms, since he wanted to purchase his blood.*

Dissensions
at Rome.

At Rome, the consul Curio had a quarrel with Cn. Sicinius, tribune of the people, who was for restoring the college to the privileges they enjoyed before Sylla's time. This affair ended with the assassination of Sicinius, in which Curio was strongly suspected of having a hand. It was the year following that the consul Caius Cotta repealed a clause of Sylla's law, which excluded those who had been tribunes from superior offices.

678.

He was forced to take this step by the clamours of the people, who suffered greatly at that time by scarcity of provisions, and imputed this whole misfortune to the abolition of the privileges of the tribunes, their protectors. The people see no further than what immediately affects them; they never ascend to the original cause. The depredations of the Cilician pirates were the real source of the scarcity and dearneſs

Depredations of the
Cilician pirates.

dearths of provisions in Rome. These robbers had assembled from almost all the maritime parts of the East, but were called Cilicians, because they had made a settlement on the coast of Cilicia: they began their incursions at a time when Sylla was engaged in the war against Mithridates, and the rest of the Romans were involved in domestic broils. In a few years their number increased to such a degree by impunity and success, that at the time we are speaking of, they were become the terror of the seas. Sicily, which had been looked upon as the chief granary of Rome, was no longer able to supply it with the usual provision of corn, without running an almost evident risk of its falling into the hands of these robbers. Yet the Sicilians made an effort this year, at Cicero's particular desire, who was then quæstor at Lilybæum: they ventured to export a little corn, and Rome received some relief. Cicero had one fault, which was vanity: he imagined that the capital of the world was wholly employed in sounding his praises. But he perceived his mistake in his return through Puteoli, a city at that time of the year very much frequented, because it was the season for drinking the waters: there he found that nobody knew him. One wanted to hear some news from Rome; another asked him whether he was not come from Africa; and a third pretended to know that he was quæstor of Syracuse. Finding therefore that he was not yet distinguished from the croud, he fell into the humour of the place, and made himself one of the company who came to drink the waters. He tells this story himself (g), and adds, that being convinced more than ever that the people of Rome had dull ears but quick eyes, he resolved to settle in the city, to live constantly in the view of his fellow citizens, and to stick close to the bar. Cicero had in his youthful days tried his genius in poetry, and in the military art, but found he had only an indifferent capacity for either.

Curio being made proconsul, subdues the Dardanians, a warlike nation, who had long infested Macedonia with their incursions: he likewise conquered Mæsia (r), and penetrated as far as Dacia (s) and the Danube. We meet with two other proconsuls before Curio, that made war against the people bordering on Macedonia; Appius Claudius, who had no success, but died of chagrin; and Cneius Cornelius Dolabella, who was honoured with a triumph. Curio had the same honour done him.

The Romans were menaced with another war. Mithridates was impatient under their yoke; therefore intending to break with them a third time, he thought it adviseable to strengthen himself with the alliance of Sertorius. With this view, he made proposals to this general,

(g) *Pro Planco*, 26.

(r) A province of Europe, divided into two parts; the upper, which borders upon Hungary, is called Servia; the lower, towards Pontus and Thrace, is called Bulgaria.

(s) A country beyond Hungary, containing the present Moldavia, Transylvania, and Walachia,

which

which were accepted only in part: he offered to furnish him with money and ships, on condition that he would give up Asia to him. Sertorius answered like a true patriot: *it is my duty to contribute to the enlarging of the Roman dominions, and not to increase my own power by the losses of my country: but I shall not oppose his attempting to recover Bithynia and Cappadocia, which do not belong to the republic.* Mithridates was surprized at this haughty answer, yet could not help admiring the magnanimity of Sertorius: hence he concluded the treaty upon his own terms, and supplied him presently with money and ships. But we do not find that Sertorius reaped any great benefit from these succours.

679.

Conspiracy
against
Sertorius.

Sertorius's affairs began to decline by the base artifices of Perpenna, who was tired of being subordinate to a man of inferior birth. He therefore blew the coals of sedition among the Romans as well as the Spaniards: to the former he represented, that it was a shame for them to stoop to a soldier of fortune; the latter he loaded with taxes, pretending that he only executed Sertorius's orders. Upon which several cities revolted, and Sertorius proceeded to the severest punishments: *He was at last severe, says Plutarch, to those who had wrongfully injured him.* Appian pretends, that the irregularities to which he abandoned himself the latter end of his days, were the cause of his misfortunes: but the narrative of his death clears him from any reproach of that kind. All historians inform us, that he had been invited by the treacherous Perpenna to an entertainment, which was to be his last; that the conspirators, to provoke their general, and so to prepare the way for the horrid act they had been meditating, fell to loose and indecent conversation; that Sertorius, to shew he had no share in the discourse that passed, changed his posture and leaned backward; and that very moment Antonius, one of the conspirators, stabbed him with his poniard. This did not happen till the ensuing year: but since we have anticipated events a little, I shall here conclude the account of this war with observing, that Perpenna was defeated and taken prisoner by Pompey, who ordered him to be put to death, without seeing him, and without looking at any of Sertorius's papers, which he had in his custody. As they might be the occasion of new disturbances, he ordered them all to be thrown into the fire. Such was the end of Sertorius's war, or rather of that of Spain; for thus was it styled by the victors, to have an opportunity of demanding a triumph. Pompey received this honour a second time, though he was only a Roman knight; and to perpetuate the memory of his victory, he caused a superb monument to be erected in the Pyrenees, the vestiges of which are still supposed to exist in the vallies of Andorra and Altavaca.

He is assassi-
nated at an
entertain-
ment.
Perpenna
defeated,
taken and
put to death.

The war
of Spain
ended.

Servilius's
triumph
over the
pirates.

To this year we must refer the triumph of the proconsul Publius Servilius Varia over the pirates. He had undertaken this expedition against them in the beginning of the year 675, at the expiration of his consulate. He beat them by sea, took and razed several of their

towns,

towns, pursued them even into their retreats, and made himself master of Isaura their capital (s), from whence he took the name of *Isauricus*. But the evil was far from being radically cured. This year the Romans were obliged to invest the prætor M. Antonius, the orator's son, and father of the triumvir of the same name, with an unlimited commission of guarding all the sea-coasts within the jurisdiction of the republic. The prætor set out with such confidence upon this expedition, that, as Florus says, he had more chains than arms on board his ships: he attacked the Cretans who had harboured those pirates, but was defeated with the loss of most of his ships, which were taken by the enemy. This shameful sight so grieved him, that he died soon after of chagrin, and the pirates grew more powerful than ever.

They grow more powerful.

The consul Licinius Lucullus prevails on the people to entrust him with the conduct of the Mithridatic war. This is the very same Lucullus that had been quæstor to Sylla, whom he equalled in military skill, and surpassed in civil accomplishments: his colleague was M. Cotta, a man no way comparable to him. The latter was to have the command of the fleet designed to guard the Propontis, and to defend Bithynia, while Lucullus carried on the war in Cappadocia: thus we see that these two provinces were constantly the bone of contention betwixt Rome and Mithridates. This prince had lately seized on Cappadocia, contrary to the last treaty, and on Bithynia, to which the Romans had acquired a recent title by the testamentary disposition of Nicomedes. Cotta abandons Bithynia upon the first news of Mithridates's approach, and takes refuge in Chalcedon. Hearing afterwards that Lucullus was marching with all expedition to engage Mithridates, he drew together what troops he could, and gave battle inconsiderately, in order to have the sole glory of conquering the enemy; but was defeated. His vice-admiral Nudus, who had an engagement at the same time by sea, met with the like bad fortune. After this victory, Mithridates laid siege to Cyzicum, a very strong city on the Propontis. Lucullus, who followed close at his heels, suffered him to begin the siege, and on this occasion shewed his profound skill in the military art. He knew that the Cyzicans were determined to make a gallant defence; and that Mithridates would never be able to get provisions for three hundred thousand men (for that was the number of his forces, reckoning the necessary attendants as well as soldiers) if the siege continued for any time. Things turned out just as he had foreseen, Mithridates was obliged to send away great part of his army, already half starved and exhausted by the fatigues of the siege: but Lucullus comes up, and obtains a cheap victory over those battered troops. The rest did not meet with a better fate; for the famine was so great in the Pontic camp, that when any body

Lucullus entrusted with the conduct of the Mithridatic war.

His colleague Cotta defeated by Mithridates.

The siege of Cyzicum raised.

(s) Called afterwards *Isauropolis*, and now *Saura*; it was the capital of *Isauria*, a country of Asia Minor, comprehending part of mount Taurus, and the mountains between Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Pamphilia.

died,

Mithridates
twice de-
feated by
Lucullus.

died, his carcass was instantly devoured by the soldiers. The king, unable to bear so shocking a sight, embarked in the dead of the night, ordering his lieutenant generals to reconduct the army to Lampascus: Lucullus came up with them on the banks of the Granicus, and in this miserable plight they were easily routed.

680.

Bithynia
recovered.

Lucullus being continued in the proconsulship, recovers all Bithynia, except the town of Nicomedia, where Mithridates had shut himself up. He likewise gains two victories at sea, in which he destroys a fleet that prince was sending to Italy. In the last of these engagements he took M. Marius, whom Sertorius sent to Mithridates with the title of proconsul, upon concluding an alliance with that prince. Lucullus looking upon him as a traitor to his country, ordered him to be put to death. Mithridates, dejected at the loss of his fleets, retires into Pontus, whither Lucullus pursues him, and makes that country the seat of war.

Mithri-
dates's fleets
defeated.

The war of
the slaves
under Spar-
tacus.

The fleet which Mithridates had ordered to sail for Italy, was intended to support the revolt of Spartacus, who was ravaging that part of the country with an army of forty thousand slaves (†). The scarcity of provisions, owing to the depredations of the pirates, still continued to be felt in Italy; and we may easily imagine that the

(†) The slaves constituted a considerable part of property among the Romans. They were of two sorts, *servi nati*, viz. those born of parents that were slaves; and *servi facti*, viz. those taken in war, or that voluntarily parted with their liberty. Such as had been taken in war, were properly called *mancipia*, *quasi manu capta*. Slaves were sold either *sub hasta*, that is, by auction, when it was customary to set up a spear in the forum, to shew it was done by lawful commission; or *sub corona*, from a sort of chaplets that were put about the captives heads for distinction. They had labels about their necks, expressing their good and bad qualities. Their masters had the power of life and death over them; but this was restrained under the emperors. But if they used their slaves with too much severity, the magistrates could oblige them to part with them at a reasonable price. The common allowance to those poor wretches, was four bushels of wheat a month, out of which they might save what they could, and this was called *peculium*. If a person committed any crime against the state, he gave his slaves their liberty, and made them Roman citizens, to prevent their being racked, in order to inform against their master; for it was not lawful to put a Roman citizen to the rack. The slaves being generally instructed in the arts and sciences, were employed in different offices, from whence they had a variety of names; as *servus ab epibemeride*, one who takes care to put his master in mind of the calends, nones, and ides; *servus ab epistolis*, *servus à manu*, or *amanuensis*, or *ad manum*; *servus à pedibus*; *servi aiores*, *procuratores*, *cellarii*, *negotiatores*, *nutritii*, *cubicularii*, *villici*, *ad limina custodes*, *lecticarii*, *cursores*, *pastores*, *saltuarii*, *venatores*, *accipies*, *aquarii*, *potillatores*, *pragustatores*, *obsonatores*, *pistores* & *molitores*, *ostiarii* & *janitores*, *scoparii*, *balnatores* & *unflores*, *librarii*, who transcribed books; *nomenclatores*, who told their masters the names of the people passing by, at the time of canvassing for elections; and last of all *medici*, slaves that practised physic, according to Suetonius, *mitto tibi præterea unum à servis meis medicum*.

weight

weights thereof fell particularly upon the slaves. Spartacus, one of the number, having broke his chains at Capua, in conjunction with two hundred more, who served like him in the capacity of gladiators, seized on the opportunity, and putting himself at their head, displayed all the abilities of a great captain. His wife was possessed of one quality of no less consequence: she knew how to counterfeit inspiration, and pretended to prophecy. Spartacus took up his quarters at first on mount Vesuvius, being attended only by his fellow slaves; but soon after, all the slaves of Campania flocked about him, and with their assistance he defeated the prætor Appius Claudius Pulcher, who was sent against him with a detachment of three thousand men. Vatinus, the other prætor, was ordered to march with a stronger army than the former; but this army was intirely routed, and the prætor killed. The body of Vatinus being found on the field of battle, was stripped by Spartacus, who dressed himself in that general's habit, and henceforward appeared in public as a Roman prætor, with lictors carrying the fasces before him. And indeed all this state became him very well; for it is generally agreed, that Spartacus was really endued with heroic qualities, though fortune had made him a slave. This first campaign he gave a strong proof of his generous sentiments; for perceiving that Campania, Lucania, and several other provinces had been laid waste by his men, contrary to his express command, he gave them their discharge at the foot of the Alps, and advised them to return to their own country; saying, that he had done enough in restoring so many poor wretches to their liberty. But his advice was not followed.

Spartacus
defeats the
prætor App.
Claudius,
and also
the prætor
Vatinus.

His generous
sity.

681.

His army is divided; the Gaulish slaves, who made one half thereof, chuse a person called Cnixus for their chief, and separate from the rest; they are defeated by the consul Gellius, and Cnixus is killed. Spartacus continuing at the head of his countrymen the Thracian slaves, gains a victory over Lentulus the consul; then falling upon the consul Gellius, who had joined the prætor Arrius, and was in full pursuit of the Thracian army, he routed them both in a pitched battle. He obliges three hundred Roman prisoners to fight as gladiators at the funeral of his comrade Cnixus. It was the custom of the Romans to exhibit these spectacles at the funerals of great men, "doubtless, says M. Crevier, to give them to understand, that if they sported thus in human blood, they might be exposed themselves to the like treatment." What remained now for Spartacus, after obliging all the Roman armies in Italy to fly before him, but to march directly to Rome, and there to prescribe laws to the proud republic? He had some notion of this, and was already advanced as far as Picenum, when he received advice that the two consuls had joined their forces in order to intercept him upon his march; upon which he turned back, and fell upon the proconsul C. Cassius, and the prætor Cn. Manlius, whom he put to flight. So many defeats, one upon another, are justly attributed as much to the

Spartacus
defeats both
the consuls.

He gains
another vic-
tory over the
Romans.

B b

luxury

luxury and bad discipline of the Roman armies, as to the courage and good conduct of Spartacus. From Plutarch we collect that military rewards were conferred at that time without any manner of distinction; for he tells us, that Cato refused those which were offered him by the consul Gellius, under whom he served, not chusing to accept of an honour to which he did not think himself intitled. Cato was then very young; he was only fourteen at the time of Sylla's proscriptions, when he made an offer to his governor to rid the world of that tyrant. This is the great grandson of Cato the censor, afterwards so well known by the name of *Cato Uticensis*.

Progress of
the Mithri-
datic war.

Mithridates
intirely de-
feated by
Lucullus.

And makes
his escape in-
to Armenia.

In the East, Lucullus made but a very slow progress, not caring to push Mithridates, lest he should become desperate: for this reason he lulled him into a false security, intending to rouse him the first opportunity. Fortune favoured him beyond expectation, and made amends for the danger he had incurred of being assassinated by an emissary from Mithridates. This prince's troops having attacked a Roman convoy in a disadvantageous situation, were intirely routed. The alarm spread itself to the king's camp, who thought proper to retire: he escaped on foot without attendants; his principal officers did the same; and in the confusion occasioned by so precipitous a flight, the king was thrown down by the throng; so that he must have been taken, had it not been for the greediness of the Roman soldiers, who were busied in plundering a mule loaded with part of his treasures, which happened to fall in their way, or rather was left there on purpose, if we may believe Cicero, who compares this flight to that of Medea. Mithridates thought himself safe upon retiring to Armenia to his son-in-law Tigranes; but hearing that the whole kingdom of Pontus had submitted to the Romans, he was apprehensive lest his wives and sisters should meet with dishonourable treatment from the enemy: he therefore sent a messenger to tell them that they must resolve to die, and that he only left them the liberty of chusing their kind of death; upon which the chaste Monima attempted to dispatch herself with the bands of her diadem, but finding them ineffectual, she presented her bare neck to the executioner.

682.

Crassus sent
against
Spartacus.

This year's consuls were not sent against Spartacus; the commission was given to the prætor M. Crassus, surnamed the *Rich*, who had been trained up under Sylla, and was Pompey's rival. Such a general suited Spartacus extremely well, and it is thought that the latter would have maintained his ground, if a body of his own men had not, upon some discontent, revolted. The Gauls and the Germans separating from him once more, encamped in Lucania on the banks of a lake, and were defeated by Crassus, with the loss of five and thirty thousand men. Spartacus in vain attempted to get over to Sicily, where former events encouraged him to hope for future success. At length he came to an engagement with Crassus, and being overpowered by the legionaries, among whom he had passed too far in

SEVENTH CENTURY.

371

in pursuit of Crassus, he was killed sword in hand: his death determined the victory in favour of the Romans, and put an end to the war. *Spartacus* was so firmly resolved to conquer or die, that before the battle he killed his horse at the head of the army, saying, that if he proved victorious, there would be plenty of horses; and if he was defeated, he should want none. In this battle forty thousand slaves fell by the sword, the rest were dispersed; above five thousand of them rallied again, under the command of one Publipor, and retired into Lucania. Pompey was returning from Spain, and had just received, though a little too late, a commission to put an end to the war; upon which he marched against those wretches, and made an easy conquest of them. He was so vain, in consequence of this sorry victory, that he wrote a bragging letter to the senate; *that Crassus had put the slaves to flight; but for his part, he had intirely extirpated the rebellion.* Crassus obtained an ovation, or petty triumph, on which occasion he distinguished himself by wearing a crown of laurel, an honour hitherto appropriated to grand triumphs, a crown of myrtle being all that used to be wore at ovations.

Spartacus
defeated
and slain.

Varro Lucullus obtains a triumph over the Bessi and other nations bordering on Thrace and Macedonia, with whom he had been at war these two years. This Lucullus was brother of the famous proconsul, who continued to distinguish himself in Asia, not by new victories, but by his military preparations, and by rescuing the province of Asia from the rapacious hands of the publicans: these people had carried their extortions to the highest pitch, under pretence of recovering the remainder of the twenty thousand talents imposed by Sylla.

Lucullus's
conduct in
Asia.

The military preparations carrying on by Lucullus, were designed against Tigranes king of Armenia. This prince had been a stranger to the least adversity these five and twenty years that he had sat upon the throne; and after a series of conquests at length he made himself master of Syria. He assumed the proud title of *King of Kings*, which he made literally true, being waited upon by several crowned heads on foot, when he mounted on horseback. One may easily imagine that so proud a prince must have been very much offended at the summons which Lucullus sent him by his brother-in-law Appius Claudius, to deliver up Mithridates: he answered this ambassador with spirit, that he knew how to defend himself, if the Romans declared war against him.

Lucullus
prepares
to make
war against
Tigranes.

683.

Pompey and Crassus are made consuls, a dignity which they are both said to have demanded with armed force; the one at the head of the troops brought back from Spain, the other at the head of those which defeated Spartacus. These two Romans were perpetual rivals. Pompey endeavoured to maintain the surname of *Great* in the opinion of the multitude by his gravity, in consequence of which he spoke but little, and never appeared in public but with a numerous retinue.

Pompey and
Crassus
consuls.

They both
affect popu-
larity.

B b 2

Crassus

Craſſus kept up the ſurname of *Rich*, by giving a moſt ſumptuous entertainment to the whole city of Rome (*u*). There were ten thouſand tables, all ſerved with equal delicacy, and every citizen received corn enough at the ſame time to maintain his family for three months. Theſe largeſſes were the more extraordinary, as Craſſus was known to be very avaricious; but his outward deportment was extremely popular and engaging, which gave him a vaſt ſuperiority in Rome over Pompey, who appeared great only at the head of an army. The method he uſed to increaſe his influence over the people, is vaſtly blameable; namely, by reſtoring the tribunate to the full degree of authority, which it enjoyed before Sylla's dictatorship: this made the wounds of the republic bleed afreſh, as we ſhall ſee preſently. It is alſo to be preſumed that he had a great ſhare in the law, by which the judiciary power was again divided between the ſenate and the knights, to whom were added the *tribuni ærarii*, of the plebeian order. But this might have proceeded from a very good motive, for ſo great was the corruption of the courts of juſtice in thoſe days, that Cicero ſays it paſſed for a maxim, that a rich man, let him be ever ſo guilty, could not be condemned.

It is not at all ſurprizing, that amidſt ſo general a corruption, the cenſors L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus, ſhould have been obliged to ſtrike ſixty four perſons out of the liſt of ſenators; but one would

(*u*) The Romans had no proper repaſt beſides the *cæna*, or ſupper, which was uſually about the ninth hour, or our three o'clock; but the more frugal made it a little before ſun-ſet. Thoſe who could not hold out ſo long, uſed to break their faſt with ſome ſmall matter, which from the different time of the day was called either *jentaculum*, *prandium*, or *merenda*. The place in which they eat, was called *cenaculum*, but moſt commonly *triclinium*. At the beginning of the entertainment they gave each of the gueſts a bill of fare, wherein was ſet down the number, the quantity, and order of the courſes. Anciently they uſed to ſup ſitting; but afterwards they took up the cuſtom of lying upon beds. They placed no more than three beds about the table, whence the word *triclinium*; and three in a bed, becauſe they had ſeldom more gueſts than nine, and theſe were covered with purple. On the beds they laid a kind of quilts, ſtuffed with feathers, which they called *culeitra*. Before they lay upon theſe beds, they waſhed their bodies, changed their garments for the *veſtis convivalis*, or *cenatoria*, a light kind of frock; and pulled off their *ſoleæ*, or ſhoes, for fear of ſpoiling the beds, which were covered with carpets called *ſtragula* or *toralia*. On the carpets were laid *pulvini*, or pillows, for the gueſts to lean their backs upon. Low beds were looked upon as ſcandalous. At the beginning of the entertainment they lay upon their bellies, their breſts being kept up with pillows, that they might have both hands at liberty; but towards the latter end, they either reſted themſelves on their elbows, or if they had no mind to talk, they lay all along. They ſeldom failed to have muſic and antique dances while they were eating. Their ſupper was uſually divided into three parts, called their firſt, ſecond, and third courſe. In the firſt were always ſerved eggs, and in the laſt always apples; whence we have the proverb, *ab ovo uſque ad mala*. The *ſportula* was a dole of meat diſtributed by perſons of high rank to the people, ſo called from the baſket in which it was brought. Sometimes they diſtributed money (eighteen-pence halfpenny farthing) inſtead of meat; this they alſo called *ſportula*, and was oppoſed to *cæna reſta*, which ſignified a ſet or full ſupper. *Cæna ambulatoria*, was when one diſh walked round the table.

wonder

wonder how Cicero could ever succeed in the prosecution against Verres, a man so infamous for his extortions during the time he had been prætor in Sicily. Cicero however accounts for this himself, by informing us, that in criminal causes it was customary to draw a certain number of judges by lot; that out of these the prosecutor and prisoner chose whom they pleased, and that he took care to retain none but men of known integrity. The orator Hortensius, who had undertaken the defence of Verres, was silenced; and Verres was obliged to go into voluntary banishment: this was the only time that Cicero appeared as an accuser, and even this he did at the urgent intreaties of the oppressed Sicilians. It is proper to observe that the censors above mentioned, were the first who had been raised to this dignity since the civil war between Marius and Sylla: they made a census, in which the number of citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be upwards of nine hundred thousand.

Virgil is born this year at the village of Andes near Mantua.

Virgil born.

684.

Cicero was ædile this year, on which occasion he was remarkable for his œconomy in the public shows, which his office obliged him to exhibit to the people; but he rendered himself more famous by the liberality with which he relieved the citizens of Rome, who were still afflicted with a scarcity of provisions, in consequence of the depredations of the pirates: for to this noble use he converted the presents offered by the Sicilians, in acknowledgment for the important services done to their nation. Dedication of the capitol by Q. Lutatius præ-sident of the senate: they had been fourteen years in rebuilding this famous edifice.

War declared against the Cretans. We have already taken notice, that Marcus Antonius had fought a battle with those people, which did not turn out to his advantage: this war however did not begin till the following year. Here we shall only observe, that it was declared at the motion of the consuls; and that Hortensius, who had courted this command, suddenly resigned it, when it fell to him by lot. Finding he had not resolution enough to quit the bar, where his reputation was established, he ceded this commission to his colleague, Q. Metellus; and no doubt but he was sensible of his inability for such a task from another reason, being extremely nice and effeminate.

In the East, Lucullus, at the head of a small army of twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse, marched with all expedition against Tigranes, who waited for him with upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand men. Both sides shewed equal confidence of success: Lucullus depended on the valour of his troops; Tigranes on numbers, and his good fortune. This prince was so accustomed to flattery, that considering it as an affront to be told, that the Romans, after passing the Euphrates and the Tigris, had penetrated into the heart of his dominions, he ordered the messenger to be beheaded. He did not begin to stir, till he had received tidings that Mithrobarzanes, one

Tigranes's
army intire-
ly routed.

Tigrano-
certe taken.

Lucullus's
troops
mutiny.

Glorious
campaign of
Lucullus.

of his generals, had been routed by the Romans, who threatened to lay siege to Tigranocerte, his favourite city: roused by this intelligence, he marched his forces, and in a few days came up with the Roman army, which was encamped in a large plain upon the bank of a river, and seemed only a handful compared to his numerous forces: on this occasion he pronounced that famous saying; *if they are ambassadors, they are too many; if soldiers, too few*. Lucullus did not wait for the king's advancing any further; resolving to be beforehand with him, he crossed the river, and fell with the utmost impetuosity upon the enemy. It was rather a general slaughter than a battle. The grand Asiatic army was seized with a panic, when they beheld the Roman general advancing boldly on foot, with sword in hand; the cavalry turned their backs, and threw the infantry into disorder. Tigranes was one of the first that fled, leaving his diadem behind him, which fell into the hands of Lucullus. The greatest slaughter is always made in the pursuit of an enemy; and in general it may be said, that there is less safety in flight, than in a firm resolution to conquer or die. This observation is necessary, in order to shew some probability in the account which historians have transmitted of that memorable day; namely, that Tigranes lost above a hundred thousand foot, and almost all his cavalry, to the number of fifty thousand men; and that on the side of the Romans, only five soldiers were killed, and one hundred wounded. The taking of Tigranocerte followed this victory. Tigranes had removed a great part of his treasure to this city, which he had founded himself, and from thence it derived its name; but it was plundered by the conqueror. Lucullus wanted then to make war against Sinatruces king of the Parthians, for pretending to stand neuter between Tigranes and the republic: but he was prevented from executing his design by the mutiny of his soldiers, who refused, all to a man, to go in search of new perils, so far from their own country. He could not oblige them to comply, for indeed his command was expired; therefore he had recourse to intreaty. The Romans had long conceived a prejudice against this general, in consequence of the outcries of the publicans, who had no reason to love him: this was the cause of his being removed from his province, so that he continued at the head of the army only by courtesy.

685.

With troops so disaffected, it is amazing he was ever able to make so glorious a campaign as that of this year. It was owing to the discontent of his army that the season was already far advanced, when he crossed mount Taurus, with a resolution of going in search of Tigranes and Mithridates, who had assembled another army of seventy thousand foot, and five and thirty thousand horse. In order to bring them to an engagement, he made a feint, as if he intended to lay siege to the city of Artaxata (1), where Tigranes had shut up

(1) Its modern name is *Tefis*.

his wives and children. The scheme succeeded, the enemy marched to meet the Romans on the banks of the river Arsanias, where a battle was fought with the same success as the preceding year: it would also have had the same effect, and Artaxata would have been taken, had the Roman soldiers been as ready to follow, as their general was to lead them. The winter setting in very soon in those countries, abounding with woods and mountains, they were obliged to repass mount Taurus. However, he fell upon Nisibis, a considerable city of Asiatic Migdonia, and took it by surprize. Mithridates and Tigranes defeated.
Nisibis taken.

The proconsul Q. Metellus defeats the Cretans, and makes himself master of Cydonia, Gnosſus, and Lycus, three of their principal cities.

686.

He had now almost completed the conquest of the island, when a quarrel arose between him and Pompey, who seemed to be always ready to undertake the work of other generals, as if he had not glory enough of his own; whereas he had more than he could well execute. He had lately finished, in the space of three months, the most glorious, and most important expedition that had been ever undertaken by the Romans, having rooted out and destroyed those pirates, who had so long infested the seas, and occasioned a scarcity of provisions in Europe, Africa, and Asia. They had no less than a thousand galleys, fraught with the spoils of all nations, superbly decorated with golden balustrades, and purple tapestry, and the oars covered with plate. Pompey, either by himself, or by his lieutenant generals, who were five and twenty in number, began with clearing the coasts bordering upon Italy, and afterwards sailed for the Levant, where the pirates were chiefly harboured. His clemency contributed as much as his bravery towards reducing those robbers; such as voluntarily surrendered themselves, he pardoned, transplanting them to inland places, where he gave them lands to cultivate. The Romans had no notion that this expedition could be so quickly finished; therefore at the motion of Gabinus the tribune, a law was made, investing Pompey with the command of five hundred sail of ships, and of an army of an hundred and twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse: they likewise gave him the proconsulate of the seas for three years, with an authority over all the coast for the space of fifty miles from the sea. It was by virtue of this extraordinary commission, which made him almost absolute master of the republic, that he pretended to have a right of interfering with the Cretan war, in prejudice to Metellus. The latter asserted his authority by force of arms, and obliged L. Octavius, Pompey's lieutenant, to save himself on board his ships, after he had been witness to the intire reduction of the island by Metellus. This gallant general however did not obtain a triumph till three years after, which was owing to the opposition from Pompey. The Cretans
The war with the pirates.
The pirates extirpated.
The Gabinian law.

Law of L. Roscius Otho tribune of the people, giving a particular row of seats to the knights at public entertainments. By the same law

The Calpurnian law.

Cicero made prætor.

Turn of affairs in favour of Mithridates.

The Romans defeated.

The Manilian law.

no citizen could be admitted into this order, unless his fortune amounted to four hundred thousand sesterces. The *Calpurnian law* against bribery, so called from the consul Calpurnius Piso, at whose motion it was made (9): on this occasion he had a smart dispute with the tribune C. Cornelius, who wanted to propose another on the same subject. Cornelius fell upon two other abuses: one was, that the senate for some time had assumed a dispensing power over the laws; the other, that the prætors did not conform to the edicts, by which they pretended, before entering upon their office, to regulate their decisions. The laws which Cornelius passed in regard to both these points, procured him a great many enemies: at the expiration of his tribunate, he was accused before the prætor; but Cicero undertook his defence, and got him acquitted. This celebrated orator was made prætor this year: in the execution of his office the following year, he condemned Licinius Macer, who had been guilty of extortion and rapine, and was confident of being acquitted by the interest of Crassus: the man was so affected with his sentence, that he took to his bed, and never recovered.

In Asia, Lucullus's affairs began suddenly to decline, though it cannot be said that his military glory diminished: for he was not so much as once defeated; and all that he can be blamed for, is his having alienated the affection of the troops by his haughty carriage and too great severity. *He ought, says Plutarch, to have added to his other accomplishments, the most essential of all, the art of making himself beloved.* Tigranes and Mithridates being informed of the mutiny of his soldiers, who absolutely refused to follow him, laid hold of the opportunity, the one to enter into Armenia, the other into Pontus; which they found so much the easier to accomplish, as the generals to whom Lucullus had committed the government of those countries, had rendered themselves odious, by the most grievous oppression. Mithridates, hoping to be reinstated in his dominions, seemed to have recovered his youthful vigour: though he was then almost seventy, he fought like a young man, and received three wounds in two engagements, in which he was victorious over Fabius Adrianus and Triarius. The last victory was so complete, that Cicero does not scruple to say, that Mithridates could never expect the like success at the time of his greatest prosperity.

687.

Disturbances in Rome, occasioned by the Manilian law, which took its name from the tribune Manilius, at whose motion it passed. The

(9) Some think, that this was the same as the *Cæcilia lex de pecuniis repetundis*, mentioned by Valerius Maximus, and that either the two tribunes, Cæcilius and Calpurnius, joined in the making of it; or that we ought to read *Calpurnia* instead of *Cæcilia* in the passage of Valerius, lib. 6. c. 2. There were several other laws against the said crime, as the *Junia lex*, *Servilia lex*, *Acilia lex*, *Cornelia lex*, and last of all the *Julia lex*, by L. Julius Cæsar.

intent

intent of it was to confer on Pompey the government of Asia, and the conduct of the Mithridatic war, in the room of Lucullus, without depriving him of the proconsulate of the sea, or the command of the coast, east and west. Gabinus's law had given great uneasiness; and it was natural, that this should create as much. Lucius Catullus, that venerable old man, who presided in the senate, and the orator Hortensius, opposed it with all their might, but to no sort of purpose; the people were so strongly prejudiced in favour of Pompey, that they imagined it was impossible for them to express their gratitude sufficiently, or to place too great a confidence in this celebrated commander. But they were deceived by the dissimulation and hypocrisy of that ambitious Roman, who pretended to receive such important commissions with reluctance, though he solicited for them strongly underhand. Two great men spoke in favour of the Manilian law, Julius Caesar and Cicero: the former was glad to see the Romans accustom themselves to the command of a single person; and the latter aimed at the consulate. At length the law passed.

Pompey and Lucullus have an interview in a town in Galatia; but Pompey neither of them went away satisfied. Pompey reproached Lucullus with his rapaciousness, and the latter taxed the other with envy and ambition. The historian Paternus observes, that they were both in the right. Lucullus returned to Italy; but Pompey having attacked Mithridates, and destroyed most of his cavalry, in which the principal strength of the enemy consisted, this prince thought of retiring a second time to Tigranes: yet to avoid fighting, he marched only by night, and entrenched himself in the day; a precaution which served him in no stead. For Pompey having made a forced march, got before him, and attacked him in the night, on the banks of the Euphrates, where he gained a complete victory. Mithridates, at the head of eight hundred horse, breaks through the Roman army, and retires to the kingdom of Bosphorus (u). Mithridates defeated by Pompey. subject to his son Machares. By the way he stopped only to take a considerable sum of money with him, and a provision of poison for himself and his friends. Pompey marches into Armenia, followed by Tigranes's son, who had rebelled against his father. The king of Armenia looking upon himself as inevitably ruined, took the strange resolution of admitting a garrison into Artaxata, and surrendering at discretion to the Roman general. He endeavoured to palliate this cowardly behaviour, by saying, "there could be no shame in submitting to a general, whom there were no hopes of conquering; and that it was not a disgrace to acknowledge himself vanquished by a person, whom fortune had raised above the condition of all other mortals." A dastardly speech, at which we are not to Tigranes submits to Pompey.

(u) Bosphorus or Bosphorus, from the Greek, *Βόσς* *ωρίπος*. There were two straits of the sea called by this name, *Thracius* and *Cimmerius*: the former is now called the Straits of Constantinople; the other the Straits of Gassa, at the mouth of the *palus Maotis*; and the latter is the Bosphorus here meant.

wonder so much, when we consider that Tigranes had been very insolent in his prosperity. His son expecting to be put in possession of the crown of Armenia, was greatly dissatisfied, when he saw that Pompey, after adjudging Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, and Galatia, to the Romans, restored Armenia to Tigranes, but to him gave only Sophene (b); and even this was taken from him some time after, and granted, together with Gordyene and some towns of Cilicia, to Ariobarzanes, son of the king of Cappadocia. In regard to the latter prince, historians mention a most extraordinary instance of his filial piety; that he refused to accept of the crown which his father wanted to resign; though he yielded at length to the authority of Pompey. From that time Ariobarzanes bore the surname of Philopater. Pompey had now reduced two powerful kings, and yet the campaign was not over; he marched in pursuit of Mithridates, and defeated forty thousand Albanians, who attempted to oppose his passage; after which he concluded a treaty with Orases their king.

The Albanians defeated by Pompey. New disturbances in Rome.

Character of Catiline.

New disturbances in Rome. Towards the latter end of this year, P. Sylla and P. Antronius, being chosen consuls for the next year, and afterwards disqualified and set aside upon an accusation of bribery, L. Cotta and L. Torquatus were chosen in their room, which gave occasion to the first conspiracy of L. Sergius Catiline. This man was formed by nature to be an enemy to his country: he was subject to excessive vices, and yet possessed very shining qualities, with some external appearance of virtue. He was the only man in the world that may be said to have differed the most from himself: now he patiently submitted to cold, hunger, watching, and every sort of hardship; and now he abandoned himself to idleness, luxury, rioting, and all manner of debauchery: in private, he was connected with the most profligate people in Rome; in public, he kept company only with men of known probity, some of whom were his friends and protectors. Of this number was the sage Catulus, whose interest greatly contributed to Catiline's acquittal, when accused of seducing Fabia the vestal. Sallust charges him also with having deflowered a young woman of high birth, and with having murdered his son by his first wife, in order to marry Aurelia Orestilla, with whom he was passionately in love. Catiline however was incapable of solid felicity. His genius was great, yet wild, so as to pursue his end by the most irregular means: greedy after other people's property, and prodigal of his own; with one hand he injudiciously scattered, what the other had gathered by all manner of extortion. At the time we are speaking of, he was just returned from his prætorship in Africa, and intended to stand for the consulate; but having been accused of bribery, he was obliged to desist. He entered into a strict intimacy with Cn. Piso, a young patrician as debauched as himself, and with P. Antronius, one of the disqualified consuls: these three conspired against the life of the new consuls; but their project

His first conspiracy.

(b) A district of Phœnicia

miscarried. In regard to the circumstances of the plot, historians vary. Sallust mentions no other accomplices, than those above named; he says that Catiline and Antronius were to seize on the fasces, and to send Piso in the quality of prætor to Spain; accordingly he was appointed to that command the next year, but was killed almost as soon as he arrived. Suetonius pretends that Crassus and Cæsar were suspected of being concerned in this conspiracy, with a view of becoming the one dictator, the other general of the horse, and of restoring Sylla and Antronius to the consulate.

688.

There is no sort of doubt, but Cæsar at that time began to revive the faction of Marius and Cinna, to whom he was related, and to lay the foundation of that absolute power which he afterwards usurped. Being ædile the present year, he embraced this opportunity to do two things, which plainly shewed his towering mind. The first was to gain the good will and affection of the people, by exhibiting such magnificent spectacles as had never been seen before. He entertained them with so many combats of gladiators, that the senate thought proper to publish a decree for regulating their number. His colleague Bibulus, vexed at the airs he gave himself on this occasion, said, *that these public games which they had given jointly, were just like the temple of Castor and Pollux, that had been consecrated in honour of both brothers, and yet went only by the name of the former.* The second thing Cæsar did, was privately to set up the statues of Marius in the capitol, with the attributes of victory, and other trophies and inscriptions, expressing his triumphs. This bold attempt put people in mind of what Sylla had formerly said; *that he saw a great many Marius's in this young man.* The affair was laid before the senate, where Catulus made a bustle, concluding his speech thus: *it is time to take care of ourselves, since Cæsar no longer undermines the government, but openly plants his batteries against it.* But every thing gave way to Cæsar's eloquence, who answered the charge with so much artifice, that even the senate approved of his conduct.

Crassus and Catulus resign the office of censors, because they could not agree together.

Pompey subdues the Iberians, who opposed his march after he had crossed Albania; but the revolt of Orastes, king of this country, brings him back. He defeats the Albanians a second time, and kills Cois, their king's brother, with his own hand. It is a mistake to say there were Amazons in this battle. In the mean time Mithridates was gaining ground upon the northern shore of the Euxine sea, till at length he marched to the kingdom of Bosphorus, where he found the throne vacant by the death of his son Machares. This prince hearing of his father's approach, had lain violent hands upon himself, from an apprehension of his resenting the alliance concluded between him and the Romans. Mithridates made himself master of the kingdom, and appeared again at the head of a considerable army.

Julius Cæsar ingratiate himself with the people.

The Iberians and Albanians defeated by Pompey.

Mithridates gets another army.

ROMAN ANNALS.

689.

Pompey
reduces the
kingdom of
Mithridates to a
Roman
province.

Pompey was in great hopes that this army would moulder away of itself, because he had given directions to Servilius, who had the command of his fleet, to block up the Bosphorus, in order to prevent Mithridates from making his escape, or from receiving any provisions by sea: hence he thought of nothing further but of settling the form of government in the conquered provinces of Asia. Having made himself absolute master of Pontus ever since Stratonix, one of Mithridates's concubines, had delivered up to him the only fortress then remaining in the hands of that prince, he reduced this kingdom to a Roman province. Here he found some of the king's manuscripts, containing, among the rest, love-letters, memoirs concerning particular persons whom he had caused to be poisoned, such as his son Ariarathes, and one Alceus of Sardis, who had distanced him at an horse race; explications of his dreams; and those of his concubines; a collection of observations upon medicine; from whence we may form a judgment of Mithridates's character. Stratonix had insisted only upon one condition in her capitulation with Pompey, that her son Xiphaxes, who had followed the fortune of the king his father, should have his life granted him, if ever he fell into the hands of the Romans. This condition however only hastened the destruction of the young prince: for Mithridates to be revenged of Stratonix, caused the youth immediately to be put to death, while the mother beheld this tragical spectacle from the walls. From thence Pompey marched into Syria, and reduced that vast kingdom to a Roman province: it was then possessed by Antiochus Asiaticus, of the race of the Seleucidae, to whom Lucullus had given it, after he had conquered Tigranes. Pompey stripped him of his kingdom for several excellent reasons, as he pretended; *but the best reason of all was, that Pompey was the strongest.*

Syria re-
duced by
Pompey, to
a Roman
province.

Intrigues at
Rome for
the consu-
late.

At Rome, Cæsar procured a commission to inquire into the crime of murder, and got several condemned to death for killing proscribed persons under Sylla's dictatorship. The way had been paved for him by Cato, who when quæstor the preceding year, refused to pay the pensions which Sylla had assigned to his guards upon the exchequer. Catiline was accused and acquitted, not without suspicion of connivance from Cæsar, who favoured him openly: he likewise was acquitted upon a charge of extortion, to Cicero's great surprize, who told his friends, *that as clear as noon day, he would be his competitor for the consulate.* Having got out of this scrape, he stood nevertheless for the consulate, in opposition to Cicero; but notwithstanding all his intrigues, he lost his election, and Cicero was named to the fasces, in conjunction with C. Antonius, the orator's son. It was lucky for the latter to have Cicero for his colleague: for Sallust represents him as a person incapable of governing by himself; and one that would have been carried away by the torrent of Catiline's extravagance, with the same readiness as he endeavoured to stem it by the advice of his colleague. The reports of Catiline's having formed a new conspiracy, contributed

very

very much to Cicero's election. A great many used to consider him as a *new man*, or an upstart, and therefore thought it would be a shame to raise him to the first dignity of the state; but now they found him to be an honest citizen, and most capable of serving his country in time of danger: accordingly he was elected by unanimous consent, or rather by a general acclamation, and was named the first. Cicero chosen consul.

690.

Cicero had already signalized his consulate in more respects than one, His remarks when the Catilinian conspiracy was discovered. A tribune, whose name was P. Servilius Rullus, proposed an agrarian law, which threatened the republic with new decemvirs, who were to be invested with an unlimited power, in order to proceed immediately to a distribution of lands: Another tribune, whose name was T. Labienus, intending to raise the popular faction, accused C. Rebirius, a Roman knight, of having heretofore killed Saturninus, for which he insisted on his being punished with death: but Cicero opposed them both with his eloquence and authority, and triumphed at last. He courageously bid defiance to the tribunes, because he expected no favours from their hands; for he had not the ambition, like most of his predecessors, to obtain the government of some province after his consulate: so far from it, he resigned to his colleague C. Antonius the more profitable government of Macedon, which was fallen to himself by lot; and by this method he gained him over to his side. Among other great things performed by this celebrated orator during his consulate, we may reckon his appeasing a very considerable tumult by his eloquence, and his opposing the restoration of the sons of proscribed persons to their paternal inheritance; a measure, which though in appearance just, would have been of dangerous consequence, because Sylla's laws were become the fundamental constitution of the state.

Cicero boasts likewise of having greatly contributed to Lucullus's triumph, which had been hitherto retarded by Pompey. This was the last scene of Lucullus's grandeur, but not his last happy day. Lucullus's triumph. His retreat was the consequence of reflexion: he had the utmost abhorrence of those crimes, which would have led him, and afterwards did lead others, to the summit of power. He used often to tell his friends, that fortune has her bounds, which a man of abilities ought to know: convinced of this truth, he led a life of less show and pomp, but of more pleasure and rational amusement. Fond of study and of the conversation of the most ingenious and polite men in his time, he spent whole days with them in his library, which was filled with the most scarce and valuable books, and open to all the literati. He lived with more magnificence than even those Asiatic monarchs, over whom he had triumphed: though at the same time we must own he carried it to a degree of Asiatic softness and luxury. He was very angry once with his steward, who knowing he was to sup alone, had ordered a less elegant entertainment for him than usual: *didst thou not know,* says he to the man in a passion, *that Lucullus was to sup to night with Lucullus?* And retirement.

Lucullus? In short, as Plutarch says, *Lucullus looked upon his riches as the spoils of barbarians; which the rights of war allowed him to treat as he pleased.* One would imagine that his falling into those extravagances, was the effect of chagrin; and that so great a man did not run into vanity, till he saw that the injustice of his enemies had stripped him of more solid glory.

Catiline's
second
conspiracy.

Cicero distinguished himself greatly this year, by the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy. This turbulent citizen had been long hatching his wicked design of subverting the government. Fulvia, a woman of distinction, who held a criminal correspondence with Quintus Curius, one of the conspirators, disclosed the secret to the consul, who informed the senate of it in public assembly. Catiline was not in the least daunted, but resolved now to pursue his purpose openly and without disguise. Having miscarried in his attempt to murder the consul in the *Campus Martius*, and afterwards at his own house, he directed his accomplices to excite a rebellion in the provinces. The senate hereupon passed a decree, empowering the consuls to *take care that the republic suffered no detriment.* Catiline had the assurance to appear in this august assembly; but no body took notice of him: on the contrary, those whom he came near, quitted their seats and left him alone. Then it was that Cicero, no longer able to contain himself, pronounced that famous speech, called the first oration against Catiline. This bold conspirator leaves Rome, and puts himself at the head of the rebels. Cicero having provided for the security of the city, mounts the rostra, and pronounces his second oration against Catiline, in order to inform the people of the true state of affairs, and of the motives of his conduct. The fatal moment was now approaching, when the conspirators were to destroy Rome by fire and sword; and yet most of the citizens would not give credit to Cicero's representations. The common people, who favoured Catiline underhand, because he pretended to have espoused the cause of the indigent and unhappy, were not undeceived till the consul intercepting the letters of the chief conspirators, ordered them to be seized, obliged them to confess their crime in the presence of the senate, and acquainted the people therewith in his third oration against Catiline. A public thanksgiving and supplication is ordered in Cicero's name, for *having preserved the city from a conflagration, the citizens from a general massacre, and Italy from war:* this was a very extraordinary honour, for supplications had been never granted before but to generals, who had been successful in the field against the enemies of the republic.

Cicero's
orations
against
Catiline.

The business now was to punish the conspirators. Cicero therefore convenes the senate, and pronounces his fourth oration against Catiline, wherein he declares himself of the same opinion as D. Sillanus, consul elect for the ensuing year, who was for putting them to death. Cæsar voted against him, and was only for condemning them to perpetual imprisonment; whereby he seemed to confirm the suspicion of being concerned in the plot. Cato took him up with great warmth,

warmth (f): after railing most vehemently against the corrupt manners of the age, he concluded for putting the prisoners to death, and brought over the whole senate to his opinion. Upon which they were executed immediately in the prisons; their names were, P. Cornelius Lentulus, a consular person; Cethegus, of the noble Cornelian family; Gabinus, Statilius, and one Ceparius of Terracina. Several of the conspirators had gathered round the prison, to hear what passed, and Cicero informed them, by crying out, *vixerunt, they have lived*. Thus the consul fulfilled the promise he had made in his second oration against Catiline, to quash the conspiracy without any disturbance or tumult, and even without laying aside his gown. He received all the commendations he deserved; he was called the *saviour*, the *deliverer*, and *second founder* of Rome. And it is observable, that he was the only person on whom the Romans conferred the title of *father of his country*, before they fell under the dominion of the emperors: then indeed this respectable name was lavished on those princes, though most of them were far from deserving it. Antonius, Cicero's colleague, marches against Catiline, who was in the field in Hetruria, with a few legions indifferently armed.

The conspirators executed.

Antonius sent against Catiline.

The beginning of the next year, Antonius came up with him in the neighbourhood of Fesula (g). Catiline fought like one in despair, and was defeated: but resolving not to outlive the ruin of his party, he threw himself into the midst of the enemy, and died sword in hand. There is hardly a person among the ancients, whose memory has been handed down with greater infamy, than that of this famous conspirator; and yet he is not the most wicked in history. It would be of no use to balance his vices with his good qualities: the enumeration would only shew that there must be some accomplishments to form a brave wicked man. If we may venture to affirm, that Catiline was not the greatest villain in his time, it is because while historians give us a description of his villany, they likewise mention his remorse. Sallust, his cotemporary, represents him as a person grown odious even to himself, who pined away with chagrin, and endeavoured either to relieve his uneasiness by war and troubles, or to extinguish it by death. We are apt to pity Catiline, when we behold him sinking into luxury and debauch, plunging from one abyss into another, and hurrying into a train of crimes, not from any choice or inclination, but impelled as it were by a kind of necessity. He was not such a profligate as the Caligula's, the Nero's, the Decius's, the Domitian's, who per-

Catiline defeated and killed.

Reflections on Catiline's character.

(f) During the contest between Cato and Cæsar, a slave belonging to Servilia, Cato's sister, delivered a letter to Cæsar in the senate, wherein were contained the strongest expressions of passion and love. Cato cried out, that it came from one of the conspirators, and insisted on its being read to the assembly. Cæsar smiling, gave him the letter, and Cato, after he had perused it, threw it back to him, saying, *take it drunkard*, for Cæsar was in his youth given to drinking.

(g) A town of Tuscany, in the neighbourhood of Florence, and now called *Fiesole*. Silius, lib. 8, uses it in the singular,

petrated

petrated the most horrid crimes, without the least remorse; but this very circumstance increases comparatively his guilt. Had Catiline exerted his great abilities in the service of his country, he would have been an hero; which perhaps he would still have been in our estimation, had he been fortunate; for such is the prejudice of the generality of mankind, that successful villany ceases to be odious. Catiline, defeated at Pefulæ, appears in a detestable light; while Cæsar, trampling upon his country at Pharsalia, is a hero.

It is pity there was any irregularity in the proceedings against the conspirators. Since the laws required that no citizen of Rome should be put to death, but by the consent of the people; how comes it that the senate, after trying the conspirators, did not refer them ultimately to this tribunal? This shews that the laws had lost all their vigour, since even those who stood up in their defence, were obliged to violate them; therefore it was natural to expect that so weak a government must soon fall a prey to some ambitious citizen.

Pompey's
success
against Mi-
thridates.

None seemed so dangerous as Pompey, who by different means had attained the same end as Sylla, having prevailed upon the people to invest him, freely and of their own accord, with an authority almost equal to that which this sanguinary dictator had usurped. Fortune still continued to smile on him; for this year he got rid of Mithridates. The fugitive king was meditating greater projects than ever: he had collected together about sixty or fourscore thousand men; and with this army he intended to force his way by land into Italy, through a hundred wild and barbarous nations. He was encouraged in his attempt by the example of Hannibal, who succeeded in the like enterprize: and perhaps he would have met with the same good fortune, had it not been for the revolt of his son Pharnaces, who laid siege to Panticapæum, where he then resided. This city opened her gates to the rebels, and Mithridates had no other resource than death, to avoid falling into their hands. In vain did he endeavour to destroy himself by poisonous draughts; these had but a slow effect, because he had been used to counterpoisons from his infancy: he then had recourse to his sword, but as he was greatly weakened by the poison, the wound did not prove mortal: so that a Gaulish officer (i), out of compassion, and at his own request, put an end to his agonies.

Death of
Mithridates.

Pompey
marches in-
to Judæa,
and settles
that king-
dom.

When Pompey heard of this news, he happened to be in Judæa, whither he had marched his army, to settle the succession of that kingdom, which was disputed by two brothers, Hyrcan and Aristobulus. Hyrcan, as the elder, had the best right; but Aristobulus was in possession. However, he did not possess it long, for Pompey seized his person, and marching directly to Jerusalem, made himself master of that city. He met with a very different resistance at the taking of the temple, which, as every body knows, was situated on a mountain,

(i) His name was *Bitarus* or *Bithocus*, and he had entered the king's room in search of booty.

and extremely well fortified. The siege of this place lasted three months, and was attended with an immense deal of labour and fatigue: the Jews themselves contributed not a little to the taking of it, by not disturbing the enemy's approaches on the sabbath; a superstitious piety, which nothing but the motive could render excuseable. On the other hand, we admire the religious heroism of the priests, who being employed in the sacrifice at the time the temple was taken, did not divert their attention, but continued the sacred ceremonies with the same composure as if nothing had happened. Pompey's clemency and generous behaviour on this occasion, were also admired. Of all the treasure deposited in that temple, he took only the golden vine. Upon entering the most holy place, he expressed his surprize, when he could see never a statue, nor any representation of the deity: the next day he ordered it to be purified, and the priests to be restored to their functions. This visit from Pompey cost the Jews their liberty, for he not only rendered them tributary to the Romans, but forbade their prince Hyrcan to wear a diadem; besides, he stripped them of those towns which they had conquered in Syria.

691.

The remains of the conspiracy are stifled in Italy; and a great number of the accomplices are differently punished. Most of them had been informed against by L. Vettius, a Roman knight, who had the assurance to include Cæsar in the number. But he took a wrong time; for Cæsar was then prætor, and likewise *pontifex maximus*, which dignity he had obtained the preceding year: as prætor, he condemned Vettius in a fine, ordered his goods to be sold for the payment, and the man himself to be sent to prison. Much the same thing happened to one L. Tarquitius, who accused Crassus of having a hand in the conspiracy: his testimony was declared to be false, and he himself condemned to imprisonment, till he discovered the persons who were said to have suborned him. This might make one suspect there were people at that time, who might do whatever they pleased with impunity.

Cæsar, notwithstanding all his power, did not extricate himself so well in the dispute with Cato, tribune of the people, in regard to a law proposed by Metellus Nepos another tribune. The purport of it was to recall Pompey with his army, under pretence of reforming and pacifying the state; but in reality to supplant Cicero, of whose growing interest Cæsar was jealous. Cato opposed this law with his usual vigour; but Cæsar supported it by violence, and the former had like to have been killed in the tumult. He maintained his ground however with great resolution, and got the better of Metellus, the senate having deprived both him and Cæsar of their office: but they were soon reinstated, the latter by affecting to submit, and the former in consequence of Cato's recommendation.

Cæsar repudiates his wife Pompeia, who had been surprized at a meeting between her and P. Clodius in her husband's house, where

New disturbances at Rome.

Clodius profanes the mysteries of the *bona dea*.

C c

the mysteries of the good goddesses (*f*) were to be celebrated that day. Divorces (*g*) were now grown frequent, in consequence of luxury and a ge-

(*f*) The good goddess, in Latin *bona dea*, according to the Romans, was one of the dryads, and married to Faunus king of Italy. She is said to have been so very chaste, that no man ever saw her face, or knew her real name, except her husband; and that of Fauna was given to her afterwards, only because her husband's name was Faunus. That her name should be such a secret to the men, after being revealed to the women, is greatly in praise of the Roman ladies. To honour her extraordinary chastity, a particular festival was instituted, at which none but women were permitted to be present, or even in the house where the mysteries were celebrated, which was always at the chief priest's. When the husband, and with him every male creature, quitted the house, the wife then took it under her care, and set things in order: there were great solemnities all night, attended with dancing and several sorts of music. No myrtle was used to decorate this goddess's altars, because this tree was dedicated to Venus goddess of love. The pictures of male creatures were all covered, according to Juvenal, sat. 6.

—*Velari pictura jubetur,*

Quacunque alterius sexus imitata figuram est.

The vestals were invited on the occasion, and the ceremony did not begin till night. By the good goddess, mythologists understand the earth; though the Romans might likewise mean an ancient queen of Italy, called *Fauna*; for most of the heathen deities had a double relation of this sort. It is therefore probable that *Fauna* was the inventress of agriculture, at least in Italy, and for that reason was called the good goddess, by way of preference. The Greeks had also their good goddess, whom they named *Gynecea*: they pretended that she was one of Bacchus's nurses, whose real name it was unlawful to utter. For which reason the women, who celebrated her mysteries, covered the tents with vine branches, and a consecrated dragon was placed by the goddess. See *Plut. in Cæs. 8. quæst. Rom. Cic. erat. de baruff. responsus.*

(*g*) Romulus permitted the husbands to divorce their wives, but not vice versa; and even the former not without a cause, as adultery, poisoning, or counterfeiting her husband's keys, and, as some say, drunkenness. This law was confirmed by the twelve tables; yet there was no instance of a divorce till the case of Carvilius Ruga, mentioned in this history in the year 500. But afterwards they grew very common, and for very trifling motives, as in the case of Papiria, the wife of Paulus Æmilius. Thus C. Sulpitius Gallus turned away his wife, because she went abroad bare-headed; Q. Antistius Vetus turned away his, for keeping company with a woman of mean parentage; P. Sempronius Sophus did the same by his, because she went to the play without his knowledge. Val. Max. 6. 3. 10. And even Cicero himself divorced Publilia, because she seemed to rejoice at the death of his daughter Tullia. Others cast off their wives on the account of old age. Sometimes they parted by mutual consent. In process of time, women had also power to divorce their husbands, and for as trifling reasons as those now mentioned in regard to husbands. Thus Cælius writes to Cicero, *Paula Valeria divortium sine causa, quo die vir à provincia venturus erat, fecit. Nuptura est D. Bruto, ep. fam. 8. 7.* But by the *lex Papia Poppæa*, a *liberta*, that is, a woman who was once a slave, and had been made free, could not divorce her *patronus*, that is, her master who made her free, if she had been lawfully married to him. See *Ulp. L. ult. D. de divor.*

The common way of divorcing, was by sending a bill to the woman, containing reasons of the separation, and the tender of all her goods which she brought with her: this was called *repudium mittere*, or *nuncium remittere*. Or else it was performed in her presence before sufficient witnesses, which according to the *lex Julia de adulterii* published by Augustus, were to be seven, besides a *libertas*. After the consors were

a general corruption of manners: Pompey just upon his return to Italy, divorces also his wife Mucia (b), for being guilty of a criminal correspondence with Cæsar. The latter had so bad a reputation in regard to chastity, that he was reported to be the husband of every wife, and the wife of every husband. And yet he had the assurance to say, when he parted with his wife Pompeia, that Cæsar's wife should not be so much as suspected.

692.

Clodius's intrigue is attended with some consequences. Commissioners are appointed to try him, for profaning the holy rites, at which it was unlawful for any man to assist: he corrupts his judges with money, and by other methods still more criminal; so that he was acquitted in spite of Cicero's utmost endeavours. Clodius was a bad citizen, an enemy to the republic, and of course to Cicero. Pompey arrives in Italy.

Rome was now a prey to faction and intrigue. Men of the deepest penetration seemed to foresee that the commonwealth could not last much longer, or in other terms, that so unwieldy a body could hardly do without a head. In this critical juncture, Pompey stepped forth. The eyes of all the world were naturally turned towards this celebrated captain; they considered him in some measure as their long expected lord and master; they vied with each other in paying their court to him, as to the conqueror of the East; and even Cicero joined with the multitude. Though this celebrated orator had so greatly distinguished himself during his consulate; and though he still made a considerable figure in the senate, yet, in the opinion of the vulgar, Pompey was by far the greater man. Cicero uses his utmost endeavours to prevail on Pompey to approve of his consulate; but Pompey refuses to explain himself, and grows cool and reserved. And what is very extraordinary; at the very time that he could obtain whatever he pleased by honourable means, he purchased the consulate for Afranius, his favourite, who had no other merit than that of being a complete dancer. Cato alone withstood the torrent;

Pompey
returns to
Rome.

were made acquainted with the just causes of the divorce, the marriage tables were broke, the dowry was restored, the keys of the house were taken away, and the woman was turned out of doors. On which occasion were pronounced by the *libertus* these solemnities: *Res tuas tibi habeto*, or *tuas res tibi agito*, according to the following passage of Juvenal, sat. 6.

Collige sarcinulas, dicat libertus, et XXI,

Jam gravis es nobis, et sæpe amungeris, XXI

Ocyus, et propera, sicco venit altera naso.

The *repudium* differed from the *divortium* in this, that the former was between parties only contracted, and the latter between married people. There was no occasion to shew a cause in the case of a *repudium*; nor was there any civil action for breaking the contract: the party only used this form, *tua conditio non utor*.

(b) Mucia was the third daughter of Q. Mucius Scaevola, and sister to the two Metelli, Celer and Nepos. Pompey thought himself obliged to part with this lady, though he had three children by her. He never could forget the injury Cæsar had done him; but complained several times in the heat of the civil wars, that the daughter of Mucia was his Ægyptus.

His third triumph.

ney, he refused the alliance of Pompey, who wanted his eldest niece for himself, and the youngest for his son. Pompey's third triumph. Africa and Europe had been the subject of the two first, and now Asia furnished him with this; "so that his victories, says M. Crevier, "seemed to embrace the whole world." The procession lasted two whole days, though it was not attended, as usual, by the triumphant army: for he had disbanded his troops as soon as he landed in Italy, to prevent all umbrage and suspicion in regard to his future conduct. Pompey's aim was to usurp the sovereign power, without having recourse to violence, that is, to derive his whole authority from the free choice of his fellow citizens; and no doubt but he flattered himself, that he should obtain every thing he desired, in return for his signal services. For he had almost trebled the revenue, and so greatly enlarged the republic, that Asia Minor, which before his time had been the furthest extent, was now become the center of her dominions.

693.

The first triumvirate.

The first triumvirate. Pompey was mistaken: the Romans recovered from their first surprize; and being made easy by his disbanding the army, they looked upon him no longer but as a private citizen. He insisted that lands should be given to his veterans, and that all his acts in the East should be confirmed without inquiry; but he miscarried in both, being opposed by Lucullus and Crassus his ancient rivals, and by Cato the scourge of all ambitious citizens. Finding he could not have the supreme command alone, he is reconciled to Crassus by the mediation of Cæsar; and they all three enter into an association, binding themselves by oath to support each other. Cato foresaw the evil consequences of this alliance, but could not prevent it: *we have lost our liberty, said he, there is an end of the republic.* Some perhaps will be surprized to behold Cæsar moving in so high a sphere, when he had hitherto made no great figure in the army; but the Romans were acquainted with his extraordinary abilities; they knew that he had burst out into tears at the sight of Alexander's statue (*k*); they knew of his declaring that he had rather be the first man in a small village (*l*), than the second in Rome. Besides, he had lately commanded as proprætor in Spain for the first time, where he gave a specimen of his abilities, having subdued several provinces which never before submitted to the Romans. Nothing hindered him from demanding a triumph, but his pretensions to the consulate. In standing

(*k*) Plutarch says, it was upon reading the history of Alexander, when he sat a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst out into tears. His friends asking him the reason, *do you think*, said he, *that I have not just cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander at my age had conquered so many nations, and I all this time have done nothing memorable?*

(*l*) This happened in his crossing the Alps in the way to his province of Spain.

for

for this office, it was necessary to appear at the comitium in person; but in suing for a triumph, the law obliged the candidate to halt without the town, and wait for an answer. Here he reaped the first fruits of the triumvirate, being chosen consul for the following year, together with M. Calpurnius Bibulus, a zealous republican. His aim was to get one Lucceius for his colleague, who with the same view distributed large sums among the people; but the senate joined in favour of Bibulus. Each of the conscript fathers paid his share towards outbidding Lucceius; by which means they carried their point, and this even by Cato's advice, who said that the safety of the republic was preferable to her laws.

Caius Murena, and the learned Varro, this year's ædiles, ordered the face of a wall, which was greatly admired for a most beautiful painting *in fresco*, to be transported from Sparta to Rome.

694.

The senate had entertained high expectations from Bibulus, and perhaps he would have done great matters, had he to deal with any other person than Cæsar; but he could not long withstand his ambitious colleague. The latter having proposed a new agrarian law, with a view of gaining the affections of the people, Bibulus found no other way to oppose him, than by declaring that every day during his consulate should be kept as a festival; but he was the only one himself that observed the declaration. Cæsar began to govern Rome with an absolute sway: even Cato submitted to his power; though at first he had attempted to oppose him, at the peril of imprisonment or exile. But upon Cicero's telling him, *that if Cato did not want Rome, Rome wanted Cato*, he thought proper to acquiesce. Cæsar found no great difficulty in bringing the other two triumvirs over to his measures, by the following method. He married (p) his

(p) For the greater security of marriages, the form of the contract was written upon tables of record, and sealed by some witnesses there present, who from thence were called *signatores*. No Roman could marry any other than a free denizen of the city. The *kalends*, *nones*, and *ides*, and the whole month of May, were reckoned ominous in regard to this ceremony. The three ways of contracting were *farre* or *confarreatio*, *coemptio*, and *usu*. The first was a ceremony of eating the bride cake together; the second was when the parties bound themselves by giving and taking a piece of money; the third was when, with the consent of her friends, the woman had lived a whole year with the man, without being absent three nights.

The nuptial ceremonies began with consulting the augurs, as was customary in all actions of importance. The word *nuptia* is from *nubo*, which signifies to cover, because the woman was brought to her husband with a *flammeum*, or yellow veil thrown over her face. In dressing the bride, they used to divide her locks with the head of a spear, as an omen of bearing a valiant and warlike offspring; then they crowned her with a chaplet of flowers. Instead of her ordinary cloaths, she wore the *tunica recta*, so called from being woven upwards; this was tied about with a *zona* or girdle, which the bridegroom was to unloose. Being thus dressed, she was taken away from her mother or next relation by a seeming violence, in memory of the success which Romulus and his

only daughter Julia, a lady of accomplished merit, to Pompey; Julia paid implicit submission to her father's will in every thing; Pompey was governed by Julia; and Crassus could not help acquiescing to the joint desire of the father and son-in-law. Caesar resolved also to gain the favour of the knights, by abating a third part of the rents which they paid annually into the public treasury. He likewise got all Pompey's acts in the East approved, and obtained for himself the government of Illyricum, and of Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul, with the command of four legions for five years. In order to secure an interest among foreigners, he caused Ariovistus king of the Suevi (q) in Germany, and Ptolemy Auletes king of Egypt, to be declared friends and allies of the people of Rome. All this he did even without consulting his colleague, whom he obliged to stay at home for eight months, during which time Bibulus did not perform one single act as a magistrate, which made Cicero say, *that this was the consulate of Julius and Caesar*. Bibulus, notwithstanding his retirement, caused declarations to be published in Rome against the present tyranny, which began to be insufferable. The triumvirs themselves had oc-

followers had in the rape of the Sabine women. Towards night she was led to her husband's house (whence the common phrase *uxorem ducere*, to marry a wife) with five torches made of a pitchy liquor that issued from a tree called *taxda*; hence figuratively the poets give the name of *taxda* to the wedding itself. A distaff and a spindle were likewise borne along with her, in memory of *Caia Cæcilia*, or *Tanagull*, wife to *Tarquinius Priscus*, a famous spinster. On the same account the bride herself was called *Caia* during the ceremony. Being come to the door, she bound the posts with woollen lists, and anointed them over with oil, from which ceremony she was called *uxor quasi unxor*. Then the bridegroom lifted her over the threshold, and carried her by seeming force, because she could not in modesty appear to go without violence into a place where she was to lose her virginity.

Being thus brought home, she received the keys of her husband's house, and was presented by him with two vessels, one of fire, the other of water, as an earnest of sticking by one another in the greatest extremities. Then she and her companions were treated by the bridegroom at a splendid feast, which was seldom without music, the company all the while singing *Thalassius* or *Thalassio*, as the Greeks did *Hymen*, *Hymeneæ*; for which this reason is alledged. At the rape of the Sabine women, some of the meaner sort carrying away one of the fairest of the sex, certain citizens would have taken her from them; upon which they pretended, that they were carrying her to one *Thalassius*, a person greatly honoured and esteemed, and so brought their prey off, the others accompanying her, and often crying *Thalassio, Thalassio*; and this proving a fortunate match, it became a custom at nuptials to call over *Thalassius*. At the same time the bridegroom threw nuts about the room for the boys to scramble, as a token to leave off their childish amusements, whence *nutibus relinquitis*. The marriage-bed was tiled *genialis lectus*, and sometimes *lectus adversus*, because they placed it in the court directly opposite the gate. As soon as it was got ready, the bridegroom loosed the bride's girdle; and a company of boys got together to sing a parcel of obscene verses, which were tolerated on this occasion. The next day after the marriage they gave a solemn entertainment, where the relations and friends of the married couple met to make merry. This they called *repotia*.

(q) The most ancient and most powerful people in Germany; their country extended from the Rhine to the Elbe, and contained several divisions, as the *Saxones*, *Lombardi*, *Angli*, *Hermani*, mentioned by Tacitus in *Germania*. The *Hermani* inhabited that part of Germany which is now called *Saxonia*.

caſion

casion to be convinced of this, having been treated several times with disrespect at the public assemblies. The people conceived such a dislike against Pompey, that at the representation of a certain tragedy, when the actor came to a passage importing, *thou art become great only for our ruin*, they openly applied it to this triumvir, and clapping their hands, obliged the actor to repeat it several times. The triumvirs charged Cicero with being in great measure the cause of their present odium; and it is so far true, that he railed very severely against the state of affairs in one of his orations in defence of his ancient colleague Antonius. Cæsar knew how to be revenged: he got Clodius promoted to the tribunate for the ensuing year, and caused Cicero to be impeached, as if he had attempted the murder of Pompey. For this commission he chose that very same Vettius, who had been his accuser at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy: the calumny is detected, and Vettius condemned to imprisonment, where Cæsar causes him to be strangled, lest the affair should be discovered.

695.

Cæsar took care to secure his interest during this year's consulate, by marrying Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, before his departure from Rome, and by entering into the closest connections with Gabinius. The measures he took to remove Cicero and Cato, the two great champions of liberty, from Rome, were attended with success.

Methods taken by Cæsar to secure his interest.

The tribune Clodius was the only person fit for so odious an enterprise: and accordingly he passed several laws, preparatory to his attack against Cicero. The first was that the corn, which had hitherto been sold very cheap to the poor citizens, should henceforward be distributed among them gratis. The second repealed the law against particular companies of tradesmen, which the senate had suppressed above nine years ago, as dangerous to the public tranquillity; and at the same time it established some new ones, which Clodius took care to fill with the dregs of the people. The third and fourth tended to diminish the power of the censors, and to increase the liberty of popular assemblies. The fifth gave the decisive blow, by condemning to banishment those who were concerned in the death of a citizen, without a lawful trial. It is plain that this aimed at the affair of the conspirators. Cicero goes into deep mourning; twenty thousand Roman knights follow his example: and the senate do the same by a public decree. The consuls publish an order for the senate to quit their mourning; Clodius arms the mob, and besets the forum. Cicero then had no other remedy left but to arm his friends, who were the most respectable part of the citizens; but the consequence would have been a civil war. Having viewed on the one hand the danger of the republic, on the other his own, he resolves to retire into banishment. However this must be said for him, that even if he had defeated Clodius, it would not have signified; for Cæsar was at the gates of Rome with his legions: so that the turbulent Clodius had good reason to say, *that Cicero must have perished once, or conquered twice.*

Laws proposed by the tribune Clodius.

Clodius impeaches Cicero.

Cicero
retires into
banishment.

Cato reduces
Cyprus to a
Roman
province.

Scaurus's
theatre.

Curio's
theatre.

Cæsar goes
into Gaul.

twice. As soon as Cicero was gone, Clodius got the decree of his banishment passed: his effects were confiscated; his country houses, and his fine palace in Rome, were plundered and burnt to the ground. He retires to Thessalonica in Macedon, after he had been refused admittance into Sicily by Virgilius prætor of that island, on whom he depended. Clodius procures the government of Syria for the consul Gabinius, and that of Macedon for his colleague Piso, in order to requite them for the services they had done him in the affair of Cicero's banishment. He drives Cato out of Rome, by obliging him to accept of a commission, which was to dethrone the king of Cyprus, and reduce that island to a Roman province. This king was Ptolemy, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, both bastard sons of Ptolemy Lathurus, who died without legitimate issue, and was said to have made a will in favour of the Romans. Cato reaped no other glory from this scandalous expedition, than that of giving a faithful account of the spoils of an unfortunate prince; for Ptolemy, upon hearing of his approach, destroyed himself by poison.

Scaurus the ædile entertained the public with shows of so expensive and magnificent a nature, that Pliny thinks they were one of the chief causes of the general corruption of the age. To embellish a temporary theatre, which was to last only a month, he erected a hundred and sixty columns of the finest marble, the same number in crystal, and the same again in wood richly gilt; between the columns he placed three thousand statues of brass, with a prodigious multitude of valuable pictures. Though Scaurus was very rich, this great expence ruined him. Some years after this, Curio being desirous to distinguish himself in exhibiting public games, did something more extraordinary and less expensive, in order to proportion himself to the mediocrity of his fortune: for, as Pliny says, *he had no other patrimony than the trouble and confusion of the state*. He caused two moveable theatres to be built of wood, in the form of a semicircle. In the morning they were set back to back, and plays were acted on both at the same time; but neither the actors nor spectators could see or incommode one another: towards the latter end of the day they were put in their right position again, without displacing the company, so as to form a circular amphitheatre, where shows of gladiators were exhibited. A structure of such admirable artifice and contrivance, as to wheel this august assembly of the senate, knights, and people of Rome, round on hinges, must needs give us a high idea of the greatness of the undertaking.

Cæsar meditating the most ambitious projects, sets out for Gaul (r).

Sylla,

(r) *Gallia* or ancient Gaul was divided into *Cisalpine*, which, from the Roman dress, was also called *Togata*; and *Transalpine*, which was likewise named *Comata* from their wearing long hair, and *Braccata* from their wearing breeches. *Cisalpine* Gaul contained the most western and northern provinces of Italy, which in great part were possessed by the Gauls, and thence took the name of *Gallia Cisalpina*, or *Citerior*, because

Sylla, after subduing Asia, made himself master of Rome at his return; and Pompey, the conqueror of the East, might have followed his

cause they lay on the side of the Alps next to Rome. It extended from the Alps and the river *Varus*, to the city of Ancona in the ancient Picenum; on the north it was divided from *Rhætia* by the Alps, and from *Illyricum* by the river *Formis*; and on the south it reached to the Ligustic sea, and the Apennines parting it from *Hetruria*: so that under the common name of Cisalpine Gaul were comprehended the Subalpine countries, *Liguria*, *Gallia Cispadana*, so called from lying on the side of the Po next to Rome, and *Gallia Transpadana*, which lay on the other side of the Po.

Gallia Transalpina, or proper Gaul, took up all the extent of ground between the Ocean, the Rhine, the Alps, the Mediterranean, and the Pyrenean mountains; within which compass is now comprehended France, Lorrain, Savoy, with great part of Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands. In Julius Caesar's time this country was divided into three parts, which were inhabited by the *Belgæ*, *Aquitani*, and *Celtæ*. The *Belgæ* spread far and wide between the Seine and the Rhine; the *Aquitani* inhabited Guienne and Gascony; the *Celtæ* were situated between the rivers Garonne and the Seine. But it was afterwards divided by Augustus into four parts or provinces, viz. *Gallia Narbonensis* or *Braccata*, *Aquitania*, *Celtica* or *Lugdunensis*, and *Belgica*. The three last were likewise called *Gallia Comata*.

Gallia Narbonensis, so called from its chief city *Narbo*, Narbonne, lay on the Mediterranean sea; being bounded by the Alps, and the river *Varus*, from Italy; by the Pyrenean mountains from Spain; and by the river *Garumna*, Garonne, *Mons Cebenna*, Cevenne, and the river *Rhodanus*, Rhone, from *Gallia Aquitania*, and *Gallia Celtica*. So that it comprehended present Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Savoy. Its chief people were the *Allobroges* and *Centrones* in Savoy and part of Dauphiny; the *Segalauni*, *Vocontii*, and *Caturiges*, in Dauphiny; the *Gantares* and *Salpes*, in Provence; the *Ruteni* in Roverne; the *Gabali*, the *Helvii*, the *Vellæ*, *Tellofagi* and *Arcomici* in Languedoc.

Gallia Aquitania was situated between *Gallia Narbonensis*, the Pyrenees, the Ocean, and the river *Ligeris*, or Loire, by which it was separated from *Gallia Celtica*. So that it contained the government of Guienne, with as much of the governments of Orleannois, and Lionnois, as lies on the south and west sides of the Loire. Its chief people were the *Ausci*, *Tarbelli*, and *Bigerriones* in Gascony; the *Bituriges*, *Vibisci*, *Vasates*, *Cadurci*, *Petricorii*, *Lemovices*, and *Santonis* in Guienne; the *Pictones* in Poitou; the *Bituriges* and *Cabi* in Bresse; the *Arverni* in Auvergne, and the *Boii* in Marche.

Gallia Celtica, called also *Lugdunensis* from its chief city *Lugdunum*, now Lyons, was situate between the Ocean and the three rivers, *Ligeris*, Loire, *Sequana*, Seine, and *Matrona*, Marne, the two last dividing it from *Belgica*: so that it contained present Bretagne and Normandy, as much of the government of Orleannois as lies north and east of the Loire, as much of the isle of France and Champagne as lies south of the Seine and Marne, with the greatest part of the dutchy of Burgundy, and some of the government of Lionnois. Its chief people were the *Osismii*, *Veneti*, *Nannetes*, *Redones*, and *Curioselites* in Bretagne; the *Unelli* and *Lexobii* in Normandy; the *Aulerci*, *Eburovices*, *Diablintæ*, and *Cenomani* in Maine; the *Carnutes* in Beauce; the *Turones*, in Tourain; the *Andegavi* in Anjou; the *Segusiani* in the government of Lyons; the *Ædii* in the dutchy of Burgundy; the *Tricassi* and *Senones* in Champagne; the *Parisii* in the isle of France.

Gallia Belgica lay between the Rhine, the Rhone, the Marne, the Seine, and the Ocean; consequently comprehended as much of present Normandy, isle of France, and Champagne, as is on the north and east of the Seine and Marne, the county of Burgundy, the greatest part of Switzerland, all Lorrain and the Austrian Netherlands, with as much of the United Netherlands as lies south of the old channel of the Rhine, passing by Utrecht and Leyden, and as much of present Germany as lies west of the Rhine. Its chief people were the *Caletes* and *Velocassi* in Normandy; the

Ambiani,

He defeats
the Helve-
tians.

And the
Suevi under
Ariovistus.

Cicero
recalled.

his example. Caesar resolved not only to tread in the same path as those great men, but to advance a step further; that is, he did not chuse to imitate the imprudence of the one, nor the moderation of the other; his design was to conquer Gaul, to bring back his victorious bands into Italy, to subvert the republic, and to raise himself upon its ruins. An occasion for going to war was ready to his hands; the Helvetii (s) having threatened to invade Gaul (s), Caesar breaks down the bridge of Geneva, over which they intended to pass, and gains his first victory on the banks of the Arar (u), where he falls upon their rear just as they were passing that river; then throwing a bridge over it, he pursues them for several days. A bloody battle is fought, in which the Helvetii lose one half of their army; but after giving hostages, they return to their own country. Gaul being thus delivered from the invasion, is exposed to a fresh danger from the Suevi, who had passed the Rhine under the command of their king Ariovistus. Caesar sends a message to him to retire; upon his refusing, an engagement ensues, in which Ariovistus is defeated, and obliged to repass the Rhine. After this, the Roman general puts his troops into winter quarters in the country of the Senones (x), and returns to Cisalpine Gaul, which was part of his government.

696.

Cicero is recalled. The preceding year the senate had made a resolution to pass no decree, till the affair of Cicero's recall was determined; and this resolution was attended with a total cessation of business. All Italy wished for his return; and at length Pompey, having received an affront from Clodius, thought proper to join with Cicero's friends. The point was voted at first by the senate, and afterwards by the people, notwithstanding the opposition of Clodius, who had taken up arms to maintain his cause. Cicero was so greatly pleased with the demonstrations of esteem and satisfaction attending his recall, that he said, were he to consider only his own glory, he would not have avoided, but rather courted the injuries he suffered from Clodius. And indeed his return to Rome was a triumphant

Andiani, Vermandui, Bellovac, Suessones and Sylvanectæ in Picardy; the Rheimi Catalauni, and Lingones, in Champagne; the Sequani in the county of Burgundy; the Helvetii and Rauraci in Switzerland proper; the Treboeci in Alsace; the Nemetes in the bishopric of Spire; the Vangiones in the electorate of Ments; the Treveri in that of Triers; the Ubii in that of Cologne; the Tungri in Liege, Limburg, and Luxemburg; the Mediomatrics and Leuci in Lorraine; the Batavi in South Holland and part of Guelderland; the Menapii in Guelderland and Brabant; the Nervii in Hainault; the Morini in Flanders, and north-west of Picardy; the Atrebatii in Artois; the Taxandri in Zealand.

(s) The chief towns of the Helvetii were *Aventicum*, *Avances*; *Turicum*, *Zurich*; *Tugium*, *Zug*; *Urba*, *Orbe*.

(t) That is *Gallia Narbonensis*, as this part of the country was afterwards called.

(u) Now the *Saone*.

(x) Their chief town was *Agendicum*, now *Sens*.

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entry; deputies from all quarters came to congratulate him; sacrifices were offered in thanksgivings, and festivals were solemnized in his praise; the senate and people went forth to meet him: and to express myself in his own phrase, *Rome seemed to start from her foundations, to come and embrace her preserver*. He was restored to the possession of his effects, and his houses both in the city and country were rebuilt at the public expence. Soon after this, he procured for Pompey the commission of supplying the city with corn and provisions, with an unlimited power in all the sea-port towns, during the space of five years. Yet Cicero had no reason to be very well pleased with that triumvir, who had sacrificed him to the fury of his enemies; but that orator was more apt to remember favours than injuries. The zealous patriots complained of his investing Pompey once more with nearly the same absolute power, as had been formerly conferred on that general in the war with the pirates. But Pompey put an end to the scarcity, with which the Romans had been long afflicted, in consequence of the bad administration of the provinces, from whence the city used to receive her supplies of corn.

Death of Lucullus, who had lost his intellects some time before.

Death of
Lucullus.
Cæsar marches
against
the Belgæ.

Great motions in Belgic Gaul. The Belgæ, chiefly of German original, were the haughtiest and most warlike people in Gaul: they were greatly displeased with having the Romans for their near neighbours; and being jealous of Cæsar's designs, they resolved to be before hand with this general. The beginning of this very spring they had an army of three hundred thousand men on foot. Cæsar had but eight legions, reckoning the reinforcements he was bringing with him from Cisalpine Gaul: but the enemy's numbers did not dismay him; for he well knew their levity. He defeats them in their passage over the Axona (y); upon which they disperse, and return every one to his own country. This step hastened their ruin, for Cæsar pursues them, attacks each nation separately, and makes a great slaughter. He had already received the submission of the Rheini (x) upon his arrival, and he reduced the Suesiones (a), the Bellovaci (b), and the Ambiani (c). But he met with a greater resistance from the Nervii (d), who inhabited the country between the Scaldis and the Sabis (e). They had joined the Atrebatæ (f) and the Veromandui (g) their neighbours, and were prepared to give a proper reception to the Roman army. Bloody battle on the banks of the

His successes
against
them.

(y) Now the *Aisne*.

(a) Their chief town, *Durocorum*, now Rheims.

(b) Their chief town, *Augusta Suesionum*, now Soissons.

(c) Their chief town, *Cesaromagus*, now Beauvais.

(d) Their chief town, *Samarobriga*, now Amiens.

(e) Their chief towns, *Bogacum*, Bavay; and *Cambracum*, Cambray.

(f) Now the *Scheldt* and the *Sambre*.

(g) Their chief town, *Nemetacum*, Arras.

(h) Their chief town, *Augusta Veromandorum*, Vermandois.

Sabis,

Sabis, where the Romans, after a hard contest, at length obtained the victory. The next thing they did was to attack the Aduatici, who are supposed to have inhabited the banks of the Meuse in the neighbourhood of Namur. These people resolve to defend themselves in their capital. Frightened at the sight of the military machines which Cæsar was erecting to batter the town in breach, they pretend to surrender, but afterwards attempt to surprize the Romans. Cæsar, in punishment for this treachery, sells them all for slaves.

While the Roman general was extending his conquests in Belgium, P. Crassus, the son of the triumvir, had met with very extraordinary success in Celtic Gaul, where he subdued all the maritime coast from the mouth of the Sequana (c) to that of the Ligeris (d).

Honours
paid to Cæsar
at Rome.

Cæsar spends the winter in Cisalpine Gaul, as he had done the preceding year, under pretence of going the circuit, and administering justice, according to the custom of Roman magistrates. But his real motive was to be where he could watch the intrigues of his enemies at Rome, and support his interest with the citizens, which since his late conquests was prodigiously increased. *Supplications*, or solemn thanksgivings, in honour of Cæsar, are ordered for fifteen days, a greater number than had been ever granted to any other general: and commissioners are appointed to settle the state of his conquests with him, a favour seldom granted till after the conclusion of a war.

697.

Renewal of
the triumvirate.

Renewal of the triumvirate. Cæsar has an interview with Crassus at Ravenna, and with Pompey at Luca, to strengthen their confederacy. It is agreed among them, that Pompey and Crassus shall stand for a second consulate, and that the command of the army in Gaul shall be continued to Cæsar for five years, with the title of proconsul. There was now an end of liberty; even Cicero, to avoid a second banishment, was obliged to commend Cæsar before the senate, and to vote for continuing him in the government of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul. He owns himself, that this was a very great mortification to him; and that it would have been greatly to his honour, if he could have copied the example of the poet Philoxenus, who chose rather to be sent to prison by Dionysius of Syracuse, than to praise some verses of that tyrant's composing. Thus Cicero, who had so often braved death in the defence of his country, had not the resolution to run the risk of a second exile in the same cause; and the reason is plain, he was less afraid of death than of banishment. The former would have filled up the measure of his glory: whereas, to be sentenced as a criminal is attended with some infamy; at least in the opinion of our cotemporaries, who in general are not so capable as the next generation, of judging impartially of our actions. Cæsar returns with the utmost expedition to Celtic Gaul, where his good fortune furnished him

Cæsar
continues
his conquests
in Gaul.

(c) Now the Seine.

(d) Now the Loire.

with

with a fresh opportunity of extending his conquests. The storm burst first on the Veneti (e), who brought it upon themselves by daring to revolt, and by retaining the Roman knights, that had been sent into their province to demand provisions. These people are defeated by D. Brutus in a sea engagement, which Cæsar, who had marched against them in person, beheld from the shore. They are obliged to surrender at discretion; but Cæsar thought fit to act with severity, and sell them for slaves. Q. Titurius Sabinus, another of Cæsar's lieutenants, obtains a complete victory over the Unelli (f), the Eburones (g), and the Lexovii (h), allies of the Veneti. Crassus the younger subdues the Aquitani: and though the season was far spent, Cæsar was desirous of reducing the Morini (i) and the Menapii (k), inhabitants of the North of Gaul, who were also leagued with the Veneti; but the winter prevented him.

The famous Mark Antony, afterwards triumvir, served this year under Cæsar, to whose interest he was attached: he had already acquired a considerable reputation in the Egyptian war, undertaken by the proconsul Gabinus, governor of Syria, with a view of restoring Ptolemy Auletes to his kingdom, from whence he had been driven by his own subjects for his irregular conduct. Gabinus was an avaricious man, who entered into this war without any commission from the republic, and merely with an intent to squeeze large sums out of the unfortunate Ptolemy; but at his return he was condemned for extortion. The whole honour of the victory belonged to Mark Antony, to whom Gabinus had given the command of the cavalry. Mark Antony serves under Cæsar.

At Rome Cicero is insulted by Clodius's faction: Clodius was at that time ædile, and under pretence of some answer of the aruspices explained in his own manner, he wanted to pull down the palace, which that illustrious orator had rebuilt in the city. Cicero is supported by his friend Milo, who puts Clodius and his adherents to flight. A violent riot at the comitia on the electing new consuls. The tribune M. Porcius Cato, who sided with Pompey and Crassus, protests against holding the assemblies, and throws the republic into an interregnum. At length Pompey and Crassus are chosen by means of Cæsar's intrigues, with whom they had had a conference at Luca. These new conspirators stuck at nothing, whether treachery or open force, to attain their ends. By the same methods they excluded Cato from the prætorship, whose aim in standing for this office was merely to oppose their tyranny. They likewise obtained the governments of Syria and Spain for five years; the former fell to Crassus, the latter Pompey and Crassus chosen consuls a second time.

(e) Their chief town, *Vindana*, Vannes.

(f) Their chief town, *Cratiatonum*, Carentan.

(g) Their chief town, *Mediolanum*, Evreux.

(h) Their chief town, *Noviomagus*, Lisieux.

(i) Their chief towns, *Tervanna*, Tervanne; *Castellum Morinorum*, Cassel; *portus Gessariacus* qui et *Hius*, now Boulogne.

(k) Their chief town, *Castellum Menapiorum*, Kessel.

Cæsar continued in the command of Gaul. Imprudent conduct of Pompey and Crassus.

so Pompey. Cæsar is also continued in the government of Gaul for five years.

698.

But Pompey and Crassus were both hurrying to their destruction. Pompey behaved imprudently in raising a formidable rival against himself, or rather in making him his master, by continuing Cæsar in command for five years, which must strengthen his power beyond all possibility of being shaken, and give him an opportunity of gathering an immense number of laurels. Crassus, on the other hand, was no sooner nominated to the government of Syria, than he entered into a wild project of waging war against the Parthians, in which he met with all the bad success that the tribune Ateius Capito had wished him. This man finding he could not succeed so as to prevent his departure, had recourse to *imprecations*, which according to the superstitious notions of the Romans, were to bring down heavy calamities on the person against whom those curses were levelled, as well as on him that uttered them (p).

Pompey's theatre.

Pompey never so much as attempted to set foot in his government of Spain, for it would have been contrary to his design of continuing to exercise an unlimited authority in Rome; and, therefore, though it was an unprecedented thing, he thought proper to administer his province by his lieutenants, while he busied himself with conciliating the benevolence of the Romans by public games and spectacles. The shows he gave at the dedication of a new theatre of his own constructing, were so magnificent, that, according to Cicero, the grandeur of the solemnity spoiled all the gaiety of it. The theatre here mentioned was a *fixed* one, the first of the kind (q), and large enough to hold forty thousand persons. The only good thing that Pompey and Crassus did during their consulate, was to introduce a better order in the chusing of judges. They passed likewise a law against bribery; but it was laughed at, because every body knew that they practised it openly themselves. Their conduct was still more ridiculous in proposing a third law for reforming the luxury of entertainments, which they both carried to a very high pitch; but they could not get it passed.

Cæsar obtains advantages over the Germans.

Cæsar obtains further advantages, not against the Gauls, for they were too much intimidated by their late defeats to give him any disturbance, but against the Usipites and the Tenchteri, a people of Germany, who had been driven from thence by their neighbours the Suevi, and wanted to settle on the banks of the Rhine. The proconsul coming up with them, obtains a complete victory, and passes that river himself upon a wooden bridge, which had been built by his

He builds a bridge over the Rhine.

(p) Lucan, lib. 3. says—*Crassumque in bella secuta—strepus tribunitia moventur prælia dux.*

(q) Tacitus takes notice, that Pompey was censured for this innovation: the ruins of this theatre are still to be seen at Rome,

orders

SEVENTH CENTURY.

399

orders in ten days. He was fond of opportunities to distinguish himself; so that perhaps this enterprize might have been as much owing to the desire of fame, as to any hopes he had of deriving a real advantage from it. What confirms this suspicion, is that after he had received the submission of some of the neighbouring nations, he made haste back to Gaul, broke down his bridge, and immediately set about an expedition into Britain, to which it does not appear that he could have any other motive than the desire of spreading the terror of his name in this island, as he had lately done in Germany. He landed safe in Britain, notwithstanding the opposition of the inhabitants, whom he vigorously repulsed. But he was able to undertake nothing further, for want of his cavalry, who were prevented by tempestuous weather from joining him; he therefore reembarked his forces, after making the islanders promise to send him over hostages into Gaul, a promise they took care not to observe. Such was the fruit of an expedition, which, as he had foreseen, did him infinite honour at Rome; for the senate, on this occasion, decreed public thanksgivings to the gods for twenty days.

His expedition to Britain.

699.

Something might have been expected from the new consuls, if there was any possibility of saving the republic; but it was lost, it was undone. Pompey, under pretence of executing the commission of supplying the capital with provisions, kept several legions at the gates of Rome. In the East, Crassus commanded a formidable army, which he was going to lead against the Parthians; and Cæsar in the West, was finishing the conquest of Gaul, with a view to enslave his own country. Hence not only the consul Ænobarbus, who was an avowed enemy to Pompey and Crassus, but Cato, who at length obtained the prætorship, were obliged to submit to the oppression of the triumvirs. Yet Cato got a law passed against bribery, and in consequence thereof was greatly insulted by the populace, who made a trade of selling their votes. Crassus was successful at first against the Parthians, having reduced several of their cities in Mesopotamia; but all of a sudden these fine blossoms were blasted by his avarice. He retired to Antioch, where he shewed himself a worthy successor of Gabinus, by oppressing the Syrians. Not satisfied with robbing private people, he ransacked a great many famous temples, and made a journey to Judæa, only to plunder that of Jerusalem.

Decline of the republic.

Crassus's avarice and success.

Cæsar was attaining his end by nobler means, knowing that riches would not be wanting, where power abounded: therefore persisting in his design to distinguish himself by military exploits, he undertook a second expedition into Britain, which he was desirous of adding to his conquests; and after a very slight resistance, he subdued the greatest part of the island. Cassivellaunus (s), lord of

Cæsar's second expedition to Britain.

(s) Cassibelan, king of the Trinobantes, the inhabitants of Middlesex and Essex, was intrusted by the other princes with the conduct of the war.

a terri-

A general
insurrection
in Gaul.

Cæsar
defeats the
Gauls.

a territory situate on the banks of the Tamis (u), twenty leagues from the sea, was the only person that distinguished himself on that occasion, by refusing to admit the Romans into his dominions (x). Cæsar at his return to Gaul, is obliged to distribute his troops into different quarters, in consequence of a famine which ravaged the country. The Gauls take advantage of this circumstance to fall upon the Roman legions in separate quarters. Sabinus and Cotta, Cæsar's lieutenant generals, are attacked and defeated by Ambiorix king of the Eburones (y). Q. Cicero, the orator's brother, would have run the same risk, if he had not been seasonably assisted by Cæsar, who defeated sixty thousand of the enemy, though he had with him only seven thousand Romans. This gallant behaviour kept the other provinces in awe. The Treviri (z) indeed began to move under the command of Induciomarus their chief; but he was killed in an engagement, and his head was brought to the Roman general. Cæsar takes up his winter quarters in Gaul, to prevent the consequences of the revolt. The reason why the Gauls did not avail themselves of his absence in Britain, to rise up in arms, was because he had taken the chief of their nobility with him as hostages.

700.

Interregnum.

Defeat, and
death of
Crassus.

The tribune Quintus Mucius Scævola having raised many difficulties at the comitia for electing new consuls, where the candidates had all recourse to barefaced bribery, the republic was fallen into an interregnum: this lasted till the month of July, by the intrigues of Pompey, who endeavoured in the present anarchy to be created dictator. At length Cn. Domitius Calvinus, and M. Valerius Messala, were chosen consuls by open bribery; so that the evil, which Scævola wanted to prevent, was only delayed, being grown inevitable.

This year concludes the seventh century of Rome, and is remarkable for an event that proved fatal to the republic. This was the intire defeat of Crassus by the Parthians, a nation with whom the Romans had no quarrel; neither had Crassus any commission to begin the war. But his avarice would not permit him to make this reflection; and so great was his presumption,

(u) The river Thames.

(x) According to Cæsar's account, Cassibelan attacked the Romans, but was repulsed: the next day the Britons fell upon three Roman legions, and were defeated. After this victory, Cæsar marched towards the Thames, and passed it just above Walton, when the Trinobantes submitted to the Romans. Cæsar takes the chief town of Cassibelan, supposed to be Verulamium, now St. Albans; and soon after Cassibelan sues for peace, and obtains it. Tacitus says, that this Roman general rather shewed the Romans the way to Britain, than put them in possession of it. Pliny tells us, that Cæsar, upon his return to Rome, offered to Venus a breast-plate enriched with British pearls, as a trophy of his conquests in this island.

(y) A people of the country of Liege beyond Brabant; their chief town *Atuatica*, now *Tongres*.

(z) Their chief town, *Augusta Trevirorum*, Triers.

that

(r)

that he despised the powerful succours offered him by Artabazus king of Armenia, an ally of the Romans; and to complete his misfortune, he blindly followed the treacherous advice of Abgarus king of Edessa in Osrhoene. This prince, having held a private correspondence with the Parthians, went to the Roman camp, and easily made Crassus believe that the enemy, struck with the terror of his name, only upon entering Mesopotamia, were flying before him with the utmost precipitation, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to come up with them. Upon this intelligence, Crassus marched his army into the sandy plains, in pursuit of a prey which he looked upon as certain. After a long and painful march, he arrived within sight of the Parthians; who instead of flying from the Romans, advanced against them with a numerous and well-disciplined cavalry. The battle began with a shower of arrows, which the Parthians discharged so dexterously, that they pierced through the bucklers of the Romans, tore their bodies, and in short did terrible execution. Crassus advanced against the enemy, who betook themselves to flight, only to do more mischief; for they shot their arrows with as great dexterity when their backs were turned, as when they stood their ground. What could the Romans do in this situation, being chiefly infantry, and accustomed to close fighting. Young Crassus, who served under his father in this unfortunate expedition, made a bold push at the head of a few cohorts, and came up with the Parthians, who had faced about, and were ready to receive him: after performing extraordinary feats, he is defeated, dangerously wounded, and obliged to one of his attendants for putting an end to his life: several other officers of distinction also kill themselves through despair. Night puts a stop to the slaughter, and the remains of the Roman army make their escape to *Carrae* (r); whither they are pursued by the enemy. Crassus being invited to a conference by Surenas the Parthian general, is forced, by the mutiny of his own soldiers, to accept of the proposal; which was exposing himself to certain death. Surenas's intention was to take him prisoner, but Crassus putting himself in a posture of defence, is killed sword in hand, and almost all his attendants meet with the same fate. We are obliged to give some share of praise to the Roman general, at the same time that we acknowledge him deserving of the heaviest censure. Nothing can be more heroic than his stifling his grief, upon the news of his son's death, for fear of dismaying the army; and the speech he made to his attendants, when the troops obliged him to deliver himself up into the hands of Surenas: *wherever your better fortune shall chance to place you, be sure to say that Crassus perished by the treachery of his enemies, and not by the shameful behaviour of his own men.*

In Gaul, Caesar only waited for the spring to take the field. After raising two new legions in Italy, and borrowing a third from Pompey,

Caesar's exploits in Gaul,

(r) A city of Mesopotamia, by the Hebrews called *Cbarran*, now *Herat*.

to repair the losses of the preceding year, he ravages the country of the Nervii, who threatened a revolt. Then he convenes the states of Gaul at *Lutetia* (x), and immediately marches against the Senones, who had refused to send their deputies to that assembly. Acco their chief being surprized, they submit, and send hostages to Cæsar. The Carnutes (a), who had also taken up arms, make a proper submission. Cæsar's intention at first was to march directly against the Eburones, in order to exterminate that nation, in revenge for Sabinus and Cotta's defeat; but he found upon reflexion, that it would be more advisable to begin with reducing the *Treviri* and the *Menapii*, allies of those people. Accordingly he marches against the latter, and laying waste their country, obliges them to submit. As to the *Treviri*, he found, upon his arrival, that they had been subdued by one of his lieutenants; therefore having nothing further to do in that country, he determined to pass the Rhine a second time, in order to prevent the Germans from lending succours to Ambiorix and the Eburones. This expedition was short; the Suevi, against whom his motions were principally intended, withdrew to their forests upon his approach; and Cæsar apprehending he should want provisions in a country almost uncultivated, returned in great haste to Gaul. He did not break down the new bridge, which he had thrown over the Rhine, but let it stand nearly intire, except the part towards the enemy's territory; and on the other side of the river he erected a wooden tower, with a strong retrenchment for eight cohorts. At length he enters the country of the Eburones, and lays it waste; but Ambiorix escapes his most diligent inquiries, so that he wreaks his vengeance upon Acco, chief of the Senones, on whom he passes sentence of death, and sees it executed. This done, he spends the winter in Cisalpine Gaul, that he might be within reach of Rome, where he had business of the utmost importance to manage.

He passes
the Rhine a
second time.

He passes
sentence of
death upon
Acco.

PARTICULAR REMARKS.

THE magnificence of thrones is demolished by the Romans; the pride of sceptres is humbled, and the mightiest monarchs pay their obeisance to these bold republicans. Rome is arrived to a pitch of grandeur, that has been the admiration of all ages. But from what cause can this admiration proceed? What good have the Romans done to mankind? Was it not by fire and sword that they opened themselves a passage to the extremities of the earth? And were not their victorious armies employed in distressing innocent nations, and continually wading through rivers of blood?

(x) Cæsar calls it *Lutetia Parisiorum*; this is Paris, the metropolis of France.

(a) Their chief towns, *Autricum*, Chartres; and *Genabum*, Orleans.

Let us be ingenuous : power seems to include an idea of grandeur, because it is the foundation of prerogative. Alexander for many ages was considered as one of the greatest men that ever lived, for no other reason than that he was one of the most powerful ; just as the vulgar are apt to look upon the lion as the king of beasts, because he is endued with the greatest ferocity.

There were times when all mankind thought like the vulgar ; but it is our good fortune that those times are no more. Philosophy, true philosophy, has dispelled the glory of conquerors, pulled down the trophies of barbarous ages, broke their crowns, and blasted their laurels.

Still the Romans appear great in our eyes ; but it is because of their love of glory, their prudence, their intrepidity, their constancy in adversity, their moderation in prosperity (whatever principle it flowed from) ; in short, it is because of their respect for religion and laws, their frugality, temperance, and purity of manners, virtues for which that nation was so long distinguished. For we must not confound ideas : humanity and a vein of politeness are inconsistent with barbarousness ; but the same cannot be said in regard to the more rigid virtues.

What other occupation can barbarous nations find out for themselves than agriculture and war ? They work no longer than is absolutely necessary to procure a subsistence, and to recruit their bodily strength : and then they employ it against the very end for which it was bestowed, that is, in endeavouring to destroy the rest of their species. There are several branches of agriculture, which it is impossible for them to know. The mere necessities of nature, are all they desire ; every thing else is a superfluity, an article of luxury no way suitable to their situation. War therefore becomes their chief employment ; but as this cannot be rightly conducted without military virtues, among which we must certainly rank exact discipline and severity of manners, the latter is sometimes carried among those barbarous nations to a degree of ferocity.

This severity was long a favourite virtue of the Romans : but it afterwards abated gradually in proportion to their conquests, and the increase of their power, till at length under the government of the emperors, they were become the most corrupt, the most abject, and contemptible of all nations. The causes of so great a change are not difficult to discover.

The first seems to me to be general to every nation, the others appear more particular to the Romans.

Mankind improve in elegance of manners, according to the opportunities they have of communicating with each other : take away this social intercourse, and they will all become barbarians. This holds equally good in regard to intire nations ; which indeed are civilized by connexions with others more polite than themselves. The charms of politeness and humanity are of so powerful a nature, that wherever they are displayed, they captivate the

the mind, and oblige those people, that are even of the most savage disposition, to submit to the agreeable yoke. After Greece was conquered by the Romans, she subdued those rough warriors in her turn, by communicating the liberal arts: *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes intulit agresti Latio*, says Horace in his epistle to Augustus.

This change operates insensibly; for mankind do not pass suddenly from extreme ferocity to the opposite extreme of moderation and humanity. Brutal savage men will begin with shewing themselves only rough and severe; by degrees they will arrive at the just medium; and become remarkable at length for their politeness and purity of manners. But it is possible also in process of time, that their minds will be too much softened, and their ancient discipline be corrupted. This was what happened to the Romans in the age we have been last describing; with this difference however, that they were grown a corrupt people, though their manners were not intirely softened. The reason of this we must explain.

After the destruction of Carthage, the Romans flew from conquest to conquest, and from most of their victories they reaped even more treasure than glory: or to express myself properly, they soon accustomed themselves to measure the glory of their generals, by the riches which they displayed at their triumphs. These were either the spoils of conquered nations, called *triumphal gold*; or the monies arising from the sale of prisoners of war, and then they took the name of *captive gold* (*aurum captivum, captiva pecunia*). But it was not enough for those proud conquerors to despoil their enemies, they would likewise be crowned by the hands of their rivals, whom they had humbled and subdued. No longer were they contented with plain laurels, they insisted upon having crowns of gold. *Triumphal crowns*, says Festus, are such as are given to victorious generals; they were formerly of laurel, but now they are of gold. Julius Cæsar alone received on different occasions eighteen hundred of these crowns, which, according to Appian, weighed all together above twenty thousand pound weight. And this honorary crown, which in the beginning was a free gift, degenerated afterwards into a tribute or tax; for Dion observes, that Augustus gained the affections of the people of Italy, by releasing them from the obligation of furnishing the gold, which was used for triumphal crowns. Spartian also takes notice, that Adrian was greatly commended for discharging Italy from the same heavy burden, and for diminishing it in the provinces.

Thus almost the whole wealth of the known world was poured of a sudden into Rome, where it did the greatest mischief. The Romans having been always in poverty before, and intirely unacquainted with the just and lawful means of acquiring riches, could have no knowledge of their right use. Every citizen, like another Lucullus, looked upon his wealth as the spoils of barbarians, whom by the laws of war he could insult with impunity. Hence came that bad policy of suddenly abolishing all taxes; hence those largesses and distributions among

among the people; that prodigality in public shows; that profusion in entertainments; and that unbounded luxury which gradually infected the several orders of the commonwealth.

Among a people incapable of acquiring riches by any other than lawful means, there is no objection against paying a certain degree of honour and respect to the opulent. Nay, it is right it should be so; because it is to be presumed, that their wealth is the fruit of industry and abilities, as nobility is supposed to be the hereditary reward of virtue. But in a nation destitute of arts, commerce, and industry, where opulence can arise, if so I may express myself, from no other source than villany and injustice, there is an end of all government, if riches are honoured; and this was the misfortune of the Romans. The splendor of those citizens, who sold their suffrages at an extravagant price; of those warriors, who converted the contributions and spoils of the enemy to their own private use; of those magistrates, who artfully inclined the balance to the side of bribery and corruption; of those publicans, who were so dextrous in multiplying their rights and pretensions in infinitum; of those intriguing men, who raised great estates out of the spoils of their creditors; of those governors of provinces, who under a thousand pretences had devoured the substance of the people committed to their care; this splendor, I say, imposed on the rude multitude, who had very little notion of solid virtue. They looked upon all this pageantry as honourable, and worthy of their esteem; which soon obliged them to pay submission to the great, because power is generally the concomitant of riches.

Such prodigious alterations in the notions and manners of the Romans, must needs have produced as great a change in their character. That boldness, that majesty which they had displayed on so many occasions, were suddenly lost. Those men who never spoke but to give laws to the universe, were now become more disposed to receive laws themselves from the first fellow citizen, that had resolution enough to despoil them of their liberty, or money to purchase it. No longer had they any interest in sacrificing themselves for the public good, since all consideration and regard were paid to those, who studied only how to plunder, oppress, and destroy their country. A nation cannot be free without virtue; of which the Romans were now intirely void, since it was no longer either honoured or rewarded. Public spirit gave way to private interest; and the love of freedom to slavery.

Not that this people had ever any inclination to servile dependance, a state the most mortifying to human nature, and most contrary to its general privileges: but this exorbitant wealth, this sudden and unjust acquisition, had produced the most unbounded luxury, which in its turn gave rise to an insatiate desire of riches. They hardly knew any other glory, than that of hoarding at the expence of justice, humanity, and honour: their character sensibly degenerated: by degrees they became mean and cringing, ready to barter

their liberty for money; ready to prostitute the greatest panegyrics upon their tyrants; ready, in short, to invest Cæsar with an absolute power over the chastity of all the women of Rome, &c.

Though they lost the republican, they did not lose the military spirit: only the motive was changed. Heretofore they had fought for the glory and majesty of the empire; but now to serve the ambition of a fellow citizen, most capable of enriching his soldiers. "Sylla," says M. de Montesquieu, corrupted the army; and they afterwards corrupted their generals: by distributing the forfeited estates, he made his soldiers rapacious: the example was followed by succeeding commanders, who were sure to embrace every opportunity of enriching their armies with the spoils of their fellow citizens." Hence it is easy to perceive why the Romans should grow so corrupt, without becoming more polite. Tired of ravaging the world, or rather finding no longer a world to ravage, they turned their arms against their own bowels. Possessed with an insatiable thirst after riches, they cut one another's throats for the melancholy spoils of the human species. As they did not change their barbarous disposition, how was it possible for their manners to be polished?



EIGHTH CENTURY.

Year of Rome 701.

Before Christ 53.

POMPEY's credit and authority were arrived to such a pitch, that after a long interregnum, owing to the intrigues and violent proceedings of the candidates, he was chosen consul for this year, with a power however of choosing to himself a colleague at the end of two months, if he thought proper. The public affairs must have been in a most terrible situation, since this unprecedented election was approved of by Cato, and by the whole senate. Indeed Rome was grown the center of discord, where nothing was to be seen but riots, assassinations, and disturbances among the adherents of those who stood candidates for public offices. The famous Clodius, who acted one of the principal characters in those scenes, was killed in a scuffle by Milo, Cicero's friend.

The late behaviour of the senate reflected new glory on Pompey, who was now intirely reconciled to the Aristocratical party, as the friendship between him and Cæsar was greatly abated. Their former ties were dissolved: Julia was no more: and Crassus having perished in the Parthian expedition, the fear of his declaring in favour of either party, no longer kept them in awe. Pompey marries Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio, and widow of young Crassus. He makes new laws *de vi & de ambitu* (b), reforms the courts of justice, and shortens the method of judicial proceedings. Milo fell the victim of the *lex de vi*, which Pompey, his avowed enemy, seemed to have enacted on purpose against him; for he erected an extraordinary tribunal to try him for the murder of Clodius. Milo was condemned, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Cicero, who had undertaken his defence. Metellus Scipio would likewise have been cast for the crime of *ambitus*, but Pompey solicited so strongly in his behalf, that he was acquitted: by this conduct he himself was the first that violated one of the most essential laws, which he had lately enacted for the administration of justice. This same

(b) The *leges de vi*, were against those that used any violence either to public or private persons, without a lawful authority. The *leges de ambitu*, were against intriguing or bribing at elections. By the *Tullia lex de ambitu*, the author M. Tullius Cicero, in 1690, the senators convicted of the *crimen ambitus*, were to suffer *aque et ignis interdictio* for ten years; and the commons incurred a severer penalty than had been denounced by the Calpurnian law. The latter was made in 686, and ordained, that besides a fine, no person convicted of this crime should be capable of holding an office, or of entering the senate. The *lex Licinia de sodalitiis*, made in 691, appointed still a greater penalty to offenders. By *sodalitia* they understood an unlawful combination of parties at elections.

Cæsar's
further
exploits in
Gaul.

Metellus was pitched upon by Pompey for his colleague in the consulate, though the immorality of his character rendered him altogether undeserving of that dignity; so that his attempt to restore the censorship to its ancient lustre, seemed to suit him the least of all men.

We are now come to Cæsar's most brilliant campaign in Gaul. Upon information that the people of that country had made a general insurrection, at the instigation of Vercingetorix, who was proclaimed king of the Arverni (c), he marched against them with the utmost expedition, and crossed the Mons Cebenna (d) in the depth of winter: having surprized the enemy, who looked upon this march as impracticable, he fell upon the country of the Arverni, and laid it waste with fire and sword. Vercingetorix was employed in the province of the *Bituriges* (e); from whence he hastened back to the assistance of his countrymen. Cæsar takes advantage of the diversion, and rejoins the legions, which he had left in their winter quarters in the country of the *Lingones* (f). He penetrates next into the province of the *Bituriges*, after he had made himself master of *Genabum* (g), which he set on fire, to punish the inhabitants for massacring the Roman garrison. He lays siege to *Avaricum*, and after a vigorous resistance takes it by storm. The Gauls had learnt to their cost the art of defending fortified towns; this siege was maintained with such skill and resolution, that any other army than Cæsar's would have miscarried in the attempt.

Vercingetorix declared general of the revolted Gauls.

Is defeated by Cæsar.

The siege of Alesia by Cæsar.

Revolt of the *Ædui* (h), the most ancient allies the Romans had in Gaul. This event obliged Cæsar to join Labienus, who had entered the country of the *Senones*, after having made an unsuccessful attempt to besiege *Lutetia*, at the head of four legions: this city was not reduced under the power of the Romans till the following year. Vercingetorix is declared generalissimo of the confederacy. He was very capable of filling this high post, notwithstanding his youth; his prudence being equal to his activity and valour: but he unfortunately deviated from the plan he had hitherto pursued, which consisted rather in harassing than fighting the Roman army. Vercingetorix saw Cæsar retiring towards the *Roman province* (i); and attributing it to fear, he ventured a battle, and lost it. The enemy, to the amount of eighty thousand men, retired to *Alesia*, where Cæsar undertook to besiege them. It is with very good reason, that all ancient and modern writers join in commending this attempt, as the highest exertion of genius and courage. And to come to particulars, is it possible to conceive any thing better contrived, or more expeditiously executed, than that double line of circumvallation

(c) The people of Auvergne; their chief town was *Augustanum*, St. Flour.

(d) The *Cevennes*.

(e) *Ager Bituricensis*, now Berry; the chief town was *Avaricum*, Bourges.

(f) Their chief town, *Andomatunum*, Langres.

(g) Now Orleans.

(h) Their chief town *Augustodunum*, Autun.

(i) The country called afterwards *Gallia Narbonensis*; it was at this time particularly styled *provincia Romanorum*.

drawn

C O N S U L S.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
<p>Cneius Pompeius Magnus. 3^o. <i>Alone at first; at the end of seven months he chooses his colleague,</i> Q. Cæcilius Metellus Scipio.</p>	701	53	<p><i>Catulus (Q. Valerius Catulus)</i> born at Verona, died at Rome at the age of thirty, towards the year of that city 705 This poet was of an easy and facetious disposition, a character which he has transfused into his works. We have still a hundred and seventeen epigrams of his remaining, or other compositions in verse, most of which are excellent things; his style is pure, but his ideas are sometimes otherwise.</p>	<p><i>Kingdom of Judah.</i> Antipater taking advantage of the troubles, and of the weakness of Hyrcanus, obtains of Cæsar the government of Judæa. He confers on Phasaelus, his eldest son, the government of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood; and upon Herod, his other son, the government of Galilee, before Christ 48 Antigonus, one of the sons of Aristobulus, having invited the Parthians into Judæa, in order to recover the throne of his ancestors, Herod applies for succours to Rome, where he is declared king of Judæa, by means of Mark Antony's protection, in 41 Herod besieges Antigonus in Jerusalem, and takes him prisoner with the assistance of Sosius, Antony's lieutenant. This general wanted to keep him to adorn his triumph, but Herod prevailed on Antony to have him beheaded. In him finished the race of the Asmonæans, the year before Christ 38 Herod puts Hyrcanus II. to death, who still gave him umbrage, though he was fourscore years of age; and seeing that fortune was beginning to frown upon Antony, he abandons him notwithstanding the great obligations he had to that</p>
<p>Servius Sulpicius Rufus.</p>	702	52		
<p>M. Claudius Marcellus. L. Æmilius Paulus.</p>	703	51		
<p>C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Cornelius Lentulus.</p>	704	50		
<p>C. Claudius Marcellus. <i>Cæsar dictator towards the end of the year.</i></p>				
<p>C. Julius Cæsar. 2^o. Publius Servilius Vatia Mauricus.</p>	705	49		
<p><i>Cæsar dictator.</i> Q. Fufius Calenus. Publius Vatinius.</p>	706	48	<p><i>Cæsar (Caius Julius)</i> born at Rome, the year 653, killed in the senate house in 709 The exploits of this celebrated Roman are a model in the military art. His Commentaries, or Memoirs on the civil war, and those of the Gauls, are a model in the art of writing. We have reason to believe, that if he had enjoyed the sovereignty much longer, he would have left us also the best model of the art of government. His fruitful genius was capable of the most sublime undertakings.</p>	
<p><i>They were nominated consuls towards the end of the year by Cæsar.</i> C. Julius Cæsar. 3^o.</p>	707	47		
<p><i>He is dictator, and at the same time consul with</i> M. Æmilius Lepidus.</p>				
<p>C. Julius Cæsar. 4^o. <i>He is dictator and sole consul during nine months: and then to finish the year, he nominates</i> Q. Fabius Maximus. Caius Trebonius.</p>	708	46		
<p><i>Fabius having died suddenly the last day of the year, Cornificius is substituted in his room for 17 hours.</i> C. Julius Cæsar. 5^o. Marcus Antonius.</p>	709	45	<p><i>Cicero (Marcus Tullius)</i> a native of Arpinum in Italy, killed at the age of sixty three, by order of Mark Antony, in the year of Rome 710 The moral reflexions, the sentiments of hu-</p>	
<p><i>As Cæsar was dictator at the same time, he chooses for consul in his place</i> M. Æmilius Lepidus.</p>				
Aulus				

Cæsar de-
feats the
Gauls, and
takes the
place.

drawn round Alesia (*k*), and defended towards the country by new ditches, secured by strong palisades, by wells filled with sharp stakes, and by an infinite number of crows feet to entangle the enemy. In vain did two hundred and forty thousand combatants attempt to raise the siege; they met with their fate before they could approach the lines; and fifty thousand of them having advanced to attack a hill, which could not be taken into the circumvallation because of its great circumference, were repulsed, defeated, and cut in pieces. The Gauls disheartened by this overthrow, retire to their respect homes. Vercingetorix is obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender himself at discretion, with his whole army. They are all reduced to slavery, and distributed among the legionaries, except the Arverni and the Ædui, whom the Roman general spared, hoping by their means to gain over those two chief nations of Celtic Gaul; and he succeeded in his expectations. Cæsar takes a resolution to spend a second winter in that country.

702.

All Gaul
subdued, and
reduced to a
Roman
province.

This precaution was necessary. The Gauls were far from looking upon themselves as a conquered people; on the contrary, finding that all their joint efforts had hitherto proved unsuccessful, they resolved to divide their forces, and to act in separate bodies. Cæsar being apprized of their design, prevents it by attacking first the Bituriges, then the Carnutes, and subdues them both. In the spring, he is obliged to fight the Bellovaci, the most intrepid and most warlike people of all the Celtæ: they maintained their reputation, but at length were defeated, and obliged to submit. And now the intire pacification and settlement of Gaul, was no way difficult to a man who knew so well how to temper rigour and severity with clemency and indulgence: yet he judged proper to take up his winter quarters once more among those people (*l*).

Affairs of
the East.

In the East, the Parthians menaced Syria and Cilicia; where they might certainly have cut out a great deal of work for the Romans, had they acted with vigour immediately after the defeat of Crassus. But they only sent a small number of troops into Syria, which were repulsed by young Cassius, who escaping from Parthian chains on the day so fatal to the Romans, had collected the feeble remains of their army together in Syria, and taken upon him the command of that province in the *interim*, though he was only quæstor. To Cassius succeeded M. Calpurnius Bibulus, who acquired no great honour in his proconsulate. Cilicia was better defended by Cicero, to whom the government of that province had fallen, in consequence of a law

(*k*) A town of the *Mandubii*, a people of Burgundy, and commonly believed to be *Alise* in that province.

(*l*) During his several expeditions into Gaul, he is said to have taken eight hundred cities, to have subdued three hundred different nations, and to have defeated, in several battles, three millions of men, of which one million were killed, and another taken prisoners. *Plut.*

enacted

EIGHTH CENTURY.

411

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Aulus Hirtius. Caius Vibius Pansa. <i>In whose room are substituted</i> C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius. <i>And in the room of those,</i> P. Ventidius. Caius Carrinas. M. Æmilius Lepidus. 2°.	710	44	humanity, the patriotic spirit, and the sound philosophy, interspersed in his works, render them most delightful. His orations and rhetorical pieces, are infinitely valuable to those who aim at eloquence; for there they will find both the principles and examples of the art. His letters are extremely curious, as they give us a detail of the principal events of his time, in which he had so great a share. In his treatises on a republic, and on laws, &c. he displays great judgment and good sense in regard to government. But we are still more pleased with his philosophical works; there we see Cicero, not such perhaps as he really was, but such as he desired to be.	that general. Antony is overcome at the battle of Actium, which gives rise to the Roman empire, predicted by the prophet Daniel, 32
L. Munacius Plancus. Lucius Antonius. Publ. Servilius Vatia Isauricus. 2°.	711	43		<i>Kings of Egypt.</i> Berenice governs during the exile of Ptolemy Dionysius, surnamed Auletes, till the year before Christ 52
Cn. Domitius Calvinus. 2°.	712	42		Ptolemy Dionysius and Cleopatra his sister, who was at the same time his wife, reign jointly till the year before Christ 48
Caius Asinius Pollio. <i>Consul substituted.</i> Q. Cornelius Balbus. P. Canidius Crassus. Lucius Marcus Censorinus.	713	41		Ptolemy the younger, brother of the preceding, marries Cleopatra, and reigns jointly with her till 45
C. Calvisius Sabinus. App. Claudius Publius Caius Norbanus Flaccus. <i>Consul substituted.</i> C. Julius Octavianus Cæsar. 2°.	714	40		Cleopatra alone till 31
Quintius Pedius. Caius Carrinas. Publius Ventidius. M. Vipsanius Agrippa.	715	39		Octavius, afterwards surnamed <i>Augustus</i> , reduces Egypt to a Roman province.
L. Canidius Gallus. Lucius Gellius Poplicola. M. Coccius Nerva. L. Cornificius. Sextus Pompeius. Marcus Antonius. 2°.	716	38	<i>Salust (Crispus Salustius)</i> a native of Amiternum, died in the year of Rome 719	<i>Kings of Parthia.</i> Mithridates III. is murdered by Orodes his brother, the year before Christ 53
Lucius Scribonius Libo. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. 3°.	717	37	We have two intire pieces of this historian's works, namely, the Catilinarian conspiracy, and the Jugurthine war. There are only some fragments remaining of his large Roman history, which Martial set so great a value upon, that he did not scruple to say	Orodes, formerly called <i>Herodes</i> , or <i>Trodes</i> , is poisoned by his son Phraates, the year before Christ 36
L. Volcatius Tullus. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus. Caius Sosius. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. 4°.	718	36		Phraates IV. reigned till the year of Christ 4
	719	35		
	720	34		
	721	33		
	722	32	<i>Primus Romanâ Crispus in disforiâ.</i>	

M. V. 1.

Yet

Cicero's
good con-
duct in
Cilicia,

enacted by Pompey in his third consulate, ordaining, that consuls and prætors should not be sent to govern provinces, till five years after the expiration of their magistracy; and this obliged them to have recourse to the oldest consulars, who had not as yet been vested with governments. As soon as Cicero was apprized that the Parthians had passed the Euphrates, he marched at the head of the legions, and posted himself in the desiles of mount Taurus to wait for the enemy, by which means he effectually covered his province: from thence he advanced as far as mount *Amianus* (f), where he surprized and beat the Parthians, and after a siege of fifty days made himself master of *Pindenissus*, one of their strongest fortresses. These exploits induced the soldiery to call him *Imperator*, a title extremely coveted by the Roman generals. At Rome they likewise granted him the honour of *public supplications*; and perhaps he would have obtained a triumph, had it not been for the intestine divisions of the republic: it is true, he was desirous of this honour; but still like a wise man, he preferred the glory arising from virtuous actions, to that acquired by arms. He used to jest with his friends about his military exploits; but he was serious when he enlarged upon the integrity, moderation, and disinterestedness, with which he had fulfilled his duty as a proconsul. The public admired him in this light, as did even the rigid Cato, who notwithstanding would have refused him the honour of supplications. Cato had lately been disappointed of the consulate, for which office he offered to stand, but did not solicit the electors; that is, he used no arts of popularity in going round the city (m), in taking mean persons by the hands (n), in calling them by their names (o), and in employing considerable men of his party to beg voices in his behalf: nay, he had persuaded the senate to make an order, that those who stood for offices, should themselves ask the people for their votes, and not solicit by others. The people were offended at this step, and for so frivolous a motive excluded the only person they ought to have courted to accept of this employment. The republic was threatened with the loss of her liberty from Cæsar and Pompey, each having a powerful party; and Cato alone was capable of disconcerting their views, had he been raised to the principal dignity in the state.

The senate
deprive
Cæsar of his
government
of Gaul.

The senate, pressed by Pompey, issue a decree the last of September, the intent of which was to deprive Cæsar of the government of Gaul the beginning of the next year. Cæsar opposes this decree by means of the four tribunes, whom he had secured in his interest by exorbitant sums of money; for it is said that Curio alone cost him

(f) A mountain that parteth Syria from Cilicia, according to Cicero, Attic. 5. but Tacitus placeth it in Syria. It is now called *monte di Scandarus*.

(m) Hence the phrase *ambire magistratum* had its rise.

(n) *Prensare amicos*.

(o) For this purpose they had usually a *nomenclator* or *mentor* to assist them. The persons that openly favoured their designs, were distinguished by the names of *salutatores*, *deductores*, and *sectatores*.

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.
M. Valerius Messala Corvinus.			Yet some celebrated writers, even of the Augustan age, charge him with being too fond of antiquated ex- pressions.
C. Julius Cæsar Octa- vianus, 5 th .	723	35	
M. Licinius Crassus.			Servius Sulpicius Ra- fus, a celebrated civil- ian, consul in the year of Rome 702
<i>In the room of Crassus were successively substi- tuted,</i>			
Caius Anstinius.			Cicero gives a very high encomium of him, when he says, that if all the Roman civilians were put together, Sul- picius would outstrip them. He wrote a hundred and four- score books on the ci- vil law, of which we have some fragments remaining, particular- ly in the Digest:
M. Tullius.			
Lucius Sænius.			Cicero gives a very high encomium of him, when he says, that if all the Roman civilians were put together, Sul- picius would outstrip them. He wrote a hundred and four- score books on the ci- vil law, of which we have some fragments remaining, particular- ly in the Digest:
C. Julius Cæsar Octa- vianus, 6 th .	724	30	
Sextus Apuleius.			Cicero gives a very high encomium of him, when he says, that if all the Roman civilians were put together, Sul- picius would outstrip them. He wrote a hundred and four- score books on the ci- vil law, of which we have some fragments remaining, particular- ly in the Digest:
<i>In the room of the latter is substituted</i>			
M. Valerius Messala Potius.			

upwards of seven millions five hundred thousand livres, with which he paid his debts. This is sufficient to prove what has been said of Cæsar, *that he subdued the Gauls with Roman steel, and the Romans with Gallic gold.* Such was the first act of hostility between these two famous rivals in glory and power.

703.

Pompey's
too great
confidence.

From this quarrel to a civil war, was an easy but dangerous transition. Pompey perhaps would never have ventured to take this step, had not he been too much elated by the tokens of affection towards his person, which the Romans shewed on a late occasion. Having been seized with a fit of sickness at Naples, which brought him to the brink of his grave, he recovered contrary to expectation, and had the pleasure of seeing all Italy expressing their greatest joy by public festivals; an honour never done before to any Roman. Pompey was naturally cautious and prudent, but this circumstance gave him an extravagant confidence of his own power: for upon being told that if Cæsar would march against Rome, there was nothing to stop him; he made answer: *in whatever part of Italy I shall stamp with my foot, legions will start out of the ground.* Cæsar spent this year, which was the ninth of his command, in Gaul, in gaining the affections of the inhabitants by lenity, and reconciling them to the Roman government. He did not march into Italy till the beginning of winter, taking with him one legion, which he carefully distributed in the several important posts of Cisalpine Gaul.

At Rome the censors Appius Claudius Pulcher, and Lucius Calpurnius Piso, took the last census under the republic, and ended it with a lustrum: they computed three hundred and twenty thousand citizens fit to bear arms.

704.

Civil war
between
Cæsar and
Pompey.

Civil war between Cæsar and Pompey. Pompey had offered to resign the proconsulate, and the command of the armies, if it should be judged necessary: Cæsar had made nearly the same proposal, and yet neither of them was sincere; for both were desirous of war. Pompey was urged to it by the consuls, by the senate, and by the whole order of patricians; Cæsar had on his side the soldiers, the people, and a multitude of young men of debauched morals, but of tried courage. Pompey behaved with more dignity; Cæsar with more resolution: one seemed to be chief of the republic; the other the ringleader of a conspiracy; but his enterprize soon assumed a more favourable aspect.

Decree for
Cæsar to
disband his
army.

The senate pass a decree, ordering Cæsar to resign the command of the army. The famous Mark Antony, tribune of the people, opposes this decree. Violent debates in the senate, which last seven days. At length the senatusconsultum is issued, as in the greatest emergencies of the state; *the consuls, the prætors, the tribunes of the people, receive orders to provide for the public safety.* Antony retires from Rome. Cæsar with the only legion he had then in Italy, begins the

the war, under pretence of asserting the rights of the tribuneship, which had been violated in the person of Mark Antony. He advances privately towards Ariminum (p), with an intent to surprize that town, and passes the *Rubicon* (q). On the banks of this river, the boundary of his province, he muses a few minutes: to pass it was declaring war: the fate of the Roman world was set in balance against Cæsar's ambition; but the latter preponderated. *Cæsar passed the river, says Plutarch, like men that are throwing themselves headlong from some precipice into (r) a vast abyss.* He takes possession of Rimini.

Cæsar passes
the Rubicon.

On this occasion happened two things very surprizing. The first is the consternation with which Rome was seized at the news of the taking of Ariminum; a consternation so great, that the senate immediately declared there was a *tumult*, that is, the republic and the city were in danger, and that every citizen was obliged to take up arms. But what is still more amazing, most of the senators, ma-

Consternation at
Rome.

(p) Now Rimini.

(q) The *Rubico* or *Rubicon* was a small river of *Æmilia*, in *Gallia Cispadana*, or the south part of *Gallia Cisalpina*, which separated this province from Italy, and emptied itself into the *Adriatic*. *Lucan*, *Pharsal*. 1. give a very particular description of this little river:

*Fonte cadit modico, parvisque impellitur undis
Puniceus Rubico: quum fervida canduit æstas:
Perque imas serpit valles, & Gallica certus
Limes ab Ausoniis determinat arva colonis.*

It is very extraordinary there should be any dispute about a river so famous in history. The general opinion supposes it to be the modern *Pisatello*, towards its source called *Rico*, which runs through *Romagna*, a province of the ecclesiastic state. Hence *Schottus*, in his *Itinerarium Italicum*, says: *Portum Cesenaticum, pagum ulterius videt, & magis ultra super litore amniculi Pissatelli omnino sifset. Perulstra Rubiconem perduellione C. Julii Cæsaris famosum: & cœgit ut ille fluviolus, flore imperio, præcipuam urbis Romæ provinciam Italianam eo loci inter Apenninum & Adriaticum mare determinarit à Gallia Cisalpina provincia.* Yet some historians of Rimini pretend, that the *Rubicon* must be the little river *Luso*, which riseth on the confines of the dutchy of *Urbino*, and after watering part of *Romagna*, empties itself into the *Adriatic*, a few leagues west of Rimini. And the reason they give for their opinion, is because the *Pisatello* falls into the *Sapis*, now *Savi*, whereas the *Rubicon* emptied itself into the sea. The learned *Scipio Claromontius* of *Cesena*, in answer to the historians of Rimini, lays a very great stress on the famous marble column, which was dug up in his time near the banks of the *Pisatello*, and which, at the request of the inhabitants of *Cesena*, was erected on the same spot by Cardinal *Rivazola* then legate of *Romagna*. On this column was the following inscription in capitals, *S. P. Q. R. Sanctis ad Rubiconis pontem jussu mandatuve Pop. Roman. Coss. Imp. Trib. miles, tiro, commisso, arma se quisquis es. Manipularive centurio, turmave legionaria, hic sistito, vexillum sumito, arma deponito, nec citra hunc amnem Rubiconem signa ductum exercitum, commeatumve traducito. Si quis bujusce jussionis ergo, adversus præcepta ierit, feceritve, adjudicatus esto hostis S. P. Q. R. ac si contra patriam arma tulerit, penatesque è sacris penetralibus asportaverit.* On the base was written, *Ultra hos fines arma proferre liceat nemini, E. D. R.* However, the antiquity of this inscription is very much suspected.

(r) As he crossed the river, he said to those that were present with a loud voice in the Greek language, ἀντιπρὸς νέκας, that is, *let the die be cast.*

gistrates

gistrates and patricians, deserted Rome to follow Pompey, who was as much frightened as themselves. I do not think it possible to account for those panics; or how a people who were sovereigns of the known world, and inhabited the strongest and most populous city upon the face of the earth, should tremble with fear upon the least danger that threatened Italy. The second is, that the senate should charge Pompey with the conduct of the war against Caesar. Had not Rome her consuls, whom the state had entrusted with the defence of the republic, and the command of her armies? Why should she throw herself into the arms of a man, who next to Caesar, was universally allowed to be the greatest enemy of the republic? Seneca has therefore reason to say, "that if we would draw a faithful picture of those times, we shall see, on the one side, the common people, and persons of desperate fortune, all desirous of a change; on the other, the patricians, the equestrian order, and every person of rank and figure in Rome; in the middle, the republic and Cato abandoned by all." This zealous patriot who had so long struggled for the liberties of his country, put on a mourning habit the day on which this fatal war began, determining to end his life, if Caesar proved victorious; and only to go into banishment, if victory attended Pompey.

Caesar seizes
Pisaurum
Favium.

The two rivals enter into a negotiation, which was insincere, and proved fruitless. Pompey wanted to spin out the affair, because he had but few troops, and it required some time to bring his legions from Spain: Caesar was willing to make a shew of moderation, and in the mean time pushed on the war. He seizes on *Pisaurum* (r), *Favium* (v), *Ancona*, and *Arretium* in Tuscany, while *Iguvium* (t), *Auximum* (u), and *Asculum* (x), open their gates to him: he is obliged to lay siege in form to *Corsinium* (y), where Domitius Aenobarbus, a consular

(r) *Pisaurum* is a town of Umbria in Italy, now called *Pesaro*; near it was the river *Pisaurens*, mentioned by Lucan, — *at juncto Sapis Isauro*. Velleius, lib. 1. mentions it as a Roman colony.

(t) *Favium*, still called *Fano*, was a city of Umbria, which took its name from the temple of *Fortuna*. Hence Pliny calls it *Favum Fortunae*, as does also Tacitus, *exercitus ducesque ad Favum Fortunae iter sistunt*. Hist. lib. 5. Caesar calls it simply *Favum*.

(u) *Iguvium* was a city of Umbria, now called *Eugubio*, and still famous for the tables in Etruscan characters. It was a *municipium*, and a place of great antiquity. The inhabitants were called *Iguvini*. Silius, lib. 8. mentions this city, *Narnia, & infossum uerbis humantibus olim—Iguvium*.

(v) *Auximum*, or *Auximus* was a city of the *ager Picenus* in Italy, and now called *Osimo* or *Osse*. It is mentioned by Lucan, lib. 2. — *admotæ pulsarunt Auximæ alæ*. The inhabitants were called *Auximæ*.

(x) *Asculum* was called *Asculum Picenum*, by reason of its situation in *Picenum*. Strabo makes it a strong place, and Florus calls it *caput gentis Asculum*. Its modern name is *Ascoli*.

(y) *Corsinium* was the capital of the *Poligni*, situate three miles from the river *Alernus*, and eight from *Sylva*. There are no remains of it at present, but it is thought

consular person, and one of his greatest enemies, had shut himself up with many senators, and a considerable number of troops. Cæsar having received intelligence thereof, pressed the town so hard, that Domitius, after having applied in vain to Pompey for succours, thought to make his escape privately; but the garrison seeing into his design, resolved to deliver him up, together with the other officers. Then it was that Cæsar shewed how far he could carry his generosity: he not only forgave Domitius and his attendants, but likewise granted them their liberty without requiring any ransom, or even their word of honour; besides, he restored to Domitius the military chest which was in the town. It is very certain, that this lenity and moderation will reflect perpetual honour upon his name, especially in the opinion of those who do not consider the motives of interest and ambition from which he acted, motives which he himself acknowledges in one of his letters still extant, where he says: *I would fain conciliate the good will of every body by this behaviour, if possible, and secure to myself a long enjoyment of the fruits of my victory; for others, by acting cruelly, have incurred the public hatred, and could never long enjoy their prosperous fortune.* He incorporates the garrison of Corfinium among his troops, and marches in pursuit of Pompey, who had shut himself up in Brundisium, after sending his eldest son Cneius into the East, in order to raise levies by sea and land. It was in this voyage that young Pompey had occasion to see the famous Cleopatra, who was most liberal of her favours to him, because she imagined she should have need of his assistance. Cæsar besieges Brundisium by land, and at the same time undertakes to shut up the port by a *flaccado*. Pompey makes his escape, and goes over to Epirus, abandoning all Italy to his rival.

Pompey
retires to
Brundisium.

And from
thence to
Epirus.

The month of March was hardly expired, when Cæsar had made a most rapid progress. Cicero was so greatly surprized, that he said to some of his friends; *what an amazing man is this, for activity, vigilance, and expedition!* Cæsar was master of all Italy, before Cicero had time to determine which party to embrace. Happy would it have been for him, had he continued to act the part of mediator, in which he had hitherto appeared! He had resolution enough to withstand the solicitations, and I might almost say, menaces of Cæsar, who came himself in person to visit him at *Formiæ*, and endeavoured to persuade him to go with him to Rome; but his inclination drew him towards Pompey; so that he embarked the seventh of June to join his camp in Epirus. Cæsar directed his march to Rome, where he plundered the public treasury, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribune Metellus. By this violent proceeding he shewed the insincerity of the two fine speeches which he had made at his arrival, to conciliate the benevolence of the people, and of the remaining part of the

Cicero goes
over to
Pompey.

Cæsar goes
to Rome,

thought to have stood near the town of *Popole*, of the province of *Abruzzo*, in the kingdom of Naples.

E e

senate.

And from
thence to
Spain.
Siege of
Marseilles.

Cæsar re-
duces Spain.

Marseilles
surrenders.

Cæsar's
lieutenants
unsuccess-
ful,

Cæsar re-
turns to
Rome,

senate. Sardinia and Sicily receive his lieutenants Valerius and Curio, whom he had commissioned to seize on those islands. Having appointed commanders in his own name all over Italy, and in several provinces, he marches into Spain, saying, *that he was going to fight troops without a general, and should afterwards return to fight a general without troops.* By the way he lays siege to Marseilles, for shutting her gates against him, and commits the management of it to Trebonius. One may judge that his army was very strong, especially by means of the Gaulish cavalry; for Afranius and Petreius, Pompey's lieutenants, with an army of sixty thousand men, were obliged to act upon the defensive. This succeeded at first; but Cæsar having made several cuts in the river Sicoris (a), which parted him from the enemy, and by that means having rendered it fordable, Afranius and Petreius thought proper to cross the Iberus, in order to retire into Celtiberia. Cæsar was before hand with them: having seized on all the defiles they were to pass in order to come at the Iberus, he surrounds them at the foot of those defiles, and compels them to desire an interview; at which it was agreed they should disband their troops, on condition of never serving any more against him. He had designedly omitted several opportunities of destroying this army, to convince the world that he knew sometimes how to conquer without fighting; his plan being rather to conciliate the minds of his enemies by clemency, than to subdue them by force. From thence he proceeded to Farther Spain, where M. Varro, another of Pompey's lieutenants, commanded two legions and some cohorts; but this province declared in his favour. Varro finding himself deserted by the greatest part of his troops, surrenders the few that remained into the hands of the conqueror. As the siege of Marseilles was not yet over, Cæsar returned with all expedition, and upon his appearing before the town, it immediately surrendered.

His enterprizes however were not attended with the same success, where he acted by his lieutenants. In Illyricum, Dolabella and C. Antonius were defeated by M. Octavius, and Scribonius Libo, Pompey's lieutenants, whose fleet was greatly superior to Cæsar's. In Africa, Curio had transported two legions with him from Sicily, to wage war against Attius Varus and his ally Juba king of Mauritania: in the beginning he met with considerable advantages, but suffered himself afterwards to be carried away by his natural temerity, which cost him the loss of his whole army, and his life.

Cæsar, contrary to rule, is nominated dictator by Lepidus prætor of Rome; for it belonged to the consuls to make this nomination, had it been necessary. He repairs to Rome to take possession of his dictatorship, makes a law in favour of debtors, recalls all the exiles, and restores the children of proscribed persons to the right of being

(a) Now the Segre.

eligible to public offices; and all this in order to increase the number of his adherents. He gets himself promoted to the consular dignity for the following year, and presides at the election of the other magistrates. It was with this view he accepted of the dictatorship, which he abdicated in eleven days, and embarked at Brundisium to follow Pompey into Greece. This general was making great preparations against him; and had received a new degree of authority at a meeting of the senate held at Thessalonica, where he was declared sole general of the forces of the republic.

And is chosen consul.

He follows Pompey into Greece.

705.

Cæsar at his landing in Greece had but twenty thousand legionary soldiers, and six hundred horse; whereas Pompey's army consisted of nine legions complete, without reckoning three thousand six hundred auxiliary horse, and a fleet of six hundred sail: so that Cæsar had strong inducements to make new proposals of accommodation to Pompey. He still affected great moderation, and was for gaining time till the remainder of his troops could join him. In the mean while he seized on the towns of Epirus, which opened their gates to him, except Dyrrachium (o). Pompey having made this his magazine of arms and provisions, arrived time enough to save it, and encamped opposite to Cæsar, with the river Apsus (p) between them. Cæsar after receiving the reinforcements he expected from Italy, sends several detachments into Ætolia, Thessaly, and Macedon, where they meet with success. They had landed in Epirus at the end of winter, under the command of Antony and Calenus, after having been in the greatest danger from Pompey's fleet, which covered those seas, and had long blocked up the harbour of Brundisium (q). Cæsar perceiving that Pompey declined a decisive engagement, and being sensible he could not compel him to it, resolved to draw a line of circumvallation round his camp, though he had not so many men by one third as the enemy. Pompey saw himself reduced to the utmost extremity for want of fresh water and forage, when two deserters coming over to his camp, and shewing him the weak parts of Cæsar's circumvallation, he takes their advice, attacks the lines, and breaks through them. The enemy

Cæsar lands in Greece.

He is worsted at Dyrrachium.

(o) *Dyrrachium* was a town of Macedonia, with a good harbour at the mouth of the river *Argentara*, in the gulf of Venice. It was formerly called *Epidamnus*; but its present name is *Durazzo*.

(p) A river of Macedon, which empties itself into the Adriatic, between Dyrrachium and Apollonia, and now called *Pontremoli*, or as some say *Æspro*.

(q) At this time Cæsar being uneasy at the delay of his troops, went in a disguise on board a fisherman's bark, with an intent to cross over to Brundisium through the thickest of Pompey's squadron. The river *Anius* was to carry them down to sea, but a tempest arising, the pilot tacked about. Cæsar upon this discovers himself, and taking him by the hand, said, *go on boldly, my friend; thou carriest Cæsar, and his fortune along with thee*. Upon this the mariners forgot the storm, and used all their endeavours to put out to sea: but it was to no purpose, for the vessel took in too much water; so that Cæsar at length permitted the master to turn back.

Retires to
Thessaly.

The battle
of Pharsalia.

Pompey
cruelly
murdered.

received such a check, that there is no doubt but fortune would have entirely declared herself on Pompey's side, had he marched directly to Cæsar's camp. This was even the opinion of the latter, for speaking of this action, he observed, that *he should have been certainly demolished, had Pompey known how to use his victory*. Cæsar retires into Thessaly, and taking the town of Gompbi (g) by assault, he delivers it up to be plundered. This seasonable act of severity opens the whole country to him; so that he penetrates without difficulty into the plains of Pharsalia, whither he is followed by Pompey, who pitches his camp not far from Cæsar.

The battle of Pharsalia (r). The success of this battle, one of the most memorable in history, was determined by a trifling circumstance: this was the direction which Cæsar had given his men to aim only at the faces of Pompey's troopers, who were to begin the action. These pretty fellows, too studious of preserving the elegance of their features, could not withstand those blows that tended to disfigure them, but turned their backs in the utmost confusion: thus seven thousand horse fled before six cohorts, who broke in upon the foot, and charged them in the rear. The rout soon became general; Pompey himself, absolutely disconcerted by the flight of his horse, on which he had chiefly depended, quits the field of battle, and retires to his tent. There he soon heard, that the enemy were forcing his entrenchments; upon which he mounted his horse, and galloped away with full speed, leaving fifteen thousand of his men dead upon the spot. Cæsar lost but two hundred men, or according to others, twelve hundred. The clemency with which he behaved towards the conquered, brought such a number over to his banners, that he was soon in a condition to march in pursuit of Pompey. But this general was no more: he had been lately assassinated within sight of his wife Cornelia, at his landing in Egypt, where he expected to find an asylum, in consequence of a promise from the ministers of the young king Ptolemy, son of Auletes, to whom he had been guardian. His body having been left naked on the shore, was wrapt up by one of his freedmen; and an old Roman, who had served under Pompey from his youth, came and helped to burn it according to ancient

(g) A town of Thessaly near the sources of the river Peneus.

(r) A part of Thessaly, so called from the plains in the neighbourhood of the town of *Pbarsalus*. Strabo observes, that the river Enipeus runs close by the town, ὁ δ' ἐνιπεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσθμῶς παρὰ Φάρσαλον ῥυίσι. Lucan mentions this place, lib. 6, *Ematbis æquorei regnum Pbarsalos Acibillis*. Tacitus calls it *Pharsalia*, lib. 1. Appian says the battle was fought μετὰ τὸ Φάρσαλον τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐνιπεὺς ποταμῷ, between the town of *Pbarsalus* and the river *Enipeus*. Which makes some conjecture, that the old town of *Pbarsalus* was at a greater distance from the Enipeus than the new. The former is mentioned by Eutropius, lib. 6. *Deinde in Thessalia apud Palæopbarsalum productis utrinque ingentibus copiis dimicaverunt*. Livy calls it *Palæopbarsalum*. Therefore the battle was fought between this last place and the river Enipeus. By a stretch of poetical liberty it is likewise supposed to have been the place where the battle was fought between Augustus, Brutus and Cassius; but it is very certain that this battle was fought near Philippi in Thrace. There is still a town in Thessaly of the name of *Pharsa*.

custom,

EIGHTH CENTURY.

421

custom, and covered the ashes with a little earth; such was the tomb of Pompey the Great. We have a fine saying of Sallust in regard to this illustrious Roman: *he had more modesty in his countenance, than in his sentiments.* (*Oris probi, animo invivacundo.*) This reflexion gives us the whole character of that celebrated captain. He had such a regard for virtue, as not to insult her in public; but he did not love her enough, to sacrifice to her in private. Hence that profound dissimulation in which he was always enwrapped, and that Pompey's well-settled plan of seeming to desire nothing but in consequence of character. his merit, while he carried every thing by faction and intrigue. He pretended to love Cicero, because he could not but esteem him; yet he deserted this great orator, as soon as he saw him persecuted by Cæsar's faction, which he had blindly espoused. Cicero having waited upon him in the country to desire his protection, he went out the very moment the orator set foot in his house. It would be rather a disgrace than honour to Pompey to have received the surname of Great from such a tyrant as Sylla: but he accepted of it only as a presage of future fortune, thinking it incumbent on him to do something worthy of the title before he wore it. This surname was afterwards confirmed to him by the people of Rome, who justly considered him as a first rate general. Pompey did not eclipse, but supplant Lucullus. He was worthy to enter the lists with Cæsar, to whom all other warriors must yield the palm: and he was much superior to this general in moderation and virtue. Had Pompey been as enterprizing as Cæsar, he would have acted long before like Cæsar; for he had it in his power to enslave his country upon his return from the East. The one, transported by his ambition, aimed at the sovereignty of the world; the other, sensible of the dignity of virtue, wanted only to be the first citizen of Rome.

Cæsar went through a great many dangers before he arrived in Cæsar Egypt. Among others it is related, that crossing the Hellespont in a very indifferent vessel, he was met by ten ships of war belonging to Pompey's party. Out of this terrible difficulty he extricated himself most surprizingly, by assuming that air of authority which so well became him: he boldly made up to the enemy, summoned them to surrender, and was obeyed. Upon his arrival at Alexandria, Theodotus the rhetor, who had been the adviser of Pompey's murder, presented to him the head of that formidable rival, with a view of paying his court to the conqueror; but Cæsar received this horrid present with indignation, and even bathed it with tears. But it would have been more to his glory, if he had inflicted a severe punishment on the murderer.

The Roman general is detained at Alexandria by the Etesian winds (s) longer

(s) Etesian winds are such as blow from any quarter at stated times of the year, so called from *etes*, a year, being yearly winds, like the monsoons and trade winds.

The Alex-
andrian war.

longer than he intended. This interval he spent in taking cognizance of the controversy between the young king of Egypt and his sister the famous Cleopatra, who at the same time was that prince's wife, pursuant to the custom of the royal family of Egypt. They ought to have shared the kingdom betwixt them, in virtue of the testamentary disposition of their father Ptolemy Auletes; but the young king, under the sanction of a decree made by Pompey's senate, had driven away his sister, and compelled her to retire into Syria with her sister Arsinoë. Cæsar was equally taken with the wit, charms, and graceful behaviour of Cleopatra, who, as every body must have read, caused herself to be tied up in a mattress, and thus secretly conveyed to his apartment, in order to plead her cause before him: upon which he pronounces a decree in her favour. Bloody war on this occasion: Achilles, general of the royal army, besieges Cæsar in Alexandria, and makes himself master of the town, except a quarter of the palace occupied by the Roman general with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse. A considerable engagement near the harbour, to the advantage of the Romans, who set fire to the Egyptian fleet. The flames destroyed the best part of the rich and magnificent library (u), which the kings of Egypt had collected at Alexandria; a loss greatly regretted by the learned. Cæsar makes himself master of the isle of Pharos (x), the key of the port of Alexandria. Having been informed under these circumstances, that he had been lately nominated dictator at Rome for a year, he took possession of this new dignity in Ptolemy's palace where he resided, and appointed Mark Antony his general of the horse. For the space of several months they two were the only Roman magistrates, except the tribunes and ædiles of the people, magistracies which still subsisted, although there was a dictator.

The Alex-
andrian li-
brary burnt.

Cæsar
named
dictator for
a year.

706.

He is in
great danger
at Alexan-
dria.

Arsinoë, sister to Cleopatra, puts Achilles to death, seizes on the regal authority, and confers the command of her troops on the eunuch Ganymedes. Under this new general, the war changes face for some time. The Alexandrians retake the isle of Pharos; and the Romans are defeated in an engagement on a causeway, which joined

Thus the north winds, which in the dog days blow constantly upon the coast of Egypt, are called *Etesie* in Cæsar's Commentaries.

(u) The royal library of the Ptolemies was said to consist of seven hundred thousand volumes: one part, containing four hundred thousand, stood in the quarter of the city called *Bruchion*, and was unfortunately burnt on this occasion; the other part, containing three hundred thousand, was within the Serapeum, and escaped the flames; there it was that Cleopatra deposited the two hundred thousand volumes of the Pergamean library, which had been given her by Mark Antony. This was increased from time to time, and continued for many ages of great fame, till at length it was burnt in 642.

(x) A small island at the mouth of the Nile, wherein was a tower with lights, which was also called *Pharos*.

this

this island to the continent by means of two bridges. Cæsar is obliged to save himself by swimming, with his papers in one hand, and holding his purple coat with his teeth. His good fortune attended him even in his greatest disasters; for it is observed that this purple coat having got away from him, was the means of preserving his life, because the enemy taking it for Cæsar, discharged all their darts and arrows at it, while he made his escape. He receives supplies of troops from different parts, and among others a considerable reinforcement, brought by Mithridates king of Pergamus, who was thought to be the natural son of the celebrated king of Pontus, and not inferior to his father in the military art. Pelusium was taken by assault; Memphis opened her gates; and Cæsar joined Mithridates within view of Ptolemy, whom he had sent back to the Alexandrian army. A decisive engagement on the banks of the Nile; Ptolemy, being vanquished and put to flight, attempts to make his escape on that river, but is drowned by overloading the boat. Cæsar enters Alexandria in triumph, and puts Cleopatra and her younger brother in possession of the kingdom of Egypt. He staid some time longer in this country: yet it was neither the Etesian winds, nor the war that detained him, but the charms of Cleopatra; charms so bewitching as to lull Cæsar to sleep, at a time when he had more need than ever of his utmost vigilance and activity.

Ptolemy
defeated by
Cæsar.

Cleopatra
put in pos-
session of
Egypt.

Rome and Italy were all in combustion; Pompey's party was raising its head again in Africa, and every day acquiring new strength. Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, and king of Bosphorus (y), was making a most rapid progress in Asia: after subduing Colchis, Pontus, the lesser Armenia, and Cappadocia, he defeated Domitius, Cæsar's lieutenant, in a pitched battle. Against this prince the Roman general intended first to turn his arms. Cæsar traverses Syria and Cilicia, settles these provinces on his march, and arrives in Pontus, where Pharnaces, at the head of a powerful army, occupied an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of Zela, a place famous for the victory which his father had formerly obtained over the Romans (z). Cæsar's army was no more than twenty thousand men; yet notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, he attacks the enemy, and obtains a complete victory. It was in giving an account to one of his friends (a) of this rapid success, that he made use of these three famous words, *veni, vidi, vici*, I came, I saw, I conquered. Pharnaces retires towards the Bosphorus, which he finds in rebellion under the command of Asander, to whom he had committed the regency: they come to an engagement, in which Pharnaces is defeated and slain. Cæsar returns to Rome, after settling the kingdom of Bosphorus on Mithridates of Pergamus, to whom he had given charge at the same

Cæsar
defeats
Pharnaces.

He returns
to Rome.

(y) The Cimmerian Bosphorus.

(z) Under the command of Triarius.

(a) Aminius or Annius.

time to conquer it from Asander. His presence restored a general tranquillity in the capital, which had been interrupted, on the one hand by the mad projects of Dolabella, who was for having a law passed for the abolition of all debts, in order to avoid paying his own; and on the other, by the violence and extortion of Mark Antony, who acted without controul, and, what was altogether extraordinary, appeared with his sword when he presided at the meetings of the people. Cæsar forgave them both, because he had need of their services; and in order to attach the multitude still more to his interest, he followed in part Dolabella's plan, by discharging debtors from all the arrears due since the commencement of the civil war, and by remitting to the poor citizens of Rome a year's rent of the houses which they hired of the public. The estates and effects of the conquered party, he ordered to be sold by auction, particularly those of Pompey, which were purchased by Antony (b). He conferred the consulate for the remaining part of the year on Q. Fufius Calenus, and P. Vatinius; in return for what the one had done to serve him by subduing Athens, Megara, and Peloponnesus; and the other in restoring his affairs in Illyricum, by the intire overthrow of Octavius. He gets himself continued in the dictatorship for a year, and is created consul together with Marcus Lepidus, whom at the same time he appoints his general of the horse, out of gratitude for having nominated him to his first dictatorship against all rule, when Lepidus was only prætor. Among the other friends and partisans of Cæsar, that were rewarded with public offices, we find Sallust the historian, who was restored to his seat in the senate, from whence he had been expelled by the last censors for his dissolute life; and it is observed that on this occasion Cæsar increased the number of prætors to ten, that he might have more places to bellow upon his friends.

And appeases the disturbances he found in that city.

The African war.

707. The African war against Pompey's adherents, who had time to multiply and strengthen themselves greatly in this province, while Cæsar was employed in Egypt and Asia. Their forces by sea and land were grown superior to his; Juba, king of Mauritania, furnished them with a very large body of horse, a great number of light troops, and four legions trained up to the Roman discipline, which he commanded himself in person. Metellus, Scipio, and Varus, had collected, or formed, ten legions complete. Cato having been obliged, upon Cicero's refusal, to take upon him the command of the fleet before Dyrrachium after the battle of Pharsalia, sailed with it to the coast of Africa, where he joined the main body of the army, after marching on foot through a desert country, in order to set an example to his men. Yet the Pompeian party still wanted an able

(b) Nobody would bid for them out of respect to the memory of so great a man, so that Antony had them at a very low price.

general.

general. The chief command was given to Metellus Scipio, because he was a consular; and Cato having been only a prætor, refused to accept of being next in command, but left it to Varus. He staid in Africa to give counsel to a man, whose pride and presumption rendered him incapable of receiving any. Having saved Utica, which Juba would fain have destroyed upon suspicion of favouring the enemy, he shut himself up in this city, and made it his magazine of provisions and military stores.

Cæsar passes over into Africa with his usual rapidity, and gets admittance into Ruspinæ and Leptis, both maritime towns. It is said that at his landing, he happened to have a fall; and to prevent his men from looking upon this accident as ominous, he pretended to embrace the earth, crying out aloud, *Africa, I have hold of thee*. He used the same precaution to guard against the terror that might be impressed on his troops by the general's name. The Scipio's being considered as invincible in Africa, he took a young man along with him, of the same name and family, in order to bring the omen to his side. A brisk encounter with Labienus, who had been formerly his lieutenant in Gaul. Cæsar had need of all his courage and experience to prevent his troops from being defeated; which indeed is not surprizing, when we consider the vast superiority of the enemy. He retired in good order to his camp, where he intrenched himself, and determined to bear with the bravadoes of Metellus Scipio, till his army was reinforced. As soon as he received his succours from Sicily, he marched out of his camp, in order to fight the enemy. A general engagement in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, a considerable town on the sea coast, which Cæsar had laid siege to with a view to bring Scipio and Juba to a battle. It is said that just at the very minute while Cæsar was giving his orders, he was attacked with an epileptic fit, a complaint to which he was subject; and therefore was not present at this battle, though his troops obtained a complete victory: still he has justly the glory of it, since it was a consequence of the excellent dispositions he had before the engagement. His absence was known only by the inhuman slaughter of the conquered, after they had been forced in their camp, notwithstanding they had lain down their arms and begged for quarter.

Cæsar lays siege to Thapsus and Thydrus, and after taking Usceta and Adrunetum, he draws near to Utica. Cato finding it impossible to make a stand in this city, whose fidelity he suspected, sends a few senators his friends on board some vessels prepared for that purpose; then stabbing himself with his sword, he puts an end to his life. This last act confirmed the reputation he had always enjoyed, of constancy and resolution. It might prove, on the other hand, that he ran too easily into extremes; and upon examining more minutely into the so much boasted virtue of this celebrated Roman, we shall find it was partly owing to constitution and temper. He had very few vices: but to these he was a perfect slave. He was fond of wine to excess. What shall we think of his making a present of his wife Marcia to Hortensius the orator?

Cæsar passes over into Africa.

The battle of Thapsus, in which Cæsar obtains a complete victory.

Siege of Utica.

Cato kills himself.

His character.

Utica submits to Cæsar.

Cæsar reduces Mauritania and Numidia.

orator (c)? Is not this rather a mean complaisance, than an act of friendship? especially as he loved Marcia, by whom he had several children; and as he was in a hurry to take her again, after the death of Hortensius. He was possessed of many virtues, but he strained them to too great a pitch: it was pride, and not magnanimity, to deny he was offended with a man, who had given him a box on the ear. His simplicity degenerated into singularity, so as to appear in public at noon day in his tunic and slippers, in order to accustom himself, as he said, to be ashamed of nothing but what was really deserving of shame. However, it cannot be denied but that he was a man of an unblemished life, and that his affection for his fellow citizens, his moderation and good temper, his dignity of sentiment, his sound judgment, extensive learning, undaunted courage, love of justice and the public good, would have rendered him the idol of the people, if those virtues had not been sullied by a morose behaviour, in consequence of which he was rather admired than beloved. In short, he was one of those extraordinary men, whose example we should not attempt to imitate in every particular. Cæsar hearing of his death, uttered these words: *O Cato, I envy thee the glory of thy death, since thou hast envied me that of saving thy life!* Was this expression sincere? Plutarch agrees there is reason to doubt it, and perhaps Cæsar spoke in this manner, for no other reason but because he was sensible it became a great man to lament the death of a hero. This however is certain, that after the inhabitants of Utica had opened their gates to him, he sincerely pardoned Cato's son, and all the Romans of distinction, except Afranius, Faustus Sylla, and his kinsman Lucius Cæsar, who were some time after killed by his orders.

Cato's death was the forerunner, as it were, of that of Juba and Metellus Scipio. In vain did these two unhappy leaders of the Pompeian party endeavour to save themselves; the former in his own dominions, the latter in Spain, where Pompey's son had renewed the war. Juba being detested by his subjects for his cruelty, found them all up in arms: the inhabitants of Zama, his capital city, shut

(c) This passage in Cato's life gave rise to the common opinion about borrowing and lending of wives among the Romans. The mistake is, the women on those occasions were not lent, or let out, but given, in consequence of that sort of marriage, by which a woman was made a wife only by possession and use, and after the bearing of three or four children, might be lawfully given to another man. Thus Strabo in his seventh book says, *ὡς καθάπερ ἡ Κάτων Ὀρτησίω δεινῶς ἐξίδωκε τὴν Μαρκίαν ἐφ' ἑμῶν, κατὰ πάλαιον Ῥωμαίων ἥθος*; as Cato in our time, at the request of Hortensius, gave him his wife Marcia, according to the old custom of the Romans. Where by *ἐξίδωκε* we should understand the marrying them to new husbands. This is confirmed by Plutarch, who mentioning this very affair, says, that Hortensius expressed his earnest desire to Cato, that he would let him have his wife. Cato did not deny his request, but said that Marcia's father ought to be consulted; who being sent for, and finding that all parties consented, gave his daughter away to Hortensius. So that this was making a divorce, and marrying her to another husband.

her gates against him; and Cæsar being just arrived with his army, this poor prince looking upon death as his only resource, caused one of his slaves to put an end to his life. On the other hand, Metellus Scipio endeavouring to get to Spain, where Cneius the eldest son of Pompey had raised a considerable party, was obliged by bad weather to put into Hippo, where he found Sitius's fleet, which immediately surrounded him: and he had but just time to run himself through the body, lest he should be taken prisoner by the enemy. Cæsar having made himself master of Thapsus and Thydrus by capitulation, lays very heavy contributions on all the conquered towns, and reduces Numidia to a Roman province. Then he sets out for Italy, after terminating the African war in five months and a half. His stay at Rome was taken up in triumphing successively over the Gauls, Egypt, Pharnaces, and Juba. The triumph over the Gauls was distinguished by golden figures of the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Ocean, which were led in captivity: among the prisoners appeared Vercingetorix, the unfortunate champion of the liberty of his country, who, after the ceremony, was thrown into a dungeon, and put to death. Arsinoe, sister to Cleopatra, walked among the prisoners in the second triumph, but was afterwards set at liberty: before the chariot was carried the representation of the river Nile, and the tower of Pharos. The triumph over Pharnaces was remarkable for an inscription with these three words, *veni, vidi, vici*: and the son of Juba, who was very young, adorned the fourth. Cæsar may be said to have triumphed at the same time over the liberty of his fellow citizens; for the whole city of Rome resounded with the tyrant's praises. The senate debased themselves by a multitude of decrees, abounding with the most abject flattery: remarkable among the rest was one which ordained that Cæsar's chariot should be drawn, on triumphal days, by four white horses, like the chariots of Jupiter and Apollo; and that he should be attended, on those occasions, by seventy two lictors: nay, they went so far as to place his statue in a triumphal chariot in the capitol, opposite to that of Jupiter, with the globe under his feet, and this inscription, *to Cæsar a demi-god*. To these marks of honour, they added the dictatorship for ten years, and the dignity of inspector of manners, that is, of censor, for three years. Cæsar was sensible that this was investing him in a manner with the supreme power: being resolved to use it with moderation, he explained his sentiments, and even made a solemn declaration on that head to the senate. His liberality towards the soldiers was proportioned to their services, and to his own immense riches, though not to their greedy expectations. Besides a distribution of lands, every foot soldier received twenty thousand sesterces, that is about a hundred and fifty pounds sterling; the centurions had double that sum; the tribunes and knights had four times as much. The people partook of Cæsar's liberality, and received considerable distributions in money, corn, and oil. The triumphs were succeeded by public entertainments, when two and twenty thousand tables were set up in the streets of Rome, and served with the utmost profusion. The people were diverted with

Juba puts
an end to
his life.

End of the
African
war.
Cæsar's four
triumphs.

Honour
bestowed on
him by the
senate and
people

His libera-
ty to the
soldiers and
people.

all

His excellent laws.

He reforms the calendar.

all kinds of magnificent shows; on which occasion persons of the equestrian order were seen to fight with gladiators; a strong proof of the degeneracy of the Romans. These entertainments were given to solemnize the funeral of Cæsar's daughter, who died several years before, and to celebrate the dedication of a temple to Venus, as also of a new forum which he had caused to be built at Rome. Notwithstanding such a multitude of amusements, he found time to pass several excellent laws. In order to repair the loss of inhabitants, he assigned rewards to fathers that had numerous families: to encourage learning, he granted the rights and privileges of Roman citizens to professors of the polite arts: he revived the old laws against the expence of feasts, and made new ones to restrain the luxury of dress, taking care himself to see them executed: in short, he reformed the calendar (*d*) which was fallen into such confusion, that besides the twenty

(*d*) Romulus divided the year into ten months, which consisted of three hundred and four days; but Numa added two more, viz. January and February, which made his year to contain three hundred and fifty four days. But this computation falling too short of the space of a regular year by ten days and six hours yearly, it occasioned every eighth an interposition of three whole months, which they called the intercalary or leap-year. The care of this intercalation being left to the priests, they clapped in or left out a month whenever they pleased, as they fancied it lucky or unlucky, till at last there was such disorder, that festivals came to be kept at a season contrary to that which was first intended. To remedy this inconveniency, Julius Cæsar added the old ten days to Numa's year, and lest the odd six hours should breed any confusion, he ordered that every fourth year one whole day should be inserted next after the twenty third of February, or next before the sixth of the calends of March: for which reason the supernumerary day had the name of *dies bis sextus*, and thence the leap-year came to be called *annus bissextilis*. This is the Julian or old style. Yet because there wanted eleven minutes in the six odd hours of Julius's year, the equinoxes and solstices losing something continually, were found about the year 1584 to have run back ten whole days: for which reason Pope Gregory XIII. cut off ten days to bring them to their proper places; and this is called the Gregorian or new style.

The old Romans began their year in March, hence those two months, which in honour of Julius and Augustus Cæsar have been since called *Julius* and *Augustus*, were by them called *Quintilis* and *Sextilis*. They reckoned the days of their months by calends, nones, and ides. The calends were the first day of the month; so denominated from the old word *calo*, or the Greek *καλῶ*, to call, because on this day one of the inferior priests used to assemble the people, and call over as many days as there were between that and the nones. But this custom continued no longer than the year U. C. 450, when the *Fassi* were set up in public places, that every body might know the return of the festivals. The nones had this name given them, because they reckoned nine days from them to the ides. The ides were generally about the middle of the month; so that we may derive the word from the obsolete *idware*, to divide. March, May, July, and October, had six nones apiece, the other only four. Therefore in the first, the nones were the seventh, and the ides the sixteenth; in the last, the nones the fifth, and the ides the thirteenth. In reckoning these they always went backwards, so that January 1 was, *kalendis Januarii*; December 31, *pridie kalendas Januarii*; December 30, *tertio kalendas Januarii* (where *ante* is understood) and so on to the thirteenth, and that was, *idibus Decembris*; the twelfth, *pridie idus Decembris*; and the rest in the same manner.

The

twenty seven days for the intercalary month, which happened to be in the present year, they were obliged to add sixty seven, so that upon the whole this year consisted of four hundred and forty five days. These regulations did great honour to the dictator, but not so as to make amends for the error he committed in increasing the number of senators, and raising so many mean persons to that dignity; for they reckoned now no less than nine hundred members: this was a consequence of the principle he had laid down to reward all those that had done him any service.

About this time Cicero being forced into retirement, by the total oblivion into which he was fallen since the death of Pompey, composed most of his philosophical works, which shew the solidity of his judgment, and the integrity of his heart. Yet it must be allowed, that his conduct did not always correspond with the philosophy contained in his writings; witness, among several other things, his growing so disconsolate the next year upon the death of his daughter Tullia.

Cicero writes his philosophical works.

708.

The Spanish war against the sons of Pompey. This was intirely owing to the ill conduct of Quintus Cassius Longinus, Cæsar's lieutenant, whose cruelty and avarice had provoked the people to revolt. Cneius, the eldest son of Pompey, availed himself of this glimmering of good fortune, and by Cato's advice went and put himself at the head of the malecontents. After the defeat of Metellus Scipio in Africa, he collected some of the scattered remains of that army; and his brother Sextus having joined him with a considerable number of ships, he had now under his command thirteen legions, with a proportionable fleet. Historians do not mention what number of troops Cæsar ordered to march against so formidable an enemy: this we know only, that looking upon the danger to be of such a nature as

The Spanish war with Pompey's sons.

The Romans had other distinctions of days, such as *dies festi*, *profesti*, and *intercisi*. The first were consecrated to the gods, the second to civil business, and the third were divided between both. The *dies festi* were set apart for the celebration of these four solemnities, *sacrificia*, *epulae*, *ludi*, et *feriae*: the three first were sacrifices, banquets, and public sports instituted in honour of the gods. *Feriae* were either public or private. They were of four sorts, *stativæ*, public feasts kept by the whole city, according to the order of the calendar; *conceptivæ*, such as depended on the will of the magistrates and priests; and *imperativæ*, such as the consuls, &c. appointed to be observed upon solemn occasions, as the gaining of a victory, &c. *Nundinae* were the same as our markets or fairs. *Feriae privatae* were holy-days observed by particular persons on particular accounts. The *dies profesti* were *fasti*, *comitiales*, *comperendini*, *stati*, and *præliares*. The *dies fasti* were the same as our court-days. *Comitiales* were those on which the public assemblies of the people were held. *Comperendini* were days of adjournment, when people might give in bail: *stati* were days for trying a cause between a Roman and a foreigner: *præliares*, were those on which it was thought lawful to fight, which they would not do, unless they were first attacked, on the *Saturnalia*, and the *feriae Latinae*. The next day after the calends, nones, or ides of every month, called *dies prostridui*, were reckoned unfortunate, and therefore had the denomination of *atri*, or black, because those days had always proved unlucky to the state,

required

Cæsar sets
out for
Spain.

The battle
of Munda.

Death of
Cneius
Pompeius.

Fate of the
younger
Pompey.
All Bætica
submits to
Cæsar.

Cæsar re-
turns to
Rome.

required his presence, he set out for Spain towards the end of the preceding year. In the beginning of the campaign he obliged Cneius to raise the siege of Ullia (e), and made himself master of Ategua (f), one of the strongest cities in Bætica, within sight of the enemy's army. The battle of Munda (g) the seventeenth of March (the same day that Pompey the Great embarked at Brundisium four years before to go over to Greece). In this battle, which put an end to the civil war, fortune had like to have proved more favourable to the son than to the father. Cæsar was so greatly distressed, according to Suetonius and Florus, that giving up all for lost, he had some thoughts of killing himself; and when he got back to his camp, he said that in other places he had fought for victory, but at Munda for life. At length his speeches, his example, and his good fortune, determined the battle in his favour. A sudden report flew through both armies, that Labienus was flying with some of Pompey's cohorts, whereas he was only going to meet Cæsar's auxiliaries, who had attacked Pompey's camp, expecting to find it defenceless in the heat of the engagement. The minds of the soldiers being once prejudiced with the notion of his flight, this false report had the same effect as if it had been well founded. Pompey's troops being seized with a panic, began to give way, and to retire in disorder; upon which Cæsar's men resuming new vigour, charged the enemy briskly again, kill thirty thousand on the spot, and obtained a complete victory. Part of the conquered army fled back to their camp, which was forced the same day; the rest shut themselves up in Munda, which was besieged and taken a month after. Cneius Pompeius having received several wounds in an engagement with some of Cæsar's party, who were sent in pursuit of him, was afterwards found in a cave, where he had concealed himself: the enemy put him to death, and carried his head to Cæsar. Sextus, the last sprig of this illustrious family, was less unfortunate; he withdrew to the mountains of Celtiberia, where he led a wandering life, and owed his safety to the obscurity of his retirement.

All Bætica submits to Cæsar; who summons the several deputies of the towns and provinces of Spain to Hispalis (h), and according to custom, distributes punishments and rewards before his departure. He returned to Rome in the month of October. The people were greatly offended with his being so imprudent as to enter the city in triumph, and to bestow the same honour on his lieutenants Q. Fabius and Q. Rhodius, for the victory obtained over young Pompey: this was glorying, says Plutarch, in an event, which nothing but absolute necessity could render excusable before the gods or men. Yet

(e) Some call it Ulla.

(f) About sixteen miles from Corduba.

(g) The town of Munda stood in the province of Bætica, about twenty miles from Malaga, in a fruitful plain, watered by a rivulet. At present it is a poor village known by its ancient name.

(h) Now Seville.

the senate were most lavish of their flattery; even beyond what they had been the preceding year: they ordered public thanksgivings to the gods during fifteen days for the victory at Munda; they changed the name of the month *Quintilis*, in which Cæsar was born, into that of *Julius*, which it still retains. They granted him the liberty of wearing a triumphal robe on days of festival, and at all times a crown of laurel; they decreed statues to him, and a particular place of distinction at public shews; in short, they conferred upon him all the extraordinary marks of respect they could imagine, and even divine honours, with the title of *Jupiter Julius*. Cæsar seemed greatly pleased, especially when they granted him the privilege of always wearing a crown of laurel; not so much for its distinguishing him from the rest of his fellow citizens, as for giving him an opportunity to hide his baldness; a circumstance worthy of observing in such a man as Cæsar, and at his age, for he was then in his fifty sixth year. His passions had not as yet subsided, since it was deliberated in the senate, whether they should not invest him with such a power over the Roman ladies, as is shocking to modesty. He was moreover declared general in chief of all the forces of the republic by the title of *Imperator*, or *emperor*, as likewise father of his country, consul for ten years, and perpetual dictator; but he refused the decennial consulate, which indeed was of very little use to a perpetual dictator. He abdicates the consulate after having exercised that office hitherto by himself only, is appointed consul for the following year, and causes Q. Fabius Maximus, and Caius Trebonius to be elected to that dignity for the three remaining months. This he did to gratify his friends, who all aspired to the consulate. With this view he conferred consular ornaments on ten ancient prætors, and named Cornificius in the room of Q. Fabius, who died suddenly the last day of December. This new consul had only seventeen hours to continue in office, so that Cicero by way of raillery said to those who were going to pay their compliments to him upon his nomination: *make haste, lest he be gone out of his office before you get to his house*. Yet he himself did not disdain to accept of the dictator's favours, for he was one of the new patricians whom Cæsar had created in order to fill up the vacancy made by the civil wars.

709.

One would imagine, that Cæsar being arrived to so high a pitch of grandeur, had nothing more to do, than to sit down and enjoy his good fortune in quiet: but quiet was incompatible with his ambition; and he was still desirous of attaining to a greater degree of power. After so many glorious victories, he intended to triumph also over the Parthians, against whom he resolved immediately to wage war. It is impossible to conceive any thing more magnificent than the projects he had formed for the public service: such as to embellish the city of Rome with new edifices; to employ the learned Varro in collecting a number of libraries, for public use; to reform the civil law, and reduce it within a narrower compass; to draw a geographical description of the whole

He aims at
royalty.

Conspiracy
of Brutus
and Cassius.
Cæsar killed
in the
senate-
house.

whole empire; to dig a harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, capable of receiving the largest vessels; to drain the Pomptine marshes, which rendered a great part of Latium very unwholesome; and lastly, to cut the isthmus of Corinth, in order to effect the junction of the Ægean and Ionian seas. Such enterprizes shewed that Cæsar was worthy of commanding the Romans, and perhaps they would have suffered him to be their master, if his ambition had not prompted him to assume the regal title. Of this he gave some hints to his friends; Antony, whom he had chosen for his colleague in the consulate, went so far as to present him with a diadem on the day of the feast of the Lupercalia; and the senate were so condescending, as to place his statue in the capitol, among the kings of Rome: but unluckily that of L. Brutus was in the middle. This founder of the Roman liberty seemed to menace Cæsar with that very arm, which had expelled the Tarquins: the scene was striking, and attracted the eyes of all the citizens, who muttered to one another, asking whether there was no possibility of finding a second Brutus.

Conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius (e). They assassinate Cæsar in the senate-house on the ides of March, and he drops down before the pedestal of Pompey's statue. It is said, that most of the senators had resolved to confer on him that very day, the title of king throughout the empire, except in Italy. Brutus and Cassius had upwards of sixty accomplices, all senators or knights, among whom were several of Cæsar's old friends: neither is this at all surprizing, when we reflect on the strong aversion which the Romans naturally bore to tyranny. But we are concerned to see Brutus at their head; Brutus, who was looked upon as the most amiable and most virtuous man of his age; Brutus,

(e) The chief of the conspirators, besides Brutus and Cassius, were C. Trebonius, Servius Sulpicius Galba, the two Servilius Casca's, Publius Caius, Decimus Brutus Albinus, Tullius Cimber, and Lucius Minutius Bacilius. These had all served under Cæsar from the very beginning of the civil wars, and were looked upon as his most trusty friends. It was more easy to draw into the conspiracy those who had always shewn an utter aversion to Cæsar's usurpation; among whom were M. Junius Brutus, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and many others, to the number of sixty. When Cæsar was seated in the great hall, the conspirators crowded round, pretending to join their supplications with those of Metellus Cimber, in behalf of his brother, who was banished. Cæsar rejected their petition, and upon their urging him farther, pushed them from him. Hereupon Metellus pulled off the dictator's robe from his shoulders, and Servilius Casca gave him the first wound in the neck. Cæsar turning about, seized Casca by the hand which held the dagger, and cried out in Latin, *Wicked Casca, what dost thou mean?* and Casca called out to his brother, in Greek, to help him. The conspirators enclosed him on all sides with their daggers in their hands. Those who were not privy to the design, were struck with such horror, that they could neither fly nor assist Cæsar. The hero thus baited on all sides, to use Plutarch's expression, like a wild beast taken in a toil, defended himself in the best manner he could, till looking round him, to see if he could make his escape, he perceived Brutus with his dagger in his hand. This stung him to the heart, so that he struggled no more; but crying out, *What! my son Brutus, and thou too!* he covered his face with his robe, and quietly submitted to his fate. The conspirators then dispatched him with three and twenty wounds.

who

who was supposed to be the natural son of Cæsar, by whom he was tenderly beloved, to whom he was indebted for part of his fortune, and even for his life; since at the victory of Pharsalia, Cæsar's chief attention was to preserve Brutus. This conspirator looked upon himself as a descendant, by his father's side, of L. Brutus, the founder of the Roman liberty; but by his mother Servilia he was certainly descended from Servilius Ahala, a name dear to the Romans for killing Spurius Mælius, who had aspired to tyranny. Such were, in all probability, the chief motives, which induced him to commit so surprizing an action. With regard to Cæsar, it is beyond doubt, that he deserved death as much as Catiline, and that the killing of him would have been justifiable, had he been condemned in a juridical way, like that famous conspirator (f).

Brutus's de-
ficient, obli-
gations to
Cæsar, &c.

Cæsar resembled Catiline in many respects, but had greater abilities, and was more successful. Catiline was drawn into rebellion by madness and despair; Cæsar was naturally formed for it. Whatever he engaged in, whether love, treason, or fighting, he went through with spirit. He seemed born to command. When he was but a young man, and happened to be taken prisoner by pirates, he behaved towards them with authority, ordered them to set him ashore, and chastised them for having dared to abridge his liberty. His accomplishments were very great; such as a majestic figure; a constitution, though naturally infirm, yet inured by constant and early exercise, either to excessive labour, or to debauch; wit joined with solidity; a manly eloquence, proportioned to circumstances, times, and persons, and equally adapted to captivate the breast of a female, or to animate the soldier; a surprizing boldness in planning the noblest enterprizes, with a prodigious activity in conducting them to a happy issue; but above all, a surprizing skill in training his soldiers after his own example, for every man under his command was a hero. Add to this a boundless ambition, together with the most undaunted courage. Though always in debt, he still appeared rich; though always tottering, he maintained his ground, because he was never at a loss for expedients upon any emergency. Had he been crushed at the time of Catiline's conspiracy, he would have made but an indifferent figure: but as he escaped, his name is ranked in the same class with that of Alexander. I shall wave saying any thing of his clemency, which does him so much honour; perhaps he makes a right estimation of it himself in the letter above mentioned. And yet we are obliged to acknowledge that on many occasions it seemed to flow from a nobler source, from a real magnanimity superior to injuries, and to those that

Cæsar's
character.

(f) By the Roman laws the dominion of one was tyranny, and any man was warranted to kill the tyrant: *cum jus fasque esset occidi, neve ex caede capitalis noxa haberetur*. The only reason that can be alledged against killing Cæsar, is that of Seneca, viz. that the state was irretrievable, and an usurper become a necessary evil; but Brutus, Cicero, and the senate judged otherwise. As for his not being put to death by the forms of law, his usurped power had rendered it impossible.

committed them. Cæsar acted like those champions, who after they have thrown their adversary to the ground, restore his arms to him again, and seem to challenge him to another encounter.

His death
attended
with di-
sturbances.

His death was attended with most horrid disturbances, so that Seneca justly accuses Brutus of imprudence, since in freeing his country of a tyrant, he had it not in his power to abolish tyranny. As affairs stood, the question was no longer whether the republic was to have a master, but who should be the person. The city was divided into two parties, one held for the conspirators, the other for Antony and Lepidus: these two men, under the pretence of revenging the death of Cæsar, whose particular favourites they had been, aspired to the same pitch of power which Cæsar had enjoyed. As both parties were afraid of each other, they entered into a treaty; the senate assembled, and with joint consent, a decree was passed, that no inquiries should be made into the dictator's death, but all his acts should be confirmed, and his funeral performed at the public expence. The tranquillity which followed this regulation was complete, though of short duration. Brutus and Antony were reconciled; and at another meeting of the senate, the best provinces were given or confirmed to the chief conspirators. But the troubles were renewed upon opening Cæsar's testament (g), wherein he bequeathed a certain sum to each citizen. The people affected with this last mark of his generosity, began to lament the loss of their benefactor: but at his funeral

(g) *Testamentum*, testament, was so called, because it was a declaration of the testator's will. There were three sorts of testaments among the ancients; the first was *in pace*, in time of peace: they likewise called it *calatis comitiis*, because it was made at the assemblies of the people. The second was in time of war, when they were going to take the field, and this they called *in procinctu*, because they were *quasi accincti* and *parati ad pugnandum*. These two were very ancient; Plutarch in Coriol. mentions a testament *in procinctu* in the time of Coriolanus, who lived before the decemvirs; and the same author in *Romulus* takes notice of the testament *in pace* under the regal government, where Tarrutius, in the reign of Ancus Marcius, is said to have declared Laurentia his heir before his death, *ταυτοῦτος ἀποφάσαι ἀλαφροῦμον*. But these sorts of testaments fell into disuse after the publication of the laws of the twelve tables. The third was *per æs et libram*, which they performed by mancipation, or by an imaginary sale in presence of five witnesses, with a man who held the scales, and the person who bought the inheritance for a small piece of brass, all Roman citizens, and arrived at the age of maturity. The following words were used on this occasion by the buyer, who was called *familia emptor*; *Hujus ego familiam, quæ mihi emptæ est hoc ære, æneaque libra, jure Quiritium, meam esse aio*. Then the testator or seller, holding the tables, said: *Hæc atri bis tabulis, ceræque scripta sunt, ita de, ita lego, ita testor; itaque vos Quirites testimonium præbitote*: and this was called the *nuncupatio testamenti*: this form of testament lasted a long time, but received some alteration under the emperors. The testament was written (as the Romans used to write) in tables of wood covered over with wax. These tables were made of the caudex, or stock of a tree, whence we still call our books *codices*. They wrote with an instrument of steel, called *stylus*, having a sharp point at one end, and broad, but keen and well edged at the other. With the sharp point they wrote what they pleased, and with the broad end they scraped out what they had written, -

they

they seemed to be transported even to madness, when Antony displayed the dictator's bloody robe, with his image in wax, representing the three and twenty wounds which he had received at his death. Brutus and his accomplices would have been burnt in their houses, had they not got a proper guard to protect them.

Yet it was not time for Antony to discover himself: his aim was only to sound the inclinations of the people; but as he stood in need of the assistance of the senate, he took several steps to regain their friendship. First he caused a decree to be published, in order to prevent any abuse that might be made of Cæsar's papers, which were in his custody; secondly, he got a law passed at an assembly of the people, abolishing the name and dignity of dictator for ever; thirdly, he proposed the recalling of Sextus Pompeius, and of investing him with the supreme command of all the naval forces of the republic, in the same manner as his father had enjoyed; he likewise recommended that an immense sum should be taken out of the public treasure, to make good the loss of his paternal estate. But he soon pulled off the

Antony stirs up the populace.

Antony endeavours to gain the senate by false artifices.

He pulls off the mask.

mask: pretending to be afraid of the people, who adored the memory of Cæsar, he demanded a guard of the senate for the security of his person, under which pretence he chose six thousand veterans. Further, not content with the dictator's treasures, which his widow Calpurnia had put into his hands, he made a traffick of false acts and deeds, as if they had been signed by Cæsar; and in contempt of the law which he himself had procured on this occasion, he sold them publicly to every body that wanted to purchase favours or privileges. Brutus and Cassius terrified at the degree of power to which they saw him raised, while they themselves, though protected by the senate, had neither men nor money, resolved to retire from Rome, and go over to Athens, with a view of being nearer at hand to take possession of their governments of Macedon and Syria. Antony prevails on the people to deprive them of those provinces, and to invest him with the government of Macedonia, which had been given to Brutus.

And governs with an absolute sway.

His measures were thwarted by the arrival of Octavius (b). This young Roman was come to take possession of the estate of his great uncle Cæsar, who had instituted him his heir to three fourths, and adopted him for his son. He was then in his nineteenth year, and though greatly carested by the dictator, he had made no figure as yet but at triumphant entries, and public games: for his youth and delicate constitution prevented him from entering into the army. He soon displayed a maturity of judgment far superior to his age, and shewed himself a con-

Octavius comes to Rome.

His character.

(b) Octavius was the son of Caius Octavius of the senatorial order, and of Accia daughter to Julia, Cæsar's sister: his grandfather bore the first employments in *Ves- lina*, his native city. He was born in the consulate of Cicero and Caius Antonius, and was educated, as Suetonius says, *in avito suburbano prope Velitris*, in the country seat of his ancestors near *Velitris*.

Quarrel
between
Octavius
and Antony.

Cicero's
Philippics.

Civil war
between
Antony and
Octavius.

summate politician. There was only one prudent measure for him to pursue, which was to get in between the two factions that divided the republic, and to set them upon destroying one another; and this he pursued. He attached a great part of the senate to his interest by the means of Cicero, whom he had gained by flattery; and he conciliated the good will of the people by largesses, entertainments, and feasts. On this occasion appeared the famous comet, which Octavius endeavoured to make the world consider as a sign, that his adopted father had been received among the gods. This symbol he took care to have placed on Cæsar's statues, and we even meet with it on some of his medals. Violent quarrel between Octavius and Antony: the latter accused his young rival of having had a design to assassinate him; and Cicero pretends the thing was honourable. Endeavours are used to reconcile them, which proving ineffectual, they have recourse to arms. Antony, to have a pretence of sending for the legions from Macedonia into Italy, prevails on the people to grant him the government of Cisalpine Gaul, which the senate had before conferred on Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators: he resigns that of Macedonia to his brother Caius Antonius; and sets out for Brundisium, where his troops were to rendezvous. At the same time Octavius visited several provinces of Italy, endeavouring to revive the affection which the veterans still preserved for Cæsar's memory: and by his largesses he partly succeeded. We must not omit mentioning, that before Mark Antony's departure, Cicero had pronounced in the senate-house the first of his Philippics, so called from being made in imitation of the orations of Demosthenes against Philip. A few days after, he composed a second, which he did not speak, but gave away among his friends, so that it was handed about the town: this was the source of Antony's implacable hatred against Cicero.

Civil war. Two mistakes committed by Antony at this critical conjuncture, were the luckiest things that could have happened for Octavius; one was the severity with which he behaved towards the troops that surrendered at Brundisium, and which occasioned two out of the five legions under his command to desert to the enemy; the other was the presumption he had to come to Rome with one of his legions, affecting to spread terror wherever he went, even so as to say, *that none but the victorious ought to expect to live*. In this emergency, the senate were obliged to accept of the proposal made by Octavius, who, like an able politician, offered them his service, together with the troops under his command. The senate pass a decree, approving of Octavius's measures, as well as those of Decimus Brutus: the latter was, at the head of three legions, preparing to oppose Antony, who was on his march to seize on Cisalpine Gaul. The decree was passed by Cicero's advice. On this occasion, he pronounced his third and fourth Philippics, one before the senate, and the other in the presence of the people. It might have been said that the existence of this great

great man was connected with that of the republic; for he had been long sunk into a kind of annihilation, and of all his former honours there remained only that of eloquence: but he recovered somewhat of his ancient vigour, in proportion as the republican party appeared to raise its head. He was soon undeceived in regard to Octavius; for he found that the forces under that young man's command, belonged to their general and not to the republic; so that the friends of liberty could confide in no other troops, than those of the conspirators. In Italy, D. Brutus not being strong enough to keep the field against Antony, shut himself up in Mutina (a), where he was besieged by that commander. On the other hand, M. Brutus had quickly raised a considerable force: for he not only got possession of his government of Macedonia, and took upon him the command of the troops in that province; but likewise collected a powerful army, and saw himself suddenly master of Greece, Illyricum, and Thrace. Cassius was also making a very rapid progress in the East. The remembrance of the services he had formerly done to Syria, disposed the inhabitants so greatly in his favour, that having by extraordinary diligence got the start of Dolabella, on whom Antony had conferred the government of that province, he was received with open arms, and with the same ease assumed the command of eight legions quartered in that country. Not long after, he obliged Allienus to deliver up to him four legions more, which Cleopatra queen of Egypt was sending to Dolabella; and having taken the town of Laodicea, where that general had shut himself up, he reduced him to the necessity of ordering one of his slaves to cut off his head. Brutus on the other hand defeated C. Antonius, for whom his brother had procured the government of Macedonia; and took him prisoner.

Antony lays
siege to
Mutina.

710.

But the latter events belong to this year, in which A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa were consuls. Though they held this place by Caesar's nomination, yet they joined with the senate against Antony, who pretended to revenge his death; but the public voice was against him, and every body looked upon him as an enemy to the state: the senate, after sending a deputation to endeavour to bring him to terms, declared there was a *tumult*. Cicero had bestirred himself to such a degree in this whole affair, as to pronounce nine Philippics on different occasions against Antony, besides the four already mentioned. The consuls and Octavius take the field, and advance towards Mutina, with an intent to raise the siege. Antony has the advantage in the

Antony
declared an
enemy to
his country.

Antony
defeats the
consul
Pansa;

(a) A city of Gallia Cisalpina, situate on the *via Emilia*, between the rivers *Gambellus* and *Scultenna*, and now called *Modena*. It was a Roman colony, as appears from Cicero, who, Phillip. 5. says, *circumsedit Mutinam, firmissimam et splendidissimam populi Romani coloniam*. Silius mentions it, lib. 8. *Certavit Mutina quassata Placentia bello*.

But is defeated the same day by the consul Hirtius. The battle of Mutina.

The siege of Mutina raised.

Octavius resolves to be reconciled to Antony.

Octavius marches to Rome, and is chosen consul.

He causes the conspirators to be condemned.

first engagement, in which Pansa, one of the consuls, received two mortal wounds; but he is defeated the same day by Hirtius, as he was returning to his camp. Octavius having been left to guard the consul's camp, makes a gallant stand against Lælius, the brother of Antony. A second engagement, in which Antony's lines are forced. The consul Hirtius having been slain in this action, young Octavius had another opportunity of distinguishing himself. Antony raises the siege of Mutina, and passes the Alps in hopes of receiving succours from his friends. This was all that Octavius wanted; his intent was to humble Antony, but not to destroy him, foreseeing plainly that the republican party would be uppermost, and his own ruin must soon ensue; therefore, instead of following the blow against Antony, he thought it more advisable to make some secret advances towards a reconciliation; especially as ever since the siege of Mutina he saw himself greatly neglected by the senate, who imagined they stood in no further need of his assistance. The conscript fathers would not listen to Cicero, who, at the request of Octavius, desired the consulate for that young general, in hopes of being chosen his colleague. But Octavius obtained it by force: for marching to Rome with eight legions, he entered that city as it were in triumph, the senate being unable to resist him; and he got himself named consul at the age of twenty, in conjunction with Q. Pedius one of his coheirs.

The first step the new consul took, was to cause his adoption (b) to be ratified by an assembly of the curia's, as was the custom of the Romans. In behaving thus openly as Caesar's son and heir, he gave sufficient signs that he intended to avenge his death; so that it was not at all surprizing to see an extraordinary commission issued out for trying the conspirators and their accomplices. They were all condemned, without being heard, to perpetual banishment; and their estates were confiscated, the heaviest punishment the laws could inflict

(b) Adoption is an act, by which a person takes for his son one who is not naturally such, and gives him a right to all privileges which accompanied that title. The custom was very ancient among the Romans. The person that adopted was obliged to have no children of his own, to draw up his reasons, and to offer them to the pontifices for their approbation. If this was obtained, the consul, or some other magistrate, brought in a bill at the *comitia curiata*, to make the adoption valid. The private ceremony consisted in buying the person to be adopted of his parents, for a sum of money formally given and taken. If it was the free act of a person grown up, and his own master, it was stiled *adrogatio*; but if he was under age, it was called *adoptio*. This is a distinction made by Gellius, and confirmed by Ulpian VIII. 1. *sequi*. Adoptions were also made by will, either as to name or estate; in *testa cetera C. Octavius etiam in familiam nomenque adoptavit*. The person adopted took the name and surname of his adoptive father, but as a mark of their own descent, they added at the end either their former name or their surname (*nomen* or *cognomen*) with this difference, that if they used the surname, they made it an adjective, as C. Octavius, when adopted by Cæsar, was called *C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus*. M. Junius Brutus, when adopted by Q. Servilius Cæpio Agala, was called *Q. Servilius Cæpio Agala-Brutus*. A patrician was not at liberty to adopt a plebeian, though a plebeian could adopt a patrician,

against citizens. Young Cæsar in the mean time continued to negotiate with Antony, who had gained an addition of strength by the junction of Lepidus: this man, after having wavered a long time, ^{Lepidus joins with} declared at length in favour of the party to which he had been always inclined; and as Antony stood in need of his assistance, he did not ^{Antony.} disdain to give him a share of his authority. Octavius courted them both, in order to be able to make head against Brutus and Cassius, who had no less than twenty legions under their command. In regard to Decimus Brutus, having been deserted by his troops, some of whom surrendered themselves to Antony, others to Octavius, he was slain by Antony's emissaries, who brought him his head.

Second triumvirate. The three chiefs of the Cæsarean party have ^{Second} an interview in the neighbourhood of Bononia (*b*), in a small island of ^{triumvirate.} the river Rhenus (*c*), where they come to an agreement to divide all the provinces of the empire and the supreme authority among them for five years, under the name of triumvirs, and as reformers of the republic with consular power. The conferences lasted three days, during which time they had warm debates in regard to the persons that were to be proscribed. The dilemma was very great, for the friends of one triumvir might be deemed enemies to another: at length Cicero's head was given in exchange by Octavius for Antony's uncle and for the uncle of Lepidus. This horrid convention was ratified by a promise of marriage betwixt Octavius and Clodia, Antony's daughter-in-law.

The conspirators march to Rome, and get the triumvirate confirmed by the suffrages of the people: upon which the proscription ^{The pro-} immediately follows. The public with horror beheld at the head of ^{scription.} the list the names of Brutus brother of Lepidus, of L. Cæsar uncle to Antony, of C. Toranius who had been governor to Octavius, and of Cicero to whom this young general had so many obligations. This great orator was overtaken by the assassins near one of his country houses, from whence he was removing to the sea-side, not so much of his own inclination, as forced away by the importunity of his friends; for he had resolved to die in his own country, which he had heretofore saved from the fury of Catiline, and lately from that of Antony. He forbid his slaves to make any resistance, since it would be only dan-

(*b*) Bononia, now Bologna, a city of Gallia Cispadana, was formerly called *Felsina*, till the invasion of the Gauls, from whom it received this name. It was a Roman colony, according to Livy. lib. 37. *Ager captus de Gallis Bœis fuerat; Galli Tuscos expulerunt.* Tacitus calls it *Bononiensis colonia*.

(*c*) Now the *Reuo*, a little river that falls into the Po after running by Bologna. From this conflux or meeting it was also called *insula Triumvirorum*. Appian says they met in an island of the river Lavinus, *ἐν νήσῳ ἀμφὶ Μοῖνας πίδαξ καὶ ποταμὸς τῷ Ἀλβίῳ ποταμῷ ὁμοῦσαν τῇ ἐκείνῃ.* But the generality of historians are against him. Dio says, *ἐν νήσῳ τῇ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ παρὰ τὴν Βονονίαν παραστήσαντι*, where *παραστήσαντι* cannot be applied to the Lavinus, therefore it must be the Rhenus, which Pliny calls *canis Bononiensis*. And in Silius we find—*parvique Bononia Rheni*. Suetonius also says, *ad Bononiam triumvirorum copias fuisse coactas.*

Death of
Cicero.

His
character.

gerous to themselves, and useless to their master; then putting his head out of the litter, he presented his neck with great tranquillity to the murderer. It must be allowed in praise of Cicero, that he was a lover of glory and of his country; a principle in itself honourable, though it made him commit some little failings. His ambition had no other object than glory; he feared no difficulty conducive to this point; this is what induced him to take such pains in improving himself in every ornamental branch of life, so as to make it dubious whether his natural, or his acquired accomplishments, were most considerable; and glory being the object of all his wishes, the least diminution of it gave him the greatest uneasiness. He had not sufficient fortitude to bear with disgrace, therefore he quite lost himself during the whole time of his exile. He who had made so great a figure in his consulate, was grown timorous and irresolute towards the extinction of the republic. He seemed to have lost one half of his existence, when he saw the liberties of his country subverted. Yet he pretended to be a philosopher, and was even more ambitious of this appellation than of that of an orator, perhaps because he was sensible of his not being entitled to the former, whereas the latter could not be disputed with him. He was not made to spread terror and desolation in the field; but he often faced death in the midst of Rome for the defence of his country; and at length he nobly laid down his life in the glorious cause. He was not a soldier, yet he had courage; I do not mean that rough kind of courage by which we are hurried to carnage and slaughter, but that steady resolution which properly forms the characteristic of a great man. The chief failing he can be charged with, is a little vanity, a failing however that borders in some measure on the love of glory. Yet Cicero may still be ranked among the greatest men that appeared towards the decline of the republic. Pompey had only the outward shew of virtue; Caesar frequently neglected even to preserve the appearances of it; Cato carried his to excess; but Cicero was possessed of real virtue, together with vast abilities, and every shining accomplishment.

Further cru-
elties of the
proscribers.

The death of this great man gave prodigious pain to all honest citizens, and excessive joy to Antony. This cruel triumvir fell into immoderate laughter, when his emissaries brought him the melancholy spoils of the prince of orators, which were exposed, by his command, on the rostra, where Cicero had so often charmed the Romans with his eloquence. His son, his brother, and his nephew were proscribed at the same time: the two last were put to death; but the first escaped, being at that time with Brutus, and was afterwards taken into favour by Octavius, who made him consul. The particulars of this proscription are long and melancholy; let it suffice to observe in general, that it was more numerous than that of Sylla, and attended with circumstances of greater horror. Several unnatural children delivered up their fathers to the executioner, in order to partake of their spoils; a great number of citizens, who had the misfortune of being rich, were inserted for this very reason in the fatal list, and among the rest an infant, who

was

EIGHTH CENTURY.

44

was obliged to take the manly gown, that he might be reckoned of man's estate, and proscribed as such. To reward, or rather to reproach the triumvirs for these horrid cruelties, the senate decreed them a *corona civica*, the recompence of those who saved the life of a citizen. But several of the proscribed fled for shelter to Brutus's camp in Macedonia, or to Cassius in Asia, or to Cornificius, who held out for the republican party in Africa, and especially to Sextus Pompeius, who, though proscribed himself, had seized on the island of Sicily, by the help of a powerful fleet, which he had collected together as commander in chief of the naval forces of the republic.

Towards the close of this year, the consuls appointed for the remaining part of it, were Caius Catinas, substituted in the room of Quint. Pedius, who died with over heating himself; and C. Ventidius, a man of merit, in favour of whom the triumvirs had agreed that Octavius should resign, to reward him for the several services done to Antony. But the consulate, properly speaking, was no more than a name since the death of Hirtius and Pansa; for instance, Plancus, who served this office the very next year along with the triumvir Lepidus, was rather his minister than his colleague. This Plancus was one of those whom Cæsar had appointed consuls; and the triumvirs took care to follow his example: hence they nominated all the magistrates of Rome for several years to come.

711.

To this year we may refer the tax, which the triumvirs laid on fourteen hundred ladies of the first quality in Rome, though it was raised only on four hundred, at the intercession of Hortensia, daughter of the orator Hortensius, and heir to his great accomplishments. The very nature of this tax alone is sufficient to shew that the triumvirs were distressed for money: neither had they recourse to this, till after trying all sorts of extortion and rapine, in order to glut the avarice of the soldiers, who served them only upon condition of sharing the profits of their tyranny.

Tax on the
Roman
ladies.

The triumvirs swore, and made every citizen swear, to observe Cæsar's laws and regulations. This oath was afterwards renewed on the first of January every year, and from thence was derived the custom of taking the like oath under the emperors, in the name of the reigning prince and all his predecessors.

During these transactions, powerful armies were in motion on all sides; and the time was drawing near, in which the republican party was either to destroy, or be destroyed by, the triumvirs. The troops under the command of Antony and Octavius had sailed from Brundisium, to the number of a hundred thousand foot and thirteen thousand horse, and fortunately landed in Epirus, notwithstanding the vigilance of Statius Murcus, who on that same coast commanded the enemy's fleet of sixty sail: these two triumvirs followed soon after, leaving Lepidus at Rome. On the other hand, the army under Brutus and Cassius, consisting of eighty thousand men, was advancing with

Antony and
Octavius
pass over in-
to Macedon.

Brutus and
Cassius
march to
meet them.

The first
battle of
Philippi.

Cassius's
death.

with all expedition towards the enemy. The two republican generals had joined their forces at Sardis in Lydia, where they solemnly received from their troops the title of *imperator*, which both of them had deserved, without acquiring equal glory. Cassius had stained his victory over the Rhodians (*d*) with an unreasonable severity, and given room to many complaints; Brutus had heightened the lustre of his successes in Thrace and Lycia, by his lenity and moderation. He shewed himself greatly superior to the other, since he acted merely from principle, and as a defender of the Roman liberties; whereas Cassius without him would have moved in a much lower sphere. They marched their army beyond the town of Philippi in Macedonia, and posted themselves in a very advantageous spot, waiting for the enemy, who quickly appeared.

The first battle of Philippi (*e*). Cassius is defeated by Antony, while Brutus obtains a complete victory over Octavius. Things would have been pretty even; had it not been for Cassius's precipitate despair, who giving up every thing as lost, retired to his tent, where he ordered one of his freedmen to kill him (*f*). His death inclined the balance in favour of the triumvirs. Brutus of the two was the honestest man, Cassius the best general: this battle had been fought contrary to his opinion; for the enemy's army began to be greatly distressed through want of provisions, which were brought from a great distance, and those even in a small quantity, since Murcus, Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Sextus Pompeius, had with their several navies cut off all communication by sea. Brutus lamented the death of his friend, calling him the last of the Romans; but did not lose courage. He was still able to make head against the triumvirs, especially if he had suffered their army to moulder away for want of provisions, as Cassius advised him; and it is thought he would have followed this advice, had he known that the combined squadrons of Murcus and Domitius had lately destroyed a considerable reinforcement that was coming to the triumvirs. This event, though so public and so well known in the triumviral army, never came to his knowledge, for what reason we know not. We must acknowledge with Plutarch,

(*d*) The Rhodians and Lycians had refused to pay them any contributions, or to take part in the war, under pretence of maintaining a strict neutrality, though it was well known, that they had sent succours, underhand, to the triumvirs.

(*e*) *Philippi* was a city of Macedon, bordering on Thrace, and so called from Philip the father of Alexander, who fortified it against the incursions of the Thracians. It was situated on a rising ground, which abounded with springs; on the north it had several hills covered with woods, on the south a marsh which reached to the Ægean sea, on the east the freights of Topiris, which some call the freights of Symbolon, and on the west a large plain extending as far as the river Strymon. St. Paul wrote an epistle to the inhabitants of this city, and in the Acts of the apostles it is called a colony, and town of Macedonia, *ἐκείνη ἡ πόλις τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς καὶ νῦν καλεῖται*.

(*f*) Livy, lib. 124, says he dispatched himself with the same dagger, with which he had killed Cæsar.

that

EIGHTH CENTURY.

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that it was impossible for the empire to be longer governed by an authority divided amongst many; therefore as it stood in need of a single chief, God was pleased to take away the only man capable of opposing him, whom he destined to be ruler of the world, and hindered Brutus from availing himself of an event which would have certainly rendered him triumphant.

The second battle of Philippi. Brutus had the advantage at first in the right wing, where he commanded in person; but his left wing being greatly extended for fear of being taken in flank, the center was left too much exposed, and the triumvirs having bent all their force that way, broke through the enemy's ranks, and threw them into disorder. Octavius pushed as far as their camp, which he took; Antony attacked Brutus in the rear, and surrounding him on all sides, obtained a complete victory. Brutus did not quit the field, till he was quite overpowered; his principal officers not caring to outlive the liberty of their country, died sword in hand, in the posts assigned them. Among these were the great Cato's son, and L. Cassius, brother of the defeated general. Had it not been for the generous behaviour of his friend Lucilius, who deceived the Thracians of the triumphal army, that were in pursuit of Brutus (g), he must have been taken prisoner, which to him would have been the greatest of misfortunes; for he had always declared, let what would happen, conquer or not, he hoped to continue free, thereby giving to understand, that in case of a defeat, he did not intend to live. Accordingly he killed himself the night after the battle, not without expressing some regret for having followed that party, which appeared to him the most virtuous, but not the most fortunate (h). His body was brought to Antony, who ordered it to be burnt with all funeral honours, and the ashes to be carried to his mother Servilia. Octavius, on the contrary, having caused the head of Brutus to be brought to him, gave directions for its being conveyed to Rome, and there laid at the feet of Caesar's statue. It was by his orders, and in

The second battle of Philippi.

Death of Brutus.

(g) The particulars are too interesting to be omitted. Lucilius observing a body of Thracian horse making towards Brutus, resolved to save the life of his general, at the hazard of his own. When the Thracians came up, he told them that he was Brutus, and desired they would carry him to Antony. The Thracians were at first overjoyed with their prey, but grew afterwards enraged at the disappointment, when Antony knew the prisoner, who had passed himself upon them for Brutus. Antony taken with the virtue and generosity of Lucilius, satisfied the Thracians easily, by declaring they had brought him a better booty than Brutus; at the same time he embraced Lucilius, who, from that time, continued inviolably attached to his interests.

(h) Dio relates, that when Brutus in the morning saw no way of escaping, he cried out, *O unhappy virtue! I followed thee as a solid good; but thou art only a mere notion, vain, empty name, or at best, a slave of fortune!* which is elegantly expressed by *Phaon in Emblematis*:

*Non jam stridor moribunda in pectore ferax,
Audaci bos Prius praeliis ore sonos:
Infelix virtus, & solis proinde verbis,
Fortunam in rebus tur sequitur dominam?*

his

Cruelty of
Octavius.

his presence, that all the prisoners of the first rank were murdered in cold blood : and it has been observed, that before those illustrious unfortunates were put to death, he abused them with the most insulting language. Antony, though in many respects a kind of monster, acted a noble part at that time, if compared to Octavius, who was afterwards the delight of mankind, under the name of Augustus. If we examine more minutely into the matter, Octavius's conduct was ever directed by one and the same motive, namely, the thirst of power. In order to attain his end, he would commit the most barbarous action with the same insensibility as the most noble : thus he behaved with cruelty at the time of the proscription, and after the battle of Philippi, because it was his interest to put all the zealous republicans to death ; but he acted with generosity as soon as he attained to the supreme power, because he well knew, that this was only to gain the hearts of the people.

End of the
republican
party.

Tacitus justly observes, that after the death of Brutus and Cassius, the republic was no more. It is true, that Messala appeared at the head of a corps of fourteen thousand men, the remains of the army that had been defeated at Philippi : but thinking it his duty no longer to contend with fortune, he went over to the triumvirs ; and the whole navy having assembled at the same time in the Ionian sea, under the command of Murcus and Domitius, these two commanders quarrelled. The latter, ambitious of having the chief authority, continued upon the coast, in order to make his own fortune ; while the former, out of pure zeal for the republic, surrendered his ships to Sextus Pompeius, whose intentions, in the main, were not much honestier than those of Domitius.

Antony and
Octavius
part.

Antony and Octavius enter into a new division of the provinces of the empire, in prejudice to Lepidus. This triumvir was to expect no share in their authority, as he had not been concerned in their victories. Antony passed over to the East with six legions and ten thousand horse, in order to establish the triumviral power in those parts : but Octavius returned to Italy, with an intent to distribute the rewards which had been long promised to the veterans.

Octavius
meets with
great diffi-
culties in the
distribution
of the lands.

This commission, though less honourable than that of Antony, was attended with more real advantages ; since it gave an opportunity to Octavius to reside in Italy, and to make sure of the gratitude and affection of the troops : but at the same time it was extremely odious. He had undertaken to eject the inhabitants of the best provinces out of their estates and possessions, and to bestow them upon the veterans ; this being the surest method the triumvirs could find to perform the promises they had made to their troops. Such a tyrannical proceeding occasioned an universal outcry ; but Octavius was deaf to complaints. He granted however some mitigation to persons of noble birth, or to such as had been strongly recommended to him ; of which number was the celebrated poet Virgil, who expresses his acknowledgment in his first eclogue,

eclogue, where he extols Octavius to the skies, only for not having robbed him of the little farm, which he inherited of his ancestors.

War of Perugia, occasioned by Fulvia, Antony's wife. This audacious woman had gained the same ascendant over her brother-in-law, the consul Lucius Antonius, as she formerly had had over Antony her husband. Lucius engaged in this war at her request, without any view or motive; yet he pretended to oppose the distribution of lands, because there was a possibility, he said, to reward the soldiers without proceeding to this extremity. He even would boast, that he intended to abolish the triumvirate: but such noble designs cannot be attributed to a man remarkable for vanity, and who, pursuant to the general testimony of historians, had all his brother's vices, without the least mark of virtue; which is more than can be said of Antony. Fulvia had the impudence to make an incestuous attempt upon her son-in-law Octavius; but the young triumvir rejected her proposal, and at the same time divorced her daughter, declaring, that for him she was still a virgin. Antony's proud wife would fain be revenged of both these affronts: and this was the real motive of the war; but the pretext was the public good. It was called the war of Perugia, from the scenes transacted in that unfortunate city. Lucius having shut himself up in this place, was besieged by Octavius, and obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender at discretion; and just as the town was delivered up to be plundered, an unforeseen accident reduced it to (b) ashes. Fulvia retired into Greece, whither Antony repaired at her request: but she met with so cold a reception, that this, together with her other uneasinesses, threw her into a fit of illness, of which she died. Lucius was sent into Spain by Octavius, with the title of proconsul, but without any authority. The destruction of Perugia, and the facts subsequent thereto, fall under the next year.

This very year Antony had fallen in love with Cleopatra the Egyptian queen, so celebrated for the charms of her person, which she prostituted to her ambition. This woman was a down right Proteus: she had first seduced the eldest son of Pompey; she pretended next to have been seduced by Cæsar; at length she behaved like a lewd courtesan to Mark Antony; and in each of those characters she shewed her great address. Pompey's son, at the time his father sent him into Egypt, was a raw unexperienced youth, consequently not so liable to plunge into vice of his own inclination, as to be led astray by bad company. Cæsar was as ambitious of the conquest of a woman, as of that of a province: and Antony was a drunken debauched soldier. Cleopatra having been informed of this general's character, thought herself sure of success: she set out triumphant from Alexandria her capital, and arrived at Tarsus, whither

(b) One Cestius, surnamed *Macedonicus*, from having served a long time in Macedonia, not caring to survive the ruin of his country, set fire to his house, and thereby occasioned the total destruction of that ancient city.

she had been summoned by Antony, to give an account of her conduct. Her entry into this town was magnificent: decked with every ornament that the fancies of poets and painters lend to Venus, and attended by a numerous retinue, she sailed up the river Cydnus, in a stately galley, richly gilt, and decorated with purple sails. Over the couch, on which she lay negligently reclined, hung a canopy bespangled with gold stars; the graces formed an agreeable group around her person; cupids kept fanning her with their wings; while nereides burnt excellent perfumes, and formed a concert of melodious instruments. So pompous an equipage drew the citizens all out of the town to meet her, so that Antony, who was distributing justice in the forum, saw his tribunal on a sudden deserted. He was not offended with the ceremony; for he had permitted the like reception to be given to himself in several towns, and among the rest at Ephesus, where the women dressed themselves in the habits of priestesses of Bacchus, the men and children appeared like fauns and satyrs, and all the inhabitants went in procession to meet him, proclaiming aloud that he was a second Bacchus, gracious and benevolent like that jolly deity. Antony was now pleased with the flattery of his courtiers, who told him that Venus was come to join with Bacchus for the prosperity of Asia. The very same evening he went to sup with the Egyptian queen; and from that time forward they passed their days and nights in the most shameful revels. Cleopatra did not return to Egypt till she had obtained of the triumvir the full establishment of her authority, by the murder of her sister Arsinoë, the only person that could give her any umbrage; for she had taken care to get rid of her brother immediately after the death of Cæsar. Antony could not bear to live without her; therefore instead of marching against the Parthians, who threatened Syria with an invasion, he followed her to Alexandria, and there lay immersed in pleasure, till the situation of affairs in Italy roused him out of his lethargy.

Antony
spends the
winter with
her at
Alexandria.

713.

Quarrel
between
Antony and
Octavius.

Antony
arrives in
Italy, and
lays siege to
Brundisium.

He had taken umbrage at the conduct of the young triumvir Octavius, who had gained such an ascendent over his colleague Lepidus, that with a single word he prevailed on him to quit Italy, and go over to Africa with six legions, which were suspected of being in Antony's interest. Octavius had forty under his command, but Antony was superior to him in naval forces, especially since he had been joined by Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was tired of beating about the seas. With this reinforcement he appeared before Brundisium, and being refused admittance, he laid siege to the town: at the same time Sextus Pompeius, with whom he had entered into a correspondence, made a descent upon Italy. Octavius advances at the head of his troops, with a design to force Antony's lines. This quarrel, which seemed to portend a bloody war, ended suddenly in a marriage between Antony and Octavia, sister to Octavius. The friendship between the two triumvirs was cemented by this marriage, which

had

had been brought about by Mecænas, Pollio, and Cocceius Nerva: Antony and Octavius come to an agreement, and divide the Roman empire by the same treaty the Eastern part of the empire was allotted to Antony, and the west to Octavius; Africa was left to Lepidus; and it was agreed that Antony should make war upon the Parthians, and Octavius upon Pompey. This son of Neptune (for so he was pleased to stile himself on account of his maritime power) distressed Octavius to that degree, that the latter thought it prudent towards the beginning of this year, to try all possible means of coming to an accommodation with him. For which reason Mecænas was charged to propose a match between the young triumvir, and Scribonia sister to Libo, who was Sextus's father-in-law. The match, though not the peace, was concluded.

Balbus and Canidius are nominated consuls in the room of Pollio and Domitius. The next year, in order to avoid displacing the consuls in this manner, the triumvirs thought proper to confer this dignity only for a few months; so that when they appointed consuls, they likewise nominated those who were to succeed them: but they who began the year, gave it their name, and for this reason were called *ordinary consuls*; the others were stiled *substitute or petty consuls*: this method was observed under the emperors.

The consul Balbus was by birth a Spaniard; and the first foreigner that had ever been invested with the supreme magistracy at Rome. So great a confusion prevailed among all orders of people, that one Vibius Maximus, who had been nominated to the quæstorship, was claimed by a private person as his slave, and obliged to return to his master; another slave was thrown down the Tarpeian rock, because his name had been found in the list of the legionary troops.

Pollio and Domitius, of whom we have just now made mention, were sent, at the expiration of their office, the one against the Parthians, a people of Illyricum, who had declared for Brutus in the last war, and the other against the Cerretani in Spain: they both deserved the honour of a triumph, but Pollio is more famous for his literary merit, than for this triumph.

The Falcidian law, so called from the name of its author, P. Falcidius (b) the tribune. It ordained that the fourth part of every testator's

(b) This shews the ridiculous etymology of the Glossa *ad princ. Inst. de lege Falcidia*; *Falcidia sic dicta, quod ut falx furum, sic & lex legata refecat*. The law of the twelve tables granted full liberty to the Romans to bequeath their estates as they pleased, *Uti quisque legasset suæ rei, ita jus esto*: this liberty was afterwards abridged in favour of the testators themselves, because the next heir receiving little or no benefit from the will, refused to administer. To remedy this inconveniency the *lex Furia* and *lex Voconia* were made. The author of the former was C. Furius tribune of the people: it ordained that no person should give, by way of legacy, above a thousand *asses*. The author of the latter was Q. Voconius Saxa, likewise tribune of the people: it ordained that no woman should be left heiress to an estate; and that no *census*, that is, no person that was rated high in the *censors* books, should give more to any person whatever, than was coming to the next heir. But these two laws were still insufficient for the purpose intended, which was to prevent the decay of noble families; because though the *lex Furia* really restrained the quantity of

testator's effects should go to the next heir; this was called *Quarta Falcidia*.

Herod made
king of Ju-
dea.

Herod son of Antipater, by birth an Idumean, receives of the Romans the title of king of Judæa, which Pompey had refused to grant to Hyrcanus, who had an hereditary right to that crown. He was come this year to Rome, to petition for succours against the Parthians, who had made themselves masters of Judæa, and settled Antigonus on that throne. This Antigonus was head of the branch at enmity with Hyrcanus, whom they had taken prisoner.

714.

Disturbances
in Rome for
want of corn.

Great disturbances at Rome, owing to the scarcity of provisions to which that capital and all Italy was reduced by Pompey's fleet, which infested the whole coast. The people laid the blame upon the triumvirs, who maintained the war against Pompey, only to satisfy their private ambition. Octavius is in great danger at a popular insurrection: Antony comes to his assistance, and rescues him out of the hands of the rioters; upon which a great slaughter ensues. Octavius having in vain endeavoured to recover the affection of the populace, agrees at length to treat with Pompey, who came into the accommodation not without some difficulty, from a notion that the longer he stood out, the more advantageous conditions he was likely to obtain. At length he yielded to the violent importunity of a great number of illustrious citizens, who had fled to him for shelter, and were desirous of returning to their native country. Pompey aiming at the triumvirate in conjunction with Antony and Octavius, proposed it to them at their first interview; but they would by no means consent to accept of so enterprising a colleague, in the room of the indolent Lepidus. He was therefore obliged to be satisfied with the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, to which was added Achaia, with a promise of granting him the consulate, the dignity of augur, and seventy millions of sesterces (eight millions seven hundred and fifty thousand livres) to be restored to him out of his father's estate. In regard to the proscribed persons and those citizens who had fled from Rome, they were reinstated in all their rights and privileges, and allowed to enjoy part of

The trium-
virs come to
an accom-
modation
with Pom-
pey.

of the legacy, yet it did not limit the number of the legatees, so that the testator might dispose of his effects among so many, as to leave nothing for the next heir: and though the *Voconia lex* was more favourable to the next heir than the preceding, yet because the testators, by multiplying the number of the legatees in proportion to their estate, might happen to leave but a small matter to each, the next heir would reap but a very little benefit, and therefore would not administer. For this reason the *lex Falcidia* forbade the testator to dispose of above three fourths of his estate in legacies, to the end that the fourth part of the succession might devolve to the next heir. The words of the law are these: *Quicumque civis Romanus post hanc legem rogatum testamentum faciet, is quantam cuique civi Romano pecuniam jure publico dare legare volet, jus potestasque esto, dum ita detur, legatur, ne minus quam partem quartam l'hereditatis ex testamento hæredes capiant.*

their

their estates; the slaves enlisted under his banner were to have their liberty; and his soldiers were promised the same rewards as had been granted to those of the triumvirs after the usual time of service: the whole upon condition that he would receive no more fugitive slaves, nor increase his naval force; that he should pay annually the corn which was due to the republic out of the islands ceded to him; and that instead of infesting the coast of Italy, he should clear the seas of all pirates.

The three chiefs celebrate the peace by agreeing to treat each other. Pompey entertains his guests on board his ship, telling them, that this was the only family seat he had left. He generously rejects the advice of Menas his freedman, who in the midst of their jollity whispered him in the ear, proposing to cut the cable, and then he should become master, not only of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire: *this you should have done without imparting it to me*, Pompey answered Pompey; *but now let us make the best of our present condition: I cannot violate my oath.*

Antony leaves Italy for a very odd fancy; namely, because in diverting himself in drawing lots, in playing at dice, and at other games of chance, with Octavius, he was constantly the loser. An Egyptian astrologer, who perhaps was planted there on purpose by Cleopatra, told him that this was an evident omen of the superiority which this rival would gain over him, so long as he did not keep himself at a distance. He goes and spends the winter at Athens. The inhabitants of this city, equally famous for flattery and wit, treated him as a second Bacchus, and carried their nonsense so far as to desire he would marry Minerva, the tutelar deity of their city. Antony took them at their word, but asked them a thousand talents for the portion of their goddess, and obliged them to pay the money (A).

715.

He marches against the Parthians. The advantages which his lieutenant Ventidius had gained over that nation the preceding year, began to make him jealous of that captain's glory. Ventidius had defeated them twice successively; the first time on mount Taurus, the second on mount Amanus: and before Antony's arrival, he obtained a decisive victory, wherein Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, was slain. In return for so many exploits, he received the honour of a triumph at Rome; which is very remarkable: for he himself had been formerly led in triumph through that city by Pompeius Strabo, at the time of the war of the allies; and it is thought he was son of one of their chiefs. Antony returned to Athens, without performing any other exploit, than obliging Antiochus king of Comagena to pay

(A) One of the Athenians made answer, Your father Jupiter required no fortune with your mother Semelo. It is true, replied Antony; but Jupiter was rich, and I want money.

G g

him

Octavius
marries
Livia.

him three hundred talents, in order to save his capital Samosata. The Romans had laid siege to it, on account of the great number of Partians who had taken shelter there after their last defeat.

Octavius repudiates his wife Scribonia, the very day she was brought to bed of Julia; and marries Livia, who is ceded to him by her husband Tiberius Nero, though she was then six months pregnant. This would be a matter of surprize, did we not know that the laws were held then in such contempt, that this very year there were no less than sixty seven praetors, all created and successively set aside, according to the caprice of the triumvirs: nay the senate were obliged to pass a decree to prevent any member of that once respectable body from appearing upon the stage as a gladiator. This infamous practice was only suspended; for it disgraced the reigns of several emperors.

New breach
between
Octavius
and Pompey.

Quarrel betwixt Pompey and Octavius, owing to the desertion of Menas the freedman, who being offended with his master for suspecting his fidelity, revolted to Octavius, and joining him with sixty sail, delivered up the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, of which he had been made governor. Menas was claimed as a slave; Octavius refused to part with him; and being grown more enterprising in proportion as his strength increased, he fitted out a fleet against Pompey. The first sea-fight in the bay of Cumæ, which does not prove decisive. Octavius is intirely defeated by Pompey, in another engagement near the rocks of Scylla; and the remains of his fleet are shattered and dispersed by a storm. He returns to Italy, and distributes his troops along the coast, to guard against an invasion, which Pompey neglected to attempt: this unpardonable conduct enabled Octavius to make new preparations of war.

Octavius
defeated by
Pompey in a
sea-fight.

The triumvirs continue themselves in their magistracy five years longer.

716.

Jerusalem
taken by
Herod.

Jerusalem is taken by Herod, with the assistance of Sosius, whom Antony had appointed governor of Syria, after the Parthians had been driven from thence by Ventidius. Antigonus, who shut himself up in this city, made a very gallant defence, having held out five months against eleven Roman legions, and all the Jews of the contrary party: Herod, after taking him prisoner, causes him to be whipped with rods and beheaded.

Agrippa de-
feats the
revolted
Gauls.

M. Agrippa, one of this year's consuls, had been raised to this dignity by Octavius, in return for the many services done him from his youth, and for the victories he had lately obtained as his lieutenant over the revolted Gauls. He might have had a triumph if he pleased; Octavius pressed him to accept of it; but Agrippa was too good a courtier to acquiesce: this would have mortified his general under the present circumstances. Gallus, the other consul, was a creature of Antony's; so that they divided the first dignities amongst their friends, without any regard to those of Lepidus.

Agrippa

Agrippa being commissioned by Octavius to equip a new fleet, builds the *portus Julius*, formed by the junction of the lakes *Lucrinus* (1) and *Avernus* (2) which were made to communicate with the sea. Nothing could be more magnificent than this harbour, whose capacity and situation afforded a safe reception to a vast number of ships, where they might be conveniently exercised to naval engagements (3). There is not the least vestige of it remaining, since it was destroyed by an earthquake in 1538, which has entirely changed the face of that country.

The Julian harbour built.

717.

Octavius had invited Antony and Lepidus to assist him in the war against Pompey. Lepidus came, but unfortunately for himself: he brought with him twelve legions, five thousand Numidian horse, a thousand transports, and seventy ships of war. Antony was satisfied with sending a hundred and twenty ships, commanded by Taurus, in exchange for which he received twenty thousand legionaries.

Antony and Lepidus assist Octavius against Pompey.

Octavius undertakes his Sicilian expedition on the first of July, a month which he looked upon as fortunate, being sacred to the memory of his adopted father; but a storm arising, his three fleets are driven back, and greatly damaged. Pompey hearing of this news, considers himself as the favourite son of Neptune, and exchanges the purple garment, worn by Roman generals, for a habit of a sea-green colour. In the mean time, Octavius is occupied in refitting his fleet, which is ready to put to sea again in thirty days. Agrippa obtains a considerable advantage over Pompey. Octavius, desirous of improving the opportunity to make a descent upon Sicily, is met at sea by Sextus, and his squadron is defeated. Agrippa makes himself master of Tyn-

Octavius prepares for war against Pompey.

Octavius defeated at sea by Pompey.

(1) The lake *Lucrinus* was in the neighbourhood of *Baie* in Campania. It was famous for oysters, as appears from Horace, *epod. 11. Non me Lucrinus jussit* *insidiis*. After the above-mentioned earthquake this lake disappeared, and now there is a hill where it stood, to which the inhabitants give the name of *Monte di Lucrino*.

(2) The lake *Avernus* is near *Pozzuolo* in Campania, and computed to be about two miles long and one broad: it is now called *Lago d'Averno* and *Lago di Tri-purga*. There was formerly a wood in this neighbourhood, as appears from Virgil, *Æn. 3. Divinaeque lacus et Avernus fontia fœvis*; but it is supposed to have been cut down by Agrippa, when he made the *portus Julius*, which is agreeable to Strabo, lib. 5, *et idcirco dicitur quod in Averno amarus inquit Agrippa*. Locretius thinks it took its name from the pestilential quality of its waters, *quas aves transfolars non possunt*.

Principio, quod Avernus vocatur, nomen id ab re

Impetum est, quia sunt duobus contraria cunctis. Lib. 6.

(3) The places where the Romans exercised their ships for naval engagements, as well as the exercise itself, were called *Naumachiae*. They owe their original to the time of the first Punic war, when the Romans first initiated their men in maritime affairs. In process of time they were designed for entertainment and show, as well as to increase their naval discipline.

Pompey's
fleet intirely
defeated.

daris (o), and thereby opens a passage into Sicily. Octavius lands on this spot with twenty one legions, and twenty thousand horse, an army more than sufficient, if he had only to contend with land forces. Pompey being sensible of this, challenges Octavius to put an end to their differences by a sea-fight. Octavius accepts the challenge, and Pompey's fleet is totally routed: the latter saves himself by flight, and abandons Sicily. This victory was intirely owing to the skill and ability of Agrippa. Three hundred sail on each side fought in the presence of two generals, who, together with their land forces, were bare spectators of the engagement. Octavius's soldiers being accustomed to land service, seemed to have the disadvantage in engaging the enemy at sea; but Agrippa had guarded against this inconveniency. By means of grappling irons of his own invention, he laid hold of the enemy's ships, and obliged them to come to boarding. No sooner had he taken a few by this stratagem, than the enemy finding their ruin inevitable, were seized with a panic, and fell into confusion. Out of so numerous a fleet, only seventeen gallies escaped, and Octavius lost but three of his.

Misunder-
standing
between
Octavius
and Lepidus.

Lepidus having come from the further end of Africa to assist Octavius in Sicily, wanted to reap the whole benefit of this expedition, founding his claim upon the inequality of the share which his colleagues had formerly allotted to him; and these pretensions he was preparing to maintain by arms. Octavius despised him, knowing he was despised by his troops; so that he did not so much as vouchsafe to draw his sword against him. He repaired to Lepidus's camp without an escort, as if he intended to have a conference; and having gained over his officers, the next day he drew up his army in order of battle, confident of what was to happen. The unfortunate Lepidus had the mortification to see himself abandoned by all his troops, who went over to his rival. Upon which he quitted the marks of his authority, and waiting upon Octavius in this humble condition, he obtained the grant of his life, with orders to retire to Circei (p), a small town in Italy, which was assigned him for the place of his exile. There he passed the remainder of his days without any other dignity than that of Pontifex Maximus, which they could not take from him; and this was perhaps the most agreeable part of his life. Mankind are too much affected with outward pomp, not reflecting that happiness is generally confined to private stations, far from the tumult and hurry of business. Lepidus was contented with this retirement, which suited his natural temper; for he had ever been more desirous of repose than of power, having none of that active spirit which crowns the ambitious with success. Nay it is certain that he shewed an indifference in improving those circumstances to his advantage, which fortune threw in his way:

His
character.

(o) Some call it Tyndarium; a town of Sicily, near the mouth of the river Helicon, not far from Myle, now Milazzo.

(p) On the coast of Latium,

and

and Paternulus has good reason to say, that he no way merited the repeated favours of that blind goddess. No doubt but he had some abilities for war, since Cæsar had so great a friendship for him, that he was afterwards one of the principal persons belonging to the dictator's party; and Antony and Octavius had been obliged to let him have a share of the supreme power: but he had neither those virtues, nor those vices for which the names of men are transmitted with distinction to posterity.

Octavius puts most of the senators and knights to death, who had served under Pompey. A mutiny arises among his troops, who demanded their dismissal and their rewards: he discharges twenty thousand of the mutineers, and appeases the rest with promises and military presents. Agrippa is honoured with a rostral (q) crown of gold: we meet with no other instance of the kind before this time, except that of the learned Varro, who received the like crown in the war against the pirates. Octavius returns to Italy, and is received by the senate in full body at the gates of Rome, crowned with garlands by way of congratulation. They decree the most extravagant honours to him; but he accepts only of part. He abolishes the taxes laid during the civil wars; establishes a body of troops to exterminate the robbers that infested Italy; and embellishes the city of Rome with a great number of commodious and magnificent structures: lastly, he distributes among the veterans the lands that had been promised them, applying to this use only such estates as belonged to the republic, or had been purchased of private persons or of corporations. Steady to this political principle, he was endeavouring to make himself beloved, in proportion as his power increased: this indeed was very great, since he had absorbed that of Pompey and Lepidus; for he took care to transport troops over to Africa and Numidia, in order to seize on those provinces which constituted a part of that triumvir's division.

Antony, on the contrary, was weakening himself in the East by his misconduct. His passion for Cleopatra, which had given way for a while to his affection for Octavia, broke out again with greater vehemence. Eager to be in the arms of the queen of Egypt, he hurried the operations of the war against the Parthians, and heaped blunder upon blunder. He miscarried before Praaspa, a town of Media, which he attempted to seize, in order to open a passage for his troops into the enemy's country. The winter obliged him to march his army back again, after losing two legions, and all his military machines. In this retreat he met with many a disaster. The Romans, harassed by the enemy's cavalry, distressed by hunger and thirst, and exhausted by a long march over the mountains, died by thousands in the presence of

(q) This was called *corona navalis*, or *rostrata*; the flower work represented the beaks of galleys; and it was bestowed on such as had signalized themselves in a sea-fight: hence we read in Virgil, *Æn.* 8.

—Cui belli insigne superbum
Tempora navalis fulgent rostrata corona.

their general. At length he reached Armenia, where reviewing his troops, he found he had lost twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse; the greatest part of whom perished through misery. Eight thousand also were destroyed by a forced march into Syria, where that general had engaged to meet Cleopatra. This princess had brought money and clothes with her for the Roman troops, in return for the present which Antony had made her this year, of Phœnicia, Coele-Syria, the isle of Cyprus, Cyrenaica, and several other provinces.

713.

Tragical end
of Pompey.

Tragical end of Sextus Pompeius. (This year's consul was of the same name, and of the same family, but of a different and distant branch.) His first design after his defeat, was to go and offer his service to Antony: but his ambition being soon excited by the misconduct of that general, and supported by the troops that flocked about him, he resolved to proceed to the East, and try his fortune against the triumvir. The attempt was too arduous: he was defeated and taken prisoner at the very time he was endeavouring to amuse Antony with a treaty. Marcus Titius, before whom he was brought, put him to death; whereby he incurred the hatred of the Romans to such a degree, that upon his attempting some time after, to exhibit public shows in Pompey's theatre at Rome, the people drove him away with hisses and imprecations. Pompey's memory was long dear to the Romans; they still revered the name, and this was almost all that seemed worthy of respect in the son. He was brave, but wanted many other qualities of Pompey the Great. He had neither the prudence, the experience, nor the abilities of his father. He had been deprived, when he was very young, of the counsels of that great man, and been exiled from his country by unrelenting fortune: this drove him into a course of life, that roughened his language, and soured his manners; not unlike to a plant, that degenerates for want of culture. Instead of a circle of senators and knights, with which Pompey the Great used to be surrounded, Sextus was attended by fugitive slaves, and freedmen, that had an ascendant over him, and whose company he preferred to that of the illustrious persons who sheltered themselves under his protection. In short, he seemed fitter to be, what he really was, a chief of pirates and banditti, than general of a Roman army.

His
character,

Octavius
wages war
against the
Japodes, &c.

Octavius wages war against the Japodes (r), the Pannonians (s), and the Dalmatians. These wars lasted three years, and ended very gloriously for him, as well on account of his success, as of the bravery he displayed on many occasions: they were also of great use to him, as they kept his troops in exercise, and prevented them from

(r) A people of Illyricum; Strabo calls them *Iáwides*; but Dio Cassius, and Ptolemy, *Iáwides*, *Japydes*.

(s) The inhabitants of Pannonia, now called Hungary.

thinking

thinking of mutiny and revolt. Out of the spoils taken in this war with the Dalmatians, he built a noble portico at Rome, which he enriched with an excellent library for public use, and gave it the name of his sister Octavia. About the same time a statue was erected to her by a decree of the senate, an honour which had been paid to Livia the wife of Octavius.

719.

In consequence of the agreement made heretofore between the two triumvirs and Pompey, Antony was consul this year the second time, in conjunction with Libo Pompey's father-in-law. He enters into a league with the king of the Medes against the Parthians, and takes Artabazes king of Armenia in a treacherous manner. This behaviour he thought he could justify, because he had been betrayed himself by the Armenian the preceding year. Artaxias being chosen king in his father's stead, endeavours in vain to assist him: Antony obtains a complete victory over the son, and obliges him to fly into Parthia. After this he makes a conquest of Armenia, and celebrates the triumph in Alexandria. Thither he leads the captive king, who would never stoop to bend his knee to Cleopatra; a magnanimity which was the cause of his death.

Antony
subdues
Armenia,

And tri-
umphs at
Alexandria.

720.

But Antony was every day more and more bewitched by the artifices of that ambitious woman. He had set out for Syria, with a view to wage war against the Parthians. The commotions with which that empire was actually divided, and the reinforcement of cavalry which the king of the Medes had brought him, were new motives for his carrying on this enterprize with vigour. But hearing that Cleopatra was fallen into a deep melancholy at Alexandria, he flew back to her arms: not content with sacrificing to that lewd woman the virtuous Octavia, who was set out from Rome to join him, and whom he sent back with ignomy, he acknowledged Cleopatra for his lawful wife, and conferred on the two sons he had by her, the title of Kings of Kings. All this cost the artful Egyptian queen but a few crocodile tears and deceitful caresses.

Antony is
bewitched
by Cleopa-
tra,

And sends
back Octa-
via.

The celebrated ædileship of Agrippa. This man, who was meanly born, but had genius and merit, shared the confidence of Octavius. Ædileship of together with Mecænas. At that time they were his favourites: Agrippa, when he was sovereign of the whole empire, they became his ministers: and at all times they lived with him upon the terms of friendship. One of them was both a soldier and a statesman, and upon every occasion behaved with dignity and spirit. The other being only a politician, acted always with prudence and circumspection: he affected no outward pomp, but left his name to be celebrated by the literati, whom he loved and protected. Agrippa judged proper to accept of all the honours he deserved; so that he attained to the chief employments of the empire. Mecænas being a Roman knight by birth, was satisfied with that title: he wanted no places

Character
of Agrippa
and Mecæ-
nas.

nor dignities, but thought it sufficient to have it in his power to bestow them. Both these men contributed very much to the rise and grandeur of their friend. Agrippa made considerable improvements this year at Rome; such as several magnificent aqueducts (1), a hundred and fifty public fountains, seven hundred watering places, the whole adorned with three hundred statues and four hundred marble columns. The spectacles he gave were pompous in a high degree, and in a taste that shewed the politeness of the age. By this behaviour Agrippa reflected lustre on Octavius, and rendered himself most acceptable to the Romans; while Antony was hated and despised for his ungenerous treatment of Octavia, and his extravagant passion for Cleopatra.

721.

Antony and
Octavius
prepare for
war.

And yet the consuls of this year were so devoted to Antony, that they retired from Rome to join him, as soon as they perceived that Octavius was preparing for war. Hitherto the two triumvirs had confined themselves to libels and invectives; but it was easy to foresee that this paper war would be followed by another of a more serious nature. The consul Domitius found Antony at Ephesus busy in making military preparations, that is, in giving orders; for instead of directing them himself, he retired with Cleopatra to the isle of Samos, which was now become the general rendezvous of comedians, mountebanks, and musicians, as Ephesus was that of the troops. From Samos they went to Athens, whence Antony signified his divorce to Octavia, with orders for her to quit his house; which induced several of his old friends to desert him. By a decree of the senate, Antony is deprived of the triumviral power, and of the consulate, to which he had been nominated for the following year in conjunction with Octavius. War declared against Cleopatra. Octavius out of policy would not have it said that he was renewing the horrid scenes of a civil war: besides, Cleopatra herself had in some measure declared war against the Romans, by accustoming herself to swear only by the laws, which she intended very soon to dictate in the capitol.

War
declared
against
Cleopatra.

722.

Antony and
Octavius
resolve upon
a fight at
sea.

Antony had missed the favourable opportunity: he ought to have been before hand with Octavius, and to have attacked him the preceding year, while the several provinces subject to that triumvir's government were ready to revolt, on account of the heavy taxes with which he had loaded them, in order to forward his military prepara-

(1) The first invention of aqueducts is attributed to Appius Claudius in the year 441, who brought water into the city by a channel of eleven miles in length; but this was trifling when compared to those that were afterwards built in the times of the emperors. Several of these were cut through mountains for above forty miles together; and in some places the vaults and arches were 100 feet high. Some reckon the aqueducts but fourteen; others enlarge them to twenty: in the names of them the waters only were mentioned; as *Aqua Claudia*, *Aqua Appia*, &c.

tions,

tions. By Antony's supineness, Octavius had leisure to quiet their minds, and even to conciliate their affections to such a degree, that all Italy engaged by a solemn oath to serve him against his enemy. In pursuance hereof, in a very little time he saw himself master of an army of eighty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, besides a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships, with which he set sail from Brundisium, as soon as the weather permitted. True it is that Antony had a superior force, viz. twelve thousand horse, a hundred thousand foot, a great number of auxiliary troops, and a fleet of five hundred ships of war: but his ships were neither so light, nor so well manned, as those of Octavius. Yet he placed his whole confidence in his fleet, preferable to his land-forces. After they had sent challenges to each other, which could not be put into execution, but only proved the great eagerness of the two chiefs to decide the dispute about the sovereignty of the world, Antony resolved to try his fortune in a naval engagement (s).

The battle of Actium (r) on the fifth of September. The losses The battle which of Actium.

(s) The most considerable of the Roman ships of war were the *naves longa*, or galleys, so called from their form, the most convenient for cutting their way: and of these the most remarkable were the *triremis*, *quadriremis*, and *quinqueremis*, exceeding one another by one bank of oars; which banks were raised slopingly one above another. Besides these, there were two other rates, one higher and the other lower. The higher are the *hexemis*, the *heptemis*, and the *octemis*; that is with six, seven, or eight banks; the lower are the *biremis* and the *monemis*. The *biremis* consisted of two banks of oars; and of these the best and lightest were called *Liburnicae*, from the *Liburni*, a people of Dalmatia, who first invented them. The *monemis* was a galley having but one single bank of oars.

The larger ships, as the *quadriremis*, and upwards, had hatches, and therefore were called *tecta* or *constrata*; the *triremis* and *biremis*, are sometimes described otherwise; all below these were without hatches, and therefore were called *aperta*. The *naves rostratae* were those that had *rostra* or beaks, necessary for all ships in sea engagements. *Naves turrita* were such as had turrets erected on their decks, from whence the soldiers used all manner of weapons and engines. The officers in the navy were *praefectus classis*, or admiral, and sometimes the *duumviri*, when two were joined in commission together with the *trierarchus*, or captain of a particular ship, most properly of the *triremis*; the *gubernator*, or master; and the *calypso*, or boatswain. The naval as well as the land army consisted of four legions. Under Augustus the Romans had one navy at *Misenum* (a seaport town near the promontory now called *Cape di Miseno*) in the *Mare Inferum*, or Tyrrhene sea, to protect and keep in obedience France, Spain, Mauritania, Egypt, Sardinia, and Sicily: another at Ravenna in the *Mare Superum* or Adriatic, to defend and overawe Epirus, Macedon, Achaia, Crete, Cyprus, together with all Asia.

(r) *Actium* was a promontory of Epirus, famous for this naval victory of Augustus, in memory of which he built a city here, calling it *Nicapolis*, i. e. the city of victory, from the following incident. As he was going out of his tent early in the morning to visit his fleet, he met a peasant driving an ass. Being moved with curiosity, or superstition, he asked the man's name; who told him it was *Eutyches*, and that his ass was called *Nicon*. The first signifies happy, and the other conqueror. This seemed a lucky omen to him, and when afterwards he erected a trophy in that place with the beaks of the ships he had taken, he caused two statues of brass to be erected, one representing the man, and the other his ass. *Plut. in Ant.* Actium had been

ROMAN ANNALS.

which Antony sustained in several skirmishes previous to this famous battle, the desertion of a great number of his friends and part of his troops, the bad condition of his fleet, which he was obliged to reduce to a hundred and sixty sail, and which nevertheless was neither well rigged nor well served, all this together seemed to forebode the misfortune which overwhelmed him at last. But Cleopatra would have a sea-fight, and Antony had no will but hers. This unhappy princess, terrified at the sight of an engagement of her own advising, runs away in the midst of it with sixty galleys, which she had brought from Egypt. Antony hears of her flight, and deaf to all counsel, is so weak as to follow her. His fleet abandoned by the commander in chief is defeated by Agrippa, who acted under Octavius; and most of his ships are taken. His soldiers who had beheld the combat and his flight, surrendered to the conqueror in seven days, after having waited in vain for Antony, who they imagined would come and put himself at their head. The clemency with which Octavius behaved towards the conquered does him honour, and is a mark of his good policy. He shewed his good sense, by considering his vanquished enemies as his subjects, whom it was his interest to save, now that the republican party was intirely destroyed. From thence he returned to Rome, on account of a mutiny of veterans, who were impatient to receive their promised rewards. In order to convince them, that it was impossible to satisfy their demands, he exposed his own effects, and those of his friends, to public sale: but at the same time to make the Romans taste the fruit of his victories, he released them from all new taxes.

The flight
of Cleopatra.

Antony is
intirely
defeated.

723.

Uneasiness
of Antony
and Cleopatra.

It would be difficult to represent the anxious thoughts which tormented Antony's breast ever since the moment of his flight. Now he was sunk into the deepest melancholy, and now he abandoned himself to his usual excesses of luxury, voluptuousness, and folly: one time he wanted to die; and another time he talked of nothing but his favourite pleasures: sometimes he would fly from Cleopatra, and the next moment he would turn back into her arms. This princess was not much easier in her mind. Seized with shame and despair, she resolved at first to go in search of some other place to settle out of the enemy's reach: with this view she put all her treasures on board her fleet, and gave orders for carrying it into the Red sea over the Isthmus of Suez. But Antony being apprized of this extravagant design, dissuaded her from it: and with joint consent they embraced the more generous resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity.

been famous before this time for the temple of Apollo, and the goodness of its harbour. Augustus likewise appointed the *Ludi Asiaci*, or games in honour of *Asia*, to be kept here every five years in memory of this naval victory.

Antony

Antony having drawn together his shattered forces by sea and land, lays siege to Peritonium, an important town in Egypt, which had been lately seized by Gallus, Octavius's lieutenant; but he is repulsed with loss. On the other hand, Octavius appears before Pelusium, the key of Egypt on the eastern side, like Peritonium on the west; and the town is delivered up to him by the treachery of Cleopatra. From thence he advances towards Alexandria, which Antony pretends to defend to the last extremity; but just as he is entering upon action, he sees the Egyptian fleet desert all of a sudden to the enemy: his cavalry follows the example; and he tries in vain to bring his infantry to an engagement. Upon his return to town he is informed that he had been betrayed by Cleopatra: but the intelligence came too late.

Antony resolves to defend himself to the last extremity.

But is betrayed by Cleopatra.

This princess dreading his indignation, had shut herself up in a monument, and ordered a report to be spread that she had killed herself. Antony hearing of this, fell upon his sword, but did not expire immediately of the wound: being informed that Cleopatra was still alive, he caused himself to be carried to the monument, that he might breathe his last gasp at her feet. If the fond blandishments of a woman are a sufficient token of her affection, Antony had reason to believe he died beloved by Cleopatra. But who can pretend to determine whether the grief which she expressed at seeing him expire in her arms, was the effect of love, or of natural pity? Such mournful objects must needs excite our compassion, were we only to reflect that mankind are all subject to the same vicissitudes. This makes me imagine that the tears which Octavius shed at the sight of Antony's sword, covered with blood, were sincere. He did not indeed lament his enemy's fate, but the misfortune to which human nature is exposed.

He gives himself a mortal wound, and is conveyed to Cleopatra. Expires in her arms.

Antony left seven children behind him. The two daughters, which he had by Octavia, were married; the eldest to Domitius Ahenobarbus, the youngest to Drusus; and by means of these alliances his posterity ascended the imperial throne. Of his descendants several were emperors, and among the rest Caligula and Nero, whose character no way resembled his. For Antony was of his own nature, neither wicked, nor cruel; though he committed some excesses through hurry of passion. He was frank and generous, and had a particular candour, which rendered him incapable of mistrusting those whom he considered as his friends. Perhaps he would have been more virtuous, if his country had been more so; but real virtue was banished from Rome, at the time when he appeared on the stage. He was a very debauched man in a very debauched age. He gave a free scope to his ambition, because the circumstances in which he was situated, were sufficient to batter his most sanguine expectations. He formed vast designs, in consequence of his moving in a very high sphere. His birth, his opulence, and high preferments, prevented him from falling into obscurity, for which he seemed naturally designed. The simplicity, I may even say, the meanness of his disposition, would

Antony's issue.

His character.

would have suited a much humbler station. Pomp and outward forms were such a constraint to his nature, that he would lay them aside whenever he had an opportunity; being always eager to mix with those profligates, who place their whole happiness in midnight revelry, and in frequenting public stews. He had the abilities of a great general, with the inclinations of a common soldier: he appeared with dignity at the head of an army, and made an excellent figure at a tavern or a guard-room. He demeaned himself most scandalously in several great cities, especially in Alexandria. Cleopatra made always one at his parties of pleasure; and though she had more sense, and a more delicate taste than he, yet she knew how to accommodate herself to his temper. Thus she subdued a man, by whom she expected to subdue the world. Antony knew not how to guard against female artifices: he had been ensnared before by Fulvia, and he was afterwards duped by Cleopatra. It was his fate to command one half of the Roman empire, to obey two wives, and to be foiled by a young man, not near so good a soldier as himself, but far his superior in art and policy.

Cleopatra taken. Cleopatra is taken alive in the monument, where she had shut herself up with her treasures. Octavius makes his entry into Alexandria, and pardons the inhabitants; but he orders Antyllus, Antony's eldest son, and Cæsarion, the son of Cæsar and Cleopatra, to be put to death. He gives leave to that princess to perform the funeral obsequies of Antony; at which mournful ceremony she is taken ill, and determines to end her days by abstinence. Octavius prevails upon her to alter her resolution, by uttering threats against her children: he likewise pays her a visit, and she exerts all her charms to inspire the young conqueror with sentiments of pity and love. But being apprized, that he intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, and that he had given orders that she and her children should be put on board a ship within three days, and conveyed by sea to Rome, she makes away with herself. It was judged, that she had applied an asp to her left arm; because of the several kinds of death of which she had made essays on criminals, she always looked upon this as the mildest, and least attended with pain. Octavius reduces Egypt to a Roman province, and appoints a prefect to govern it. He orders the tomb of Alexander to be opened, and strews the ashes of this conqueror with flowers. At length he departs from Egypt, after stripping it of an immense treasure, sufficient to reward the several companions of his fortune. From thence he proceeds to Asia, to establish his authority in person.

She
dispatches
herself.

Egypt
reduced to a
Roman
province.
Antony's
statues
demolished
at Rome.

At Rome all the statues of Antony are thrown down and broke to pieces by a decree of the senate, who ordained at the same time the day of his nativity to be ranked among the unlucky days. This decree was published under the consulate of Cicero's son, who held this office the present year from the thirteenth of September to the first of November, as substituted consul; a circumstance that has been

observed

observed as a kind of atonement, which fortune was pleased to make to the manes of that great man, by stigmatizing the memory of Antony, who had been the author of his death.

Mecænas stifles a conspiracy formed against Octavius. For such an enterprize the ringleader young Lepidus, would have formerly received the applause of his fellow citizens; but in the present circumstances he was punished as a disturber of the public tranquillity. Mecænas stifles a conspiracy against Octavius. Mecænas orders him to be executed; and his wife Servilia swallows burning coals, with an intent to follow him to his grave.

724.

Rome was in a state of perfect tranquillity, when Octavius returned to this city to celebrate the triumphs by which he was going to be proclaimed the supreme lord of the Roman empire. The senate even before his arrival had passed a great number of decrees, the chief intent of which was to load him with honours, and to invest him with that absolute power, which the Romans had so long dreaded, though at present they felt the necessity of it, and in part its happy effects. The public authority being intirely lodged in the hands of a single person, there was no further reason to be afraid of those civil wars which had disturbed the tranquillity of the empire, and must have encouraged the attempts of those nations, that wanted to shake off the Roman yoke. The sweets of peace and plenty began to be generally tasted. With joy the Romans beheld the triumphs of Octavius, to whom they were indebted for those blessings; and with still greater transport they saw him shut the gates of the temple of Janus, which had been open ever since the commencement of the second Punic war. Octavius returns to Rome. At Rome they conferred the title of *Imperator* or *emperor* on Octavius for ever: they likewise ordained that his name should be added to that of the senate and people in the public prayers and supplications. Games and spectacles were multiplied in honour to his memory. The temple of Janus. Temples and altars were erected to him in the provinces. Octavius receives the title of Imperator, and Augustus. The name of Augustus, which the senate bestowed on him some time after, was transmitted to his successors as a title of dignity, together with that of *Cæsar* his adoptive father.

PARTICULAR REMARKS.

THE glorious days of Rome are over: this proud sovereign of the world is going to be loaded herself with chains.

I do not say this, because she is on the point of submitting to a monarchical government; but as she is falling under the oppressive yoke of despotic power.

In republics it may happen, and too often it does happen, that a private citizen becomes superior to the laws: in monarchies, no private person can be so powerful as the prince, who is the protector of the laws. In republics, the people are always anxious in pursuit of liberty;

liberty; which is surely enjoyed in a well constituted monarchy. It may be really said, that providence has pointed out a monarchical government to all nations, and that human society is in a state of violence, till this system takes place: when once it is established, the ambition of the nobility is curbed, and they are obliged to approach the throne with awful reverence. A monarchical government, by giving a head to the state, grants a sure protection to the freedom and tranquillity of private citizens: were it to have no other advantage than this over a republic, I should think that of the two it is the most eligible. But when despotism lifts up its head, it annihilates all other ranks, and destroys every other existence.

There is no manner of doubt, but a despotic power was established among the Romans, even in the reign of the first emperors, if we consider that they fell under a military government. This seems to suppose a despotic power, for the same reason that despotism is supported by military authority. Arbitrary government being only the abuse of power, can have no other support but force; which chiefly resides in standing armies.

Should I be asked how came it to pass, that the Romans, though so intelligent a people, had the misfortune to fall under the yoke of despotic power, which seems to be one of the consequences of barbarism (a): I shall answer, that it appears evident from facts, that the Romans were as yet, in many respects, a barbarous nation. Let us view their public spectacles: are not they equally shocking to modesty and to every tender sentiment of humanity? It would be offering an affront to my readers, to suppose that they could bear the recital of the horrid scenes, which the Romans were wont to behold, I do not say, with indifference, but with transports of joy. Whoever has a curiosity of perusing these melancholy details, will find them in a thousand writers; they are monuments of wanton cruelty, and human depravity.

"The Romans, says M. de Montesquieu, being accustomed to trample upon mankind, in the persons of their children and their slaves, could know but very little of that virtue which we distinguish by the name of humanity. . . . When a people are cruel in their civil state, what can we think of their natural lenity and justice?"

We need not therefore be surprized to find that the first Cæsars, at the same time that they inherited the whole power of the Roman republic, should likewise be heirs to her cruelty; and that transported by this extravagant passion, they should make her most justly suffer for

(a) Should any one object the example of certain nations, such as the Chinese, who are said to be a very polite people, and yet do live under a despotic government: I shall answer, that in all probability their emperors follow this wise maxim, that in matters of authority, a prince ought to check his own power. Despotism does not consist so much in being vested with arbitrary power, as in the abuse of it; now this abuse will never take place in a civilized and virtuous nation,

the desolation and waste which she had so long diffused all over the earth.

But who is he that presumes to seize on the highest dignity, that mortal man can aspire to? He is but a raw youth; yet he prevails over statesmen of consummate experience: his birth is obscure; yet he undertakes to command those who gave laws to kings: he has hardly strength of constitution to be present at a battle; yet he is victorious over the most celebrated captains of the age: he is an usurper; yet he governs the empire of the Roman world, with as much ease and tranquillity, as if he sat upon a throne transmitted to him by a long line of princes. Reason is confounded when we look no farther: but we are perfectly satisfied, when we raise our contemplation to a sublimer object. Then it is that the designs of providence are conspicuously manifested. Rome had subdued the world; now she herself is subdued; and the earth in reverent silence waits for the commands of her lord and master. But soon on the banks of the Jordan is heard the voice of one crying, *prepare ye the way of the Lord*. These words have their proper effect: and before the end of the reign of Augustus, the Lord shall appear to give laws to nations, not by force and violence, like earthly princes; but by lenity, persuasion, and beneficence: a new and happy kind of conquest, which shall be continued to the end of time.



T H E I N D E X.

THIS index refers to the years, and to the pages; to the former, for the series of the history; to the latter, for the remarks and for the facts contained in the columns. When you meet with figures without any other mark, they point out the year to which the subject belongs. In referring to the page, I have taken care to distinguish it by the letter *p*; but in referring to the year, I have marked it by the letter *y*.

As it was necessary to render this index complete, and at the same time concise, I have generally referred to the proper names of persons or of cities, with which the principal events are connected; and to each proper name of a person, I have added either the *prænomen* or *cognomen*, in order to obviate the confusion that might otherwise arise from the plurality of persons of the same name.

I have avoided the useless repetition of figures; so that when there are two separated by a bar—the reader is to suppose all the intermediate figures, as 315—19. look for 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. In like manner when the figures are all under the same century, I do not repeat the first. For example, when I mention 100, I continue 01. 02. 03. which stands for 101. 102. 103.

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